THE OMGUS SURVEYS

Volume I

Reports 1 - 25

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RESTRICTED

RADIO LISTENING IN GERMANY

WINTER, 1946

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REPORT No. I

SURVEYS SECTION
INTELLIGENCE BRANCH
INFORMATION CONTROL DIVISION
OMGUS USFET

March 1, 1946

RESTRICTED

INTRODUCTION

A study of the radio listening habits of the Germans living in the American Zone was made in the third week of January at the request of the State Department and General McClure.

Personal interviews were made in 964 houses distributed throughout the Zone so as to represent all types of residences, all classes of people, and city and rural dwellers in the same proportions as they appear in the whole population of the Zone. The Questions asked are shown in the Appendix.

SUMMARY

1. Less than half of the population had radios in good working order. But nearly one in three radios in the Zone was a two-tube Volksempfaenger. Practically no radios were operated by batteries. Middle-wave lengths could be picked up by nearly all sets, but one-third of the sets were equipped to receive short-wave also.

2. An appreciable proportion of the people (37%) restricted their listening to save electricity. Nearly all restrictions were imposed upon day-time listening.

3. Large audiences developed during the evening hours from 6 to 10 PM. But significant audiences were at their radios at 7 AM and at noon. Listeners, with above average sized families, seemed to use the radio socially as the center of the evening at home.

4. Radio listeners led more regular lives than nonlisteners. Large proportions of the former rose at 7 AM and went to bed at 10 PM.

5. The median average time spent daily at the radio was two (2) hours.

6. Listeners were concentrated in Bavaria and in large cities, among the young, well-educated and those with superior socio-economic status.

7. Radio Munich and Stuttgart covered Bavaria and Baden-Wuerttemberg well. But Hessen audiences frequently tuned to other stations than Radio Frankfurt. The Hessen audiences seemed more diverse and, in other respects, dissimilar to audiences in the other two Laender.

8. Musical programs provided the basic stimulus for listening to the radio among a large proportion of the audiences. But news programs of diverse types were also widely preferred.

9. Regional preferences for types of musical programs were diverse. Hessians tended to be more receptive to opera and operetta music; Bavarians and residents of Baden-Wuerttemberg, to German folkmusic. Classical and symphonic music had a solid audience in each Land (about 15%).

10. Nearly 6 in 10 listeners said they heard Stimme Amerikas. But only a few percent claimed to pick it up directly from New York. The mass audience tuned in the program from German stations. Radio Frankfurt and Radio Stuttgart had proportionately larger audiences to this program than Radio Munich had.

11. Peter Arnold and Lindley Fraser were known to rather sizeable proportions of radio listeners. Personalized newscasting was as popular as factual reporting among the sceptical German audience.

12. News reporting on the radio was relied upon as truthful by large proportions of the listeners. But newspapers were accepted by a majority as presenting more complete news.

GERMAN RADIO LISTENING IN GENERAL

Radio Ownership

Half the families in Amzone had radios and listened to the radio. But not all these radios were in working order. Only 42% of the families listened to their own radio which was in working condition. Another 6% listened to their own radio which was not in good condition. And 2% more owned radios which were out of order, but listened to someone else's radio. But the listening audiences were augmented by another 6% of the population which had no radio but listened to someone else's. Thus 44% of the whole population said they did not listen at all. But among these people who did not listen, one in four (11% of all questioned) had radios. Nearly all these radios were not in working order.

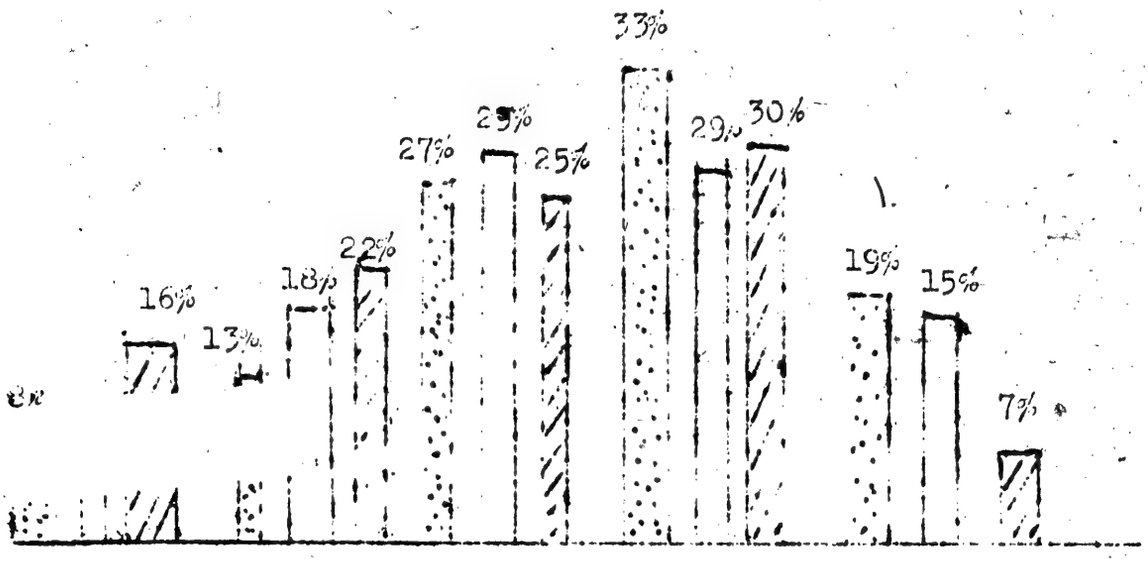
The trade names of radios, proportion found in the homes, and most usual number of tubes of each type are shown in the table below. The most common radio - the Volksempfaenger - is obviously the weakest type set. Practically every set examined was operated by current in the house rather than by battery installation.

TYPE	Percent in Homes	Usual Number of Tubes
Volksempfaenger	29 %	2
Nende	10	4
Telefunken	6	4
Blaupunkt	6	5
Nora	5	4
Super (Saba)	5	4
Siemens	5	4
AEG	3	4
Foreign	12	4
Homemade	3	3
Imperial	3	5
Koerting	2	4
Schaub	2	4
Lorenz	1	3
Minerva	1	5
Loewe	1	4
Graetz	1	4
Emut	1	4
Sachsenwerk	1	4
Mega	1	4
Braun	1	4
Other types	1	4
	100 %	

A tendency was observed for more families (38%) to have Volksempfaengers in Baden-Wuerttemberg than in Bavaria (26%) or Hessen (24%). A large proportion of Lower class people (45%) had the Volksempfaenger but only 11% of the upper class people had these radios. Rather, one-fifth of these latter people had foreign sets, while less than one-tenth of the poorer classes also had foreign built sets.

Nearly all the sets (93%) could receive middle-wave stations, over half (57%) could pick up long-wave, and about one-third (36%) could receive short-wave. The table which follows shows the proportions of sets reported receiving each type or combination of type of signal.

The chart below indicates that among the people who most frequently tune in one of the three American sponsored stations, both Radio Munich and Radio Stuttgart have audiences which listen for rather long periods of time.



M S F	M S F	M S F	M S F	M S F
Under 1/2 hr.	1/2 - 1 hour	1 - 2 hours	2 - 4 hours	4 hours or longer

M = Radio Munich
S = Radio Stuttgart
F = Radio Frankfurt

Better educated people and those with well above average incomes spent longer time at the radio than did poorly educated people and those with low incomes. No appreciable differences in listening time of young and old were observed.

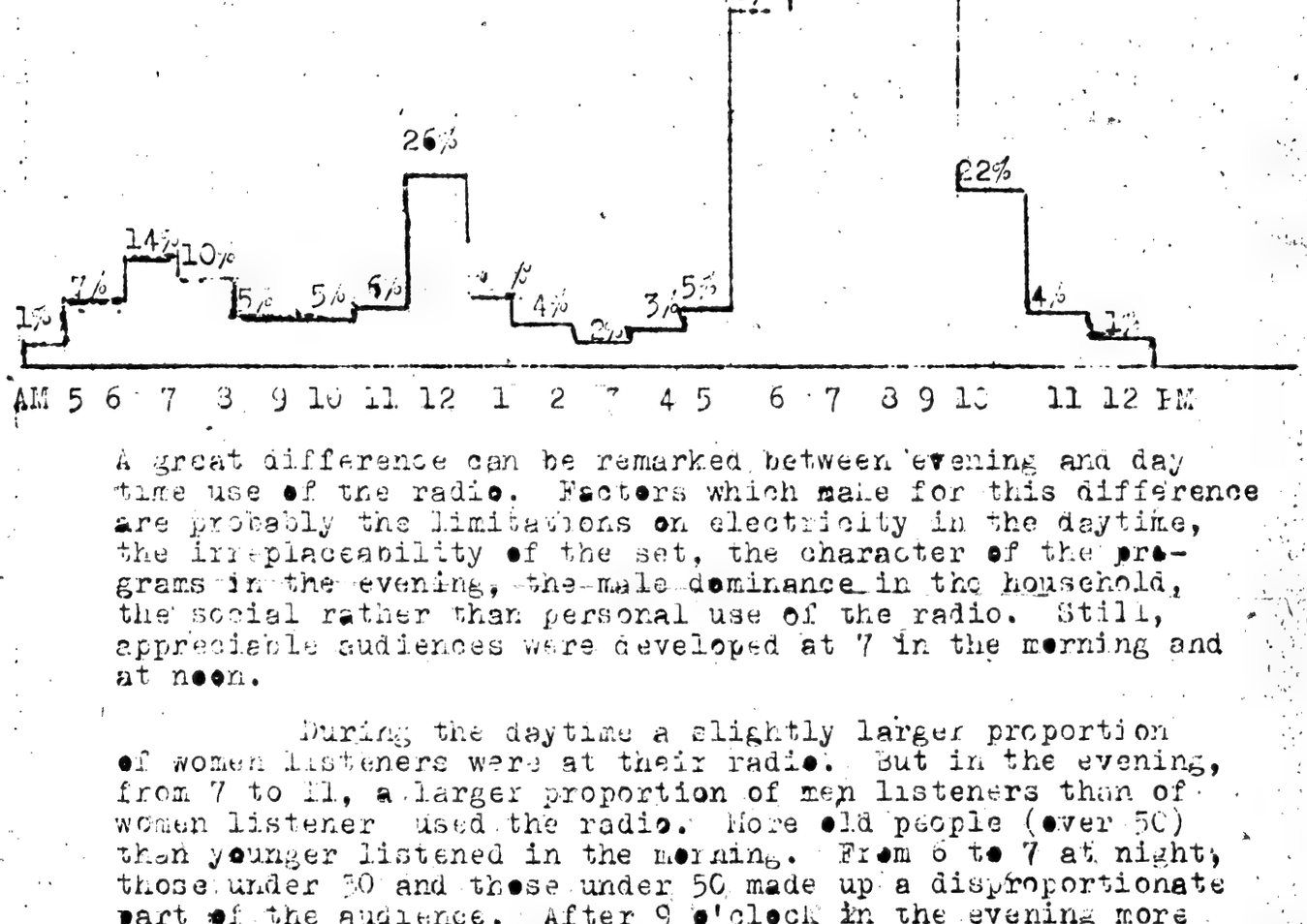
Restrictions were imposed upon the listening time by this German audience. About one in three people (37%) said his radio was sometimes not used in order to save electricity. The days of the week during which restrictions were usually placed on listening were Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. But one in ten persons said that he limited his listening every day in order to save current.

The average number of hours it was reported that the set was turned off on such days was 4 hours. Current seemed saved regularly in the daytime over the period 8 AM to 3 PM with an appreciable number of listeners further restricting use until 4 PM. After 6 PM only 1% of the listeners said they did not turn their radios on. A not insignificant proportion of people (17%) was also concerned about the radio set itself. These people said they sometimes limited the use of their radio in order to spare the set.

Time of Radio Listening

Little difference was found between listeners and non-listeners as to the habitual times of getting up in the morning. By 7 AM., 79% of the listeners and 70% of the non-listeners said they were up. Bed-time for the two groups was markedly different, however. Before 10 PM only 22% of the listeners were in bed, but 40% of the non-listeners were. At 10 o'clock, however, 45% more of the listeners usually went to bed and 37% more of the non-listeners did the same. It is remarkable that the sleeping habits of listeners seemed more regular and ordered as a group than were the habits of the non-listeners. Listeners tended to be up later at night, to rise somewhat earlier in the morning. Sharper peaks appear among listeners for each habit on the curves of rising and going to bed -- they usually were up at 7 and started to bed at ten. It seems reasonable to suspect that their lives were geared to hour-signals much more closely than the people who did not have radios.

Usual Hours of Listening



A great difference can be remarked between evening and day time use of the radio. Factors which make for this difference are probably the limitations on electricity in the daytime, the irreplaceability of the set, the character of the programs in the evening, the male dominance in the household, the social rather than personal use of the radio. Still, appreciable audiences were developed at 7 in the morning and at noon.

During the daytime a slightly larger proportion of women listeners were at their radio. But in the evening, from 7 to 11, a larger proportion of men listeners than of women listener used the radio. More old people (over 50) than younger listened in the morning. From 6 to 7 at night, those under 30 and those under 50 made up a disproportionate part of the audience. After 9 o'clock in the evening more people under 30 than middle aged or old listened to the radio. For example, at 9 o'clock 8 in 10 of those under 30, but only 6 in 10 of those older listened. At 10 o'clock one in three of those under 30, but only about one in five of those older listened.

Länder. Partly as a result of this situation nearly 2 out of 3 in Bavaria (65%), but only half of the Hessians (52%) and only 4 in 10 people in Baden-Württemberg (42%) listened to the radio. But a tendency was also found for more Bavarians in towns over 2,000 population to listen to the radio than was true in Hessia or Baden-Württemberg.

Catholics throughout the Zone had more radios and more of them listened to the radio than Protestants. The difference might be expected to be a reflection of the more frequent listening facilities in Bavaria, but in each of the three Länder the tendency was clear that fewer Protestants than Catholics listened to the radio.

Group	Percent listening to radio
Region:	
Baden-Württemberg	42 %
Hessia	52
Bavaria	65
Rural-Urban:	
Under 2,000	50 %
2-10,000	52
10-100,000	67
Over 100,000	64
Sex and PsW:	
Women	53 %
Men, PsW	58
Men, non PsW	59
Age:	
60 years or older	41 %
50-59 years old	59
40-49 years old	56
30-39 years old	59
18-29 years old	64
Education:	
7 years or less	54 %
8 years	51
9-11 years	64
12 years or more	71
Socio-economic Status:	
Lower-Lower and On Relief	36 %
Upper-Lower	56
Lower-Middle	66
Upper-Middle	67
Upper	64
NSDAP Membership:	
Was not a member, relatives not members	54 %
Relative was a member	57
Respondent was a member	63
Religion:	
Protestant, regular Churchgoer	46 %
Protestant, irregular Churchgoer	54
Catholic, regular Churchgoer	64
Catholic, irregular Churchgoer	69

Occupation.

Pensionnaire	39 %
Unskilled worker	47
Skilled or semi-skilled worker	54
Government, office or shop employee	64
Professional, government official, self-employed	74
Farmer	51
Unemployed	57

Weekly Income:

1 - 19 RM	38 %
20-29 RM	48
30-39 RM	56
40-49 RM	60
50-69	64
70 RM or more	72
No income	57

More adults were found within listener's families (median 1.85) than among non-listener's families (median 1.52). Radios seemed to be concentrated in the section of the population with above average sized families. Moreover, more people seemed to gather at the radio to listen than actually were members of the family. Listening to the radio, thus, appeared to be a familial and social function. It is indicated that programs might be designed in this light, rather than to attract partial audiences.

The median number of people who were said to use each radio in operation was:	2.97
The median number of family members among radio listeners was:	2.95
The median number of family members among non-listeners was:	2.45
The median number of members in a German family was:	2.77

Stations Heard:

In each Land, the American licensed radio was given outstanding preference by the listening audiences. And very large proportions of the listeners within each Land tuned to the local Land station. Radio Stuttgart (84%) shared only minor popularity in Baden-Württemberg, with Munich (8%) and Berlin (1%). Sixty-nine percent of all the listeners in Bavaria listened to Radio Munich but appreciable competition with Stuttgart (10%), Leipzig (10%) and Berlin (4%) was shown. More difficult was the position of Radio Frankfurt. While 6 in 10 Hessian listeners tuned to Frankfurt, four other main stations were also tuned to -- Berlin (8%), Leipzig (6%), Stuttgart (3%) and Munich (3%).

When the primary and secondary audiences (Para) listening to American Zone stations are added together, competition with American Zone stations can be seen to be considerable within each Land. Nearly all listeners (97%) in Baden-Württemberg heard Radio Stuttgart, but one-third of the listeners also tuned in Munich and about one in ten (13%) listened to Berlin. Radio coverage of Baden-Württemberg was evidently, to a very great part provided by American sponsored stations. Radio Munich had appreciable competition in Bavaria from three stations -- Stuttgart (44%).

(Para) station heard most often plus other stations heard.

programming. News programs were given secondary preferences -- chosen by one-quarter of the population. Radio plays and political commentary were rated next in popularity but by less than one in ten people each.

Differences of taste for types of programs seemed to be, in large part, a function of educational or status background. More men than women tended to be interested in news programs. The better educated exhibited the same tendency. In the same vein more of the better educated preferred lectures and discussions when compared with the replies given by those with average or below average education. The upper income respondents, and the men, also spoke out in the same direction.

Music (of all types) was preferred by such a large proportion of people that it can only be thought of as the central core of a station's programming. While the old and the very poor seemed relatively more disinclined toward any program preference, not inappreciable proportions of both groups answered "don't know".

		SEX	
	TOTAL	Men	Women
Musical programs (all types)	65%	61%	69%
News programs	48	54	35
In general	25%	30%	21%
Speeches, discussions	8	11	6
Political commentary	7	9	5
Official information	3	3	1
News re. h&w	1	-	2
Dramatic programs or plays	7	9	9
Variety shows	3	3	2
Religious programs	2	2	3
Other	7	6	7
"Don't know"	5	3	6
	138%	138%	131% (*)

	EDUCATION		
	7 years or less	8 years	9 years or more
Musical programs (all types)	63%	62%	71%
News programs	42	47	47
In general	28%	24%	27%
Speeches, discussions	7	9	13
Political commentary	3	5	8
Official information	2	3	2
News re. h&w	1	2	1
Dramatic programs or plays	7	6	15
Variety shows	2	3	3
Religious programs	6	1	1
Other	7	6	7
"Don't know"	6	9	1
	137%	130%	145% (*)

(*) Percentages add to more than 100% because some respondents gave more than one answer.

AG-

	under 30	30-39 years
Musical Programs (all types)	69%	68%
News Programs	38	37
In general	25%	22%
Speeches, discussions	5	7
Political commentary	6	5
Official information	-	1
News re: PsW	2	2
Dramatic programs and plays	13	5
Variety shows	-	5
Religious programs	-	1
Other	8	8
"Don't know"	3	7
	131%	171% (A)

	40-49 years	50 yrs & over
Musical programs (all types)	68%	57%
News programs	41	55
In general	18%	33%
Speeches, discussions	8	12
Political commentary	10	6
Official information	5	5
News re: PsW	-	-
Dramatic programs and plays	14	6
Variety shows	2	3
Religious programs	2	6
Other	5	5
"Don't know"	4	6
	136%	138% (A)

On the other hand, nearly half (47%) the people mentioned some types of musical programs in reply to the question "What kind of radio program do you like least?". One quarter of all the people spoke out against jazz and dance music in the American vein, and 13% more said they disliked heavy music and symphonies.

In order to probe into particular preferences for types of music, radio listeners were asked which kind of musical program they liked best. Over the hole Zone, German folk music was most popular (3[illegible]%), and jazz programs least popular (9 in 578 people preferred jazz). Nearly one-fifth of the listeners expressed most liking for each of the six other types of musical programs (more than one answer could be given to the question). But in Hessen, opera and operetta were practically equally preferred by a majority of the listeners, while only one in three Bavarians liked this type of music. Folkmusic was equally popular in Baden-Wurttemberg and Bavaria, but relatively unpopular in Hessia. Classical music and symphonies had a consistent audience of about one in seven in each land.

(A) Percentages add to more than 100% because some respondents gave more than one answer.

percent were asked if they thought that news in English was more complete than news in German. Five percent answered "yes", five percent were unable to judge, and only one percent said news in English was less complete.

Commentators

All those questioned in the survey -- listeners and non-listeners -- were asked to identify six names. All six were those of radio commentators. Peter Arnold (36%) and Lindley Fraser (26%) were the only commentators recognized by a sizeable proportion of listeners. Gessner (16%) and Burger (10%) were known to a smaller proportion of the listeners. But these two commentators were liked by only by about 7 in 10 of those who correctly identified them, whereas nearly everybody who knew Arnold and Fraser liked the work they are doing. No commentator was at all well known to the non-listeners.

KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD COMMENTATORS
BY RADIO LISTENERS

	Arnold	Burger	Eberhard
Correct identification	36 %	10 %	5 %
Incorrect or "don't know"	64	90	95
Like	27	5	2
Dislike	1	2	(.)
Don't know	8	3	3
	36 %	10 %	5 %

	Fay	Fraser	Gessner
Correct identification	1 %	26 %	16 %
Incorrect or "don't know"	99	74	84
Like	(.)	18	9
Dislike	(.)	1	4
Don't know	1	7	3
	1 %	26 %	16 %

The importance of personalized news broadcasting must be recognized not only because of the established popularity of commentators. On a more general basis, radio

(.) Less than 1/2 of 1%

(Cont'd from page 11) But certain other unusual characteristics of this group should be noted. Nearly three in four in the group were Bavarians, seven in ten had had more than nine years formal schooling, about one in three were Upper Middle or Upper class respondents. Three quarters of the group listened to Stimme Amerikas. The median listening time of all of them was about three hours daily.

listeners indicated preference for personalized presentation. Just as many listeners (70%) said they liked a straight factual report of the news as said they liked (40%) the news in the form of comment and discussion. Non-listeners, however, tended to prefer straight reporting (36%) to commentating (26%).

When people were asked whether they preferred the news to be simply read or to be read with a personal note, by a speaker known by name, few spoke (15%) for the former type of presentation. Among the listeners, a solid majority (57%) preferred named newscasters. One in three non-listeners (36%) spoke similarly, but half the non-listeners held no opinion on the question.

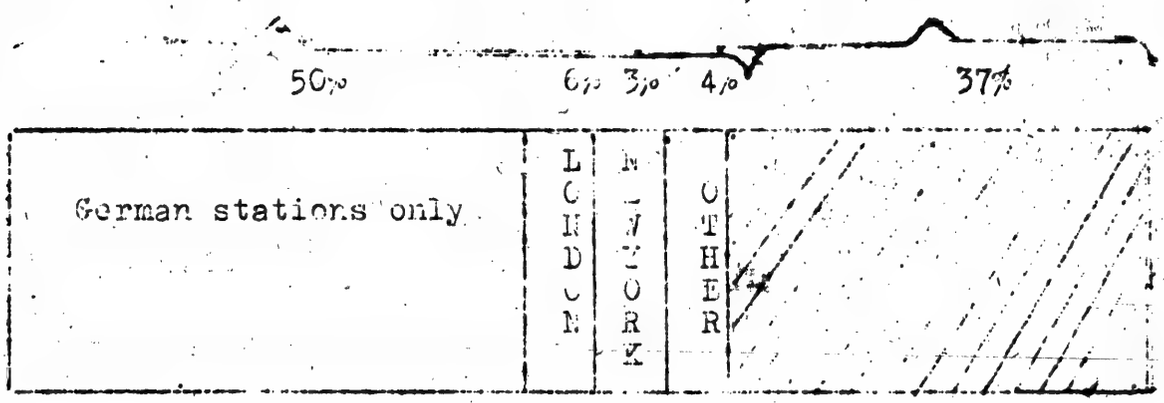
German Listening to Stimme Amerikas.

Very few people (12%) could recall the name of a radio program which they preferred above all others. However, practically half those who named any program named the Stimme Amerikas!

When asked directly whether or not they listened to Stimme Amerikas, a solid majority (67%) of the radio listeners said they did. Most people heard the program from German stations only (50%), about one in twenty (6%) picked it up only from London, and 3% of the listeners said they heard it only from New York. An additional 4% said they heard the program sometimes from German stations or London or New York.

RADIO LISTENERS IN GERMANY

Listen to Stimme Amerikas - 67% . Do not listen - 37%



Among radio listeners, a larger proportion of men (72%) than women (57%) tuned in Stimme Amerikas. Protestants (72%), similarly, more frequently tuned to Stimme Amerikas than did Catholics (56%). More frequently too, did middle and upper class (67%) listeners tuned to Stimme Amerikas did lower class listeners (60%). However, the better educated (those with 8 years schooling) did not follow this pattern. Stimme Amerikas appeared more popular with those who had only 5 years education (69%) than with the better educated (66%) or the more poorly educated (57%). Little differences appeared among occupational groups except that 27 out of 28 government employees said they tuned in Stimme Amerikas, while only 16 out of 32 unskilled workers did likewise. No differences in popularity by age groups were found.

But an appreciable distinction was noted among listeners to the three chief radio stations in the American Zone. Stimme Amerikas was heard by more of those who tuned most often to Radio Frankfurt (78%) or Radio Stuttgart (72%) than by those who tuned most often to Radio Munich (51%).

APPENDIX

Do you believe that the radio is censored today?

	Listeners	Non-Listeners
Yes	25 %	12 %
Suppose so	23	15
No	25	17
No opinion	27	56
	100 %	100 %
Total interviews	539	426

What is your main source of news -- Radio, Newspapers, or Magazines?

	Listeners	Non-Listeners
Radio	70 %	2 %
Newspapers	42	82
Magazines	1	-
Can't say	3	16
	116 % (*)	100 %

(*) More than one answer was recorded.

Do you read the newspaper regularly?

	Listeners	Non-Listeners
Regularly	81 %	71 %
Occasionally	16	23
Never	3	6
	100 %	100 %

Have you read a book recently?

	Listeners	Non-Listeners
Yes	39 %	34 %
No	61	66
	100 %	100 %

Which presents the news more accurately -- the Radio or the Newspaper?

	Listeners	Non-Listeners
Radio	65 %	16 %
Newspaper	18	38
No opinion	17	46
	100 %	100 %

which presents more complete news - the Radio or the Newspaper?

	Listeners	Non-Listeners
Radio	30%	6%
Newspaper	52	50
No opinion	18	44
	100%	100%

What kind of news do you prefer -- straight facts of commentary and discussion?

	Listeners	Non-Listeners
Straight facts	38%	36%
Commentary or discussions	40	26
No opinion	22	38
	100%	100%

Do you prefer news which is presented in a personalized fashion by a named announcer, or news which is simply read by an unknown announcer?

	Listeners	Non-Listeners
Personalized	57%	36%
Simply read	16	14
No opinion	27	50
	100%	100%

Do you think that radio programs contain too much propaganda?

	Listeners	Non-Listeners
Yes	13%	4%
No	65	22
No opinion	22	74
	100%	100%

What would you like to hear on the radio about America?

	Listeners	Non-Listeners	Total
Social institutions, everyday life, practical democracy	16%	12%	15%
Economic news - international trade, importations - particularly food	13	5	9
What Americans think about Germany and Germans	10	3	7
Future plans for Germany	9	5	7
Political news, speeches by policy makers, news about international relations	9	5	7
Cultural matters -- theater, concerts, art, literature	7	4	6
Strikes, unemployment, labor conditions	7	3	6
Everything	7	1	4
Other (Church news, women's activities, news about occupational trades)	5	5	5
Not interested	7	4	6
No opinion, can't say, no suggestions, no answer	22	57	37
	112%	104%	109%(M)

(M) more than one answer was recorded

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS WERE ASKED OF LISTENERS ONLY

Do you listen longer on some particular days? Which?

Yes	57%
No	43
	100%
Sundays	42%
Saturdays	24
Mondays	1
Other days	1
Depends on work, sleep, etc.	3
Depends on programs	1
	72% (M)

(M) More than one answer was recorded

What type of radio program do you like least?

Jazz, American dance music	24%
Heavy music and symphonies	13
Music - other types: opera, singers, etc.	10
Politics, speeches	8
Occupational trade news	5
News programs	2
War, KZ stories	1
Other (poetry, science, art)	6
Don't know, can't say, no answer	35
	104% (M)

(M) More than one answer was recorded

1. How many people use your radio?
2. Do you listen longer on some days than on other days? If "Yes": On what days do you listen longest?
3. How long do you listen to the radio daily?
4. At which times during the day do you usually listen?
5. At which time would it be best for you to listen if you had time to hear only two or three programs a day?
6. Are you sometimes prevented from listening to the radio because electricity must be saved? If "Yes": On which days and at what hours is the electricity turned off?
7. Do you limit your radio listening in order to save your set?
8. What station do you hear most frequently?
9. What other stations do you listen to?
10. What station is loudest?
11. What station is clearest?
12. What station do you like best?
13. What station do you like least?
14. What kind of radio program do you like best?
15. What kind of radio program do you like least?
16. What kind of musical program do you like best?
17. Is there a particular program that you prefer above all others?
18. Do you listen to the program "Stimme Amerikas"? If "Yes": Do you listen to this program from German stations? Direct from New York? Direct from London? What do you like best about this program - the news, the commentating or the musical part? What material should this program deal with? What should be discussed on this program? Is there too much or too little political news on the program?
19. Do you understand English? If "any at all": Do you listen to news on the radio in English? If "Yes": Do you believe news in English is more complete than news given in German?
20. Have you turned off your radio recently because you thought that what you were hearing was bad or untrue?

WHO IN GERMANY HAS READ "MEIN KAMPF"?

SURVEYS SECTION
REPORT No. 2
INTELLIGENCE BRANCH
I C D
OMGUS USFET

WHO IN GERMANY HAS READ "MEIN KAMPF"

Over one-fifth (23%) of the adult population of the American Zone admitted having read "Mein Kampf". They were questioned by German interrogators working on assignment of ICD to talk with a representative sample of the American Zone. Less than one in ten (7%), however, said they had read the book in its entirety.

Wide differences in the appeal of "Mein Kampf" could be observed when the responses of characteristic population groups were examined. The table below indicates that nearly half of those who were former Party members, or who were classed among the upper social strata, had read at least part of Hitler's personal philosophy. But among those with 12 or more years of schooling a very large majority (72%) had likewise exposed themselves to this document. Larger proportions of young people, of men (and PsW), and of adherents of the Communist party also delved into this testament than did their counterpart groups --- old people, women, and followers of other political parties. Readership habits, in this regard, did not differ between the two major religious groups in the population.

These data indicate that two factors generally influence people to pick up and read "Mein Kampf" --- the intelligent interest of the more alert intellectually, and the stimulated interest of those with Nationalsocialist persuasions. Thus former Party members, young people and upper class members each tended support, in larger proportions than did non-Pgs, older people and those in the lower classes. And more members of the former groups read Hitler's book. Responses of the better educated probably directly exemplify both motivations --- they tended to support the Nazis in larger proportions and more actively than did the more poorly educated. At the same time the better educated are the book-reading population. It is not too surprising, then, to find that as many as seven in ten of these people had held the Nazi Bible in their hands.

	Completely	In part	Not at all
Total Population	7 %	16 %	77 %
NSDAP Affiliation			
Respondent was a member	18 %	28 %	54 %
Relative was a member	5	15	80
Neither	5	13	82
Religious Affiliation			
Catholic	6 %	17 %	77 %
Protestant	7	15	78

RESTRICTED

SOME POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Probed on Recent Surveys

#3

Merger SPD - KPD

One-third (33%) of the entire population polled in March expressed a preference for the SPD over the other parties now in existance. These people were asked: "If a merger of the SPD and KPD should be achieved, which party would you then prefer - this new party, the CDU, the CSU, or some other party?" One in three SPD supporters said they would like best the new unity party. But at least as many (37%) spoke for either the CDU (19%) or the CSU (18%). Nearly one in ten Socialists (8%) refused to choose, saying they absolutely opposed the merger of the two parties and always preferred the SPD. Three in a hundred voters chose other small right wing parties. An indication of the confusion such a merger would probably induce is found in the reasonably large proportion (19%) of Socialists who were unable to express a second choice if their party were removed from the political arena.

The weakness of the bond between the SPD and the KPD, from the point of view of the SPD supporters, was evidenced in responses to an inquiry as to which parties should be allowed to continue in Germany after the occupation. Almost equal proportions of those Socialists who would go along with a Unity Party, said they thought the KPD (31%) and the CDU (32%) both should be carried on after the occupation.

At no time did more than one third of the SPD supporters accept Communists as collegues. However a large plurality (42%) of those who felt they would support the CDU if a merger were formed, and six in ten (63%) possible supporters of the CSU, said they thought their second choice Party ought to be maintained. Those unable to choose a party, in the event of an SPD-KPD merger, divided rather evenly on the parties thought necessary to continue after the end of the occupation.

In general, SPD supporters liked the CSU second best (34%). The CDU (31%), and the KPD (28%), however, showed nearly equal strength.

CDU or CSU supporters moved strongly toward the left on the question of the parties which ought be included on the German scene. Nearly half the CDU followers (46%) thought the SPD should be continued, and well over half the CSU supporters (61%) agreed.

Information about Political Affairs

Periodic samplings have inquired into public awareness of the problems it has faced. One question testing interest in and confidence in handling political problems was: "Do you think that during the last months the Germans have learned how better to govern themselves?" More confidence was expressed in such ability during the first week of January (61%) than during the third week of March (47%). It is worthy of note, however, that the proportion denying that the Germans had learned anything remained constant between the two periods (20% in January, 21% in March).

Reasons given, in the March survey, for an affirmative answer were largely vague and uninformed. Most (30% of all interviewed) said that they had learned about democracy from the Americans, or that initiative had been taught them. As confirmatory evidence for their position people frequently said: "Things are better now". A small proportion (6%) claimed

Party Affiliation

Only a small proportion (7%) of the entire population belonged to a political party at the time of the mid-March poll. This proportion, however, was probably larger than that found in a survey ten weeks before (4%). Nevertheless, slightly fewer people indicated at the time of the later questioning that they were considering joining a party.

"Are you a member of a political party?"
If not, "Do you plan to join?"

	Member	Non-member plan to join	Non-member no plan to join
27 Dec., 1945	4%	21%	75%
15 Mar., 1946	7%	16%	77%

Those questioned on the March survey were asked why they had no intention to join a party, if this was the case. One-third (35%) of the population said they were no longer interested in politics. Politics, it was argued, had led to a bad experience — so much so that it was felt to be safer to keep away from such affairs. And another fifth of the people (22%) explained their failure to join a party on still more basic grounds — politcs is of no interest to women. Nearly one in ten respondents (9%) justified their lack of interest on the grounds of lack of information — one must learn more about such things before joining a party, it was said. Other comments were heard to the effect that bad health, lack of time, former NSDAP affiliation, or official government or church position excluded the opportunity of joining.

Attendance of Political Meetings

Popular disposition toward the desireability of political meetings have crystallized sharply in the last four months. The proportion holding no opinion on this issue dropped from 29% to 12%. Most of the movement was toward the side favoring the holding of meetings.

"As you know political meetings are once again allowed. Do you consider such meetings desireable?"

	Yes	No	No opinion
26 Nov., 1945	60%	11%	29%
27 Dec., 1945	68%	13%	19%
15 Mar., 1946	72%	16%	12%

Objectors to the holding of meetings expressed in the main a distaste for politics (9%), or a lack of interest in politics (4%), or a feeling that Germany is not yet ready, in leadership or capacity, for interparty rivalries (3%).

Shot-through as the German population is said to be with political apathy and defeatism expressed by appreciable minorities, it is revealing that an ever-increasing number of adults have been attending political meetings. Whereas only 6% had gone to a meeting in late November, and only 11% in late

December, by March one-fourth (25%) of the entire population said they had done this. Reasons given for not attending the meetings again recalled the "no interest - no time" pattern of thinking. But 7% of all the people complained that as yet there had been no meetings held in their areas which they might have attended.

Political Discrimination

During the last week of February a sample of the population was asked whether there were any people who ought to be excluded from political activity. Three in five respondents (60%) answered affirmatively, one in five thought not, and an equal proportion did not voice an opinion.

Practically every suggestion identifying the people who "should" be excluded pointed toward former NSDAP members. Activists and former officials were cited as undesirable politically by nearly four in ten people (36%). Another fourth of the general public (26%) spoke only about Party members in general. Very few people made a variety of other answers: "militarists", "churchmen", "communists", "opponents of MG", and "women".

Some distinction between activists or former NSDAP officials, and small, or nominal Nazis could be seen. This was most sharply outlined when the responses were ordered by educational groups. Practically equal proportions of those with seven years or less schooling recommended that activists (31%) and Party members in general (28%) be kept out of political affairs. Among the well-educated, with 12 or more years of education, 34% would exclude activists and only 13% thought Party members in general should be penalized in this fashion.

Opinions were also probed on the question of the number of political parties which should be permitted after the occupation is over. No appreciable change from previously reported results were observed.

Rural and Urban Party Preferences

Five separate surveys of the American Zone were completed between 14 February and 21 March, 1946. On each survey the representative population was asked to express a choice among the present political parties. A total of 4918 individuals were questioned.

When the results are examined within community size groups it can be observed that marked differences existed between the relative strength of the left wing and the conservative parties. The most rural areas tended to be slightly more leftist than were residents of towns in the size group 2000-10,000. As the size of the town increased the proportion of leftist sentiment also grew. In the three largest cities — Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Munich- a bare edge was given to the leftist parties over the conservative and right-wing groups.

Turnout at the January Elections.

Respondents in the sample population polled during the third week of March were asked whether they had voted in the January elections, if there had been elections in their communities. The table below indicates some group results of the answers to this question. The SPD and CSU evidently were not as well supported at the polls by their followers as was the CDU. People who had no party preference, naturally, tended to vote much more infrequently than did those with party sympathies. Former NSDAP members, and their families, also stayed away from the election booths more often than did non-PGs. Only about half (55%) of the young people under 30 voted.

	ELECTIONS		
Party Affiliations	Voted	Didn't vote	No Election
SPD	44 (68)	21 (32)	35
CDU	54 (82)	24 (18)	22
CSU	52 (68)	24 (32)	24
No party	30 (46)	35 (54)	35
NSDAP Membership			
PGs	31 (42)	43 (58)	26
PGs in family	42 (69)	19 (31)	39
Neither	52 (73)	19 (27)	29
Sex			
Men	47 (64)	27 (36)	26
Women	47 (70)	20 (30)	33
Age			
Under 30	38 (55)	31 (45)	31
30 - 39	47 (67)	23 (33)	30
40 - 49	49 (71)	20 (29)	31
50 - 59	50 (72)	19 (28)	31
60 - 69	51 (70)	22 (30)	27
70 and over	57 (68)	27 (32)	16

Most voters in the January elections were able to give a reason for having voted. Vaguely defined issues were alluded to by a majority, while a sizable minority said that they voted merely out of recognition of their civic duty (35%) or just in order to express an opinion again (4%). Issues to which indirect reference was made dealt with leadership ("to get the right people on the job" - 23%), reconstruction ("to bring about a better future" - 12%, inter-party-rivalry, ("to cast a vote for any party" - 10%, "to vote against the KPD" - 5%), and political reorientation ("to bring about democracy and self-government" - 7%).

The most commonly given reason for not voting (74% of non-voters) was that the individual was excluded because he was a former Party member, or too young, or had not resided long enough in the community. About one in ten more (12%) was unable to get to the polls because of old age, illness, or absence from town. Seven in a hundred people stayed away because of lack of interest or information, or because of fear of future reprisals such as are being experienced by PGs today.

ADDITIONAL TABULAR RESULTS.

"In your opinion, how many political parties should be allowed to exist at the end of the occupation period?"

	26 Nov. 1945	27 Dec. 1945	15 Mar. 1946
Prohibit all but one	14%	8%	11%
As few as possible	8	10	*
Prohibit all parties	2	1	2
Prohibit all but three or four	50	62	63
As now	2	*	1
Unlimited, makes no difference	1	3	*
Other	1	4	*
Don't know, can't say	22	12	23

"Are there any people, who should be forbidden to take part in politics, that is, to vote, to be elected to a public office, to be members of a party, etc.?"

Yes	60%
No	20%
No opinion	20%

If "Yes": Who?

NSDAP MEMBERS	62%
Important people	36%
Activists	23%
Officials	13%
Party members in general	20%
Pre-1937 Party members	6%
Militarists	1%
Other (Collaborators - criminal, political war: churchmen, communists, opponents of HG, women)	4%
	67% *

* More than one answer was given by some people.

All people who said they preferred the SPD over other parties in existence were asked: "If a merger of the SPD and KPD should be achieved, which party would you then like best — the new party, the CDU, the CSU, or another party?"

Which parties should be allowed to exist after the occupation is over?

SOCIALISTS ONLY

	New Party	CDU	CSU	SPD only	Don't know	All Socialists
KPD	31%	27%	22%	33%	30%	28%
CDU	32%	42%	17%	30%	36%	31%
CSU	24%	24%	63%	41%	30%	34%
Total cases	106%	62%	60%	27%	53%	327%

INCOMES AND EXPENDITURES OF GERMAN FAMILIES IN THE AMERICAN ZONE

WINTER , 1946

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SURVEYS SECTION
REPORT No.4
INTELLIGENCE BRANCH
I C D
OMGUS USFET
March 25,1946

INTRODUCTION:

At the request of the Trade and Commerce Branch of OMGUS, a study was made in the second week of January of the income and expenditure of families in the American Zone. In all, 2448 families were visited in 70 communities. Residents in each community were sele at random to be interviewed. The data presented here can be said to represent the population of families throughout the American Zone.

SUMMARY:

1. One in ten adults were incapable of working, and as many adults did not work as had jobs.

2. The labor force was made up largely of men(63%).

3. People with jobs were, on the average, almost as likely to be over 40 years old as to be younger. Most (77%) of the workers had had no more than 8 years in school.

4. The average income of families in the Zone was about 35 RM a week. Almost all of this income came from wages or salaries.

5. Lowest incomes were reported in small towns and in Baden-Wuerttemberg. Catholics were better paid than Protestants. Home-Owners and the better educated received more income than renters or those with only 8 years schooling, Former NSDAP members were relatively well paid when compared with those who had no Party affiliations.

6. On the average, incomes were higher than expenditures. But expenditures were being made only for necessities- very tiny proportions of the income of even the best paid went for education, entertainment or luxuries.

7. Rents had hardly increased since May 1945 for those in the average renting brackets, and were stable for those paying high rents.

8. The greater the income the more money was spent for necessiti Sharp differences in amounts expended for food were found among various income groups.

9. Nearly one in six families said they had no income at all. A very large proportion of this dislocated group was living on its savings.

10. Large sums of money were expected to be spent this year by home owners on repairs to their homes. Home owners made up nearly half (46%) of the population.

I. Family Composition and Composition of the Labor Force:

A. The number of family members reported among those interviewed average 2.79. A previous study of family size (Radio Listening in Germany) found 2.77 members on the average in a German family. Over-crowding in the home is indicated by the fact that, on the average, a family occupied 2.62 rooms.

B. Nearly as many families owned their own homes (46%) as paid rent for their place of residence (54%).

C. A large minority of the families (36%) contained former members of the NSDAP.

D. An overwhelming majority of the families (92%) was made up of members professing the same religious faith. Among the 8% with members from both major confessions, 3% were predominantly Catholic, 4% were predominantly Protestant and 1% were evenly divided in numbers of family members adhering to each faith.

the actual income of the family. The income level of home-owners was appreciably higher than that of the families paying rent. Catholics, too, received more money weekly than did Protestants. However, the differences in income of men and women workers was not large, nor was it consistently greater for the men. But the lack of more than Volksschule education was a real handicap toward achieving higher incomes. Workers between the ages of 30 and 39 tended to be better off than younger or older people. The lowest incomes in the age group were found among people under 30. The larger the family and the more rooms used by the family, the greater was the family income. Former NSDAP members were still receiving larger incomes than non-members.

TOTAL WEEKLY FAMILY INCOMES BY POPULATION GROUPS:

	In RM weekly		
	Q_1	M	Q_3
Size of community:			
Under 2000	13	32	56
2 to 10,000	24	45	73
10 to 100,000	19	43	73
100 to 300,000	25	42	67
Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Munich	20	44	76
Region:			
Baden-Wuerttemberg	10	35	59
Bavaria	19	38	67
Hessen	18	37	67
Socio-Economic Status:			
Upper	25	59	99
Upper Middle	25	57	105
Lower Middle	31	53	79
Upper Lower	19	37	58
Lower Lower	8	23	39
On Relief	-	11	21
Use savings to live?			
Yes	-	16	37.5
No	34	49	76
Own or Rent Home?			
Own Home	22	40	73
Rent Home	13	30	59
Religion			
All Catholic Family	21	41	71
All Protestant Family	13	38	64
Sex and Number of Workers:			
One man	36	51	85
One woman	34	53	80
Two men	51	70	100
Two women	37	65	108
Education of Workers:			
7 years	32	46	68
8 years	33	48	76
9 years	58	82	125
10 years	45	77	120
11 years or more	52	92	143

	Q_1	M	Q_3
Number and Age of Workers:			
One worker:			
Under 30 years of age	14	29	38
30-39 years of age	34	42	64
40-49 years of age	31	39	59
50 or older	30	38	66
Two workers (averaging):			
Under 30 years of age	38	50	69
30-39 years of age	38	61	86
40-49 years of age	34	58	92
50 years or older	32	51	75
Three or more workers (averaging):			
Under 30 years of age	61	76	112
30-39 years of age	56	90	130
40-49 years of age	55	69	117
50 years or older	59	93	150
Number of Members of Family:			
One	3	24	42
Two	18	31	87
Three	15	35	60
Four	23	41	74
Five	31	47	75
Six	27	51	83
Seven or more	35	58	84
Number of Rooms in Home:			
One	3	25	45
Two	10	32	52
Three	17	37	52
Four	29	48	77
Five	28	50	94
Six or more	28	57	94
NSDAP Membership:			
PG	27	45	77
Family member a PG	11	37	75
Non-PG	16	36	59

IV. Income and Expenditures.

The greater the income the more money was spent. But the variation in amounts spent on clothing and insurance, among the various income groups, was not large. Taxes, naturally, rose steadily with income. Very sharp was the increase in money spent for food as incomes rose. The top twentieth of the population spent, on the average, five times as much a week for food as the bottom twentieth.

Nearly 15% of all the families interviewed said they had no income at all. However the standard of living of this group approxima that of the average German family rather than that of the poverty-stricken. It must be assumed that this group is temporarily dislocat and is living a marginal existence using its savings.

(Table next page)

RESTRICTED

Expenditures by Income Groups

Income RM weekly

Expenditures weekly (in Reichsmarks)	0	1-9	10-19	20-29	30-35	36-40	41-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-99	100-149	150-
Food	5.6	2.4	3.7	3.4	5.2	8.0	8.1	9.2	9.4	9.5	11.0	9.3	12.
	9.3	4.5	7.5	8.2	9.6	11.2	11.9	11.?	14.7	12.5	17.7	17.2	19.
	12.8	9.3	10.0	10.6	14.5	17.3	17.3	17.5	19.3	19.1	23.9	23.4	31.
Clothing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	0.3	1.0	0.3	0.4	0.8	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.7	1.2	0.8	1.
	1.9	2.2	1.9	2.0	2.6	2.3	2.2	2.2	3.2	2.9	3.0	3.6	3.
Insurance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.
	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.6	1.4	0.9	1.8	1.7	4.
	1.8	3.2	2.4	1.5	1.4	2.0	1.9	2.0	3.0	3.5	4.8	4.8	9.
Taxes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.3	2
	-	-	-	0.7	0.8	0.9	0.9	1.8	1.9	3.3	3.7	6.1	10
	0.9	1.0	1.7	1.8	2.6	2.5	2.9	3.4	4.5	7.1	8.3	12.0	22
Enter-tainment	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	-	-	-	-	0.7	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.3	0
	1.2	1.4	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.4	1.7	1.8	1.7	2.1	2.7	3.1	3
Rent(*)	2.8	2.1	2.5	2.8	3.5	3.9	4.4	4.6	4.6	4.6	5.3	8.1	6
	4.6	3.9	4.6	4.2	5.8	5.8	5.8	6.9	7.4	6.9	9.2	11.5	10
	6.9	6.0	6.9	6.0	6.9	6.9	8.1	9.2	10.4	10.4	11.5	15.0	1
Planned Repairs 1946(*)	-	-	-	-	-	1.5	-	-	-	0.6	-	2.9	1.
	2.5	1.9	2.9	3.8	4.8	3.8	2.9	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.8	5.8	4.
	7.7	7.7	5.8	5.8	7.7	5.8	5.8	9.6	5.8	6.7	5.8	9.6	7.
Projected Rent and Repairs 1946	2.1	1.3	1.6	1.5	1.9	3.0	2.6	2.9	2.8	2.6	2.8	5.6	4.
	4.1	3.2	4.0	4.0	5.4	5.0	4.6	5.7	6.0	5.4	6.6	8.8	7.
	7.1	6.6	6.5	5.9	7.4	6.5	7.1	9.4	8.6	8.6	8.8	12.4	11.
Other	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.
	1.3	0.6	0.9	0.9	1.4	1.7	1.2	2.7	3.0	3.3	3.2	3.8	4.
	4.4	3.3	3.2	3.5	4.2	4.2	4.2	8.0	6.4	8.5	7.4	8.9	9
Total cases	356	102	226	239	219	203	168	224	161	124	134	149	1
%	14.5	4.2	9.2	9.8	8.9	8.3	7.7	9.1	6.6	5.1	5.5	6.1	5

* Proportions renting or owning homes varies by income group. See Cha
next page.

V. Savings

Over one third (35%) of all the families were drawing on savings for necessary living expenditures. On the average, those spending savin said that they could continue their present outlay for one year. But one-fourth said such expenditures could be continued for only three months more. Whereas a very large majority (85%) of those with no income said they were using their savings in order to live, progressive fewer said they were doing likewise among those people with larger and larger incomes. Still even among those families with more than 50 RM income per week one in six were using their savings.

Income per week in Reichsmark	% Spending Savings for necessary expenses
None	85
1 - 9	61
10 -19	57
20 -29	33
30 -35	31
36 -40	23
41 -49	20
50 -59	16
60 -69	19
70 -79	15
80 -99	19
100-149	15
150 and over	14

R E S T R I C T E D

SPECIAL POLITICAL SURVEY #5

Number 103

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SURVEYS SECTION #5

INTELLIGENCE BRANCH

ICD OMGUS

1 April 1946

R E S T R I C T E D

INTRODUCTION:

A group of 162 community leaders were intensively questioned about their political orientation. These people lived in villages and cities throughout the American Zone. Their replies to the questioning can be said to represent attitudes of an alert and sophisticated but small segment of the population. The influence on the New Germany of this portion of the population is, however, probably magnified by the positions held within the communities. Since many of those interviewed were political leaders their interest in politics as a livelihood goes without saying.

I. Are you personally interested in politics or would you prefer to leave it to others?

The overwhelming majority professes to have a personal interest in politics. The fact that the majority interviewed were over 50, and most of them of the higher and more established social groups, should explain the great proportion of conservative views expressed. Furthermore, it is difficult to avoid the impression that a great many people answered what they thought was expected from them. Their answers (e.g. "to vote is a democratic obligation of each citizen") often are reproductions of the standard phrases of editorials in current German newspapers. A surprising number of replies imply that political interest is an obligation to regain national "honor". An equal number of people talk about democracy as an opportunist bridge toward equality with other nations. Nearly all commercially engaged people argue that their political interests would further Germany's economic recovery and foster international trade relations. It is remarkable that even those who admit the need for democratic methods and democracy in general, regard it only as a preparation for the mere function of voting without any reference or indication of their appreciation of democratic social attitudes or democracy's organic functioning within a community. The dominant impression, however, is a general disillusionment with party politics. Even people who recognize the need for political interest, for whatever reasons, definitely refuse any dealings with any Party. Some even state that the Parties displayed such selfish attitudes prior to 1933 that they cannot be trusted now. A few demand the curtailment of the number of political parties.

The opinion of a 64 year old Regensburg businessman, is typical of the prevalent suspicion of "politicians": "I don't want to have anything to do with politics.....a politician, even if he is an educated and experienced man, can fall from any height to any depth ..... the man who, besides his profession, busies himself with politics is finished .....". An ex-PG, 37 years old, businessman, declares that he "will never enter any political party ..... politically active should be the people who regard it as their main occupation and derive their living from it .....". A 51 year old businessman gives an even briefer formulation of the opportunist attitude: "Yes, because now it is a German duty to participate in the reconstruction of Germany". The 57 year old catholic Mayor of Ingolstadt, declares that he "will remain without a Party. If absolutely necessary, in an emergency, I would underwrite the SPD, as this Party has long fought against militarism .....". An ex-PG, 61 year old businessman's views are typical of the prevalent inconsistent way of thinking on this question: "In no way am I interested in politics..... neither was I interested earlier, and even less now ..... Politics don't suit me ..... I am interested in economic matters .....". Another variation of the same inconsistent attitude is that of a 42 year old professional man from Munich: "Personally I am very interested in politics, but I don't feel inclined to enter any political Party. Through my participation in the elections I discharged my duties and as a Doctor I want to keep above Party politics ..... Still, naturally, I wouldn't just OK it if in the future some Party would try to seize full power again .....".

IIa. What, in your opinion, is fundamental in the democratic form of State?

Most people answered the question from a "classical" point of view, giving definitions. These theoretical answers were

characteristically mixed with each individual's particular personal preferences, probably indicative of his most pressing need during the last 13 years. Thus, simple replies like "freedom of thought", "freedom of speech", "free expression of one's views", "elections", -- often expressed in only one or two sentences -- are the most frequent. There is surprisingsly little comment on, what one may call, applied interpretation of the democratic state-machinery, discussing difficulties and preconditions as they arise in current everyday life. Most of these short replies are either unconvincing repetitions of phrases, or are suggestive of desired abstract principles, the technical workings or real contents of which do not seem to be well understood by the respondent.

A 49 year old farmer, with a weekly income of RM 30,- gives a one sentence answer: "Freedom of expression and free trade". A 35 year old profession man, recent PW, states: "Every man needs individual freedom in his personal life. It is, however, his duty toward the state in which he lives, to put all his capacities at the disposal of that State". A 39 year old woman sees the essentials in more avoidances: "The fundamental in a democratic state-form is that no dictators are introduced and children will be brought up freely.....".

Of the 162 replies, a large proportion mentions equality as a fundamental requirement, but only 2 specify racial equality among others named.

Three respondents devoted some attention to not merely structural requirements of democracy. A 49 year old Regensburg free-thinker says: "Ready participation of all in political activities and, especially, the abolition of property discrimination. Therefore, it is false to speak of a democratic form of state which creates only formal democracy and in which the citizen with greater capital means, can distort its meaning". A middleaged Ingolstadt writer maintained that "the fundamental thing in the democratic state-form is not the formal function of parties, elections and representations, but the spirit animating all of them. The Weimar Republic provided all the possibility to practice these formal democratic rights. It was ruined because it lacked the right spirit....". Following a similar argument by a 59 year old businessman, he concludes: "The form of state must be able to plant the spirit of justice in the soul of the people. It must create laws which lend bearing and custom to the citizen to become a worthy member of the nation".

IIb. Is it possible to establish in Germany, a democracy based on the principles of the western democratic state-forms? Why not, if not? What modifications would you suggest?

Sixty-nine of the respondents replied with a definite or qualified YES, and 55 with a definite or qualified NO. Only 38 of the 162 respondents were uncertain and avoided a difinite answer.

Similarly to the previous questions, the dominating fear is the possibility of many parties "like before 1933". Most people seem to believe that a democratic system would lead to the splitting of parties and the emergence of small splinter-groups. There are numerous suggestions that the number of political parties should be limited. Most people favor a two-party system though some of them would allow four. Fairly frequent is the suggestion of three parties: left (visualizing the unity of SPD and KPD), center and right. All emphasize the imperative need

for political unity during the period of reconstruction. One 20 year old ex-PG, woman school teacher -- who admits that she has never experienced a democracy and does not know much about it -- thinks that, even if democracy is the aim, for the time being a "mild degree" of dictatorship is unavoidable. A great number of respondents think that the Weimar Constitution was essentially correct and its failure was due to the inadequacy of its leaders, the unscrupulous nature of the reactionary opposition and to the proportional representation system which leads to the splinter-parties.

There is a large proportion of anglo-philia noticeable. At least half of those who answered in the affirmative, mentioned the British and their constitution as the example to follow. Many of them qualify, however, "without a Monarch and with a President instead". The conviction that the British party-system and political practices work well and are satisfactory is surprisingly widespread and uniform. A substantially smaller proportion suggests the American Constitution, especially its federal aspect, as worthy of copying. A noticeable minority mentions Switzerland as the desireable example, though almost always in connection with "neutrality".

A 37 year old, Marburg man, of academic profession, says: "It will be difficult to establish Democracy in Germany on the lines of the western states. Democracy does not arise from nothing; from the nothingness into which Nazism has pushed Germany. For a transition period, at least, certain democratic privileges would have to be curtailed for the sake of democracy itself. Those who cry for radical democracy today, are usually reckless reactionnaires who want to exploit the freedom or are determined to divert attention from their own political past".

III. Do you think that M.G. could order or undertake something to help the building of a democratic form of state in Germany?

Typical of the ideological confusion is that most of the replies are mere statements of individual needs or desirable means, without exception identified with democracy.

The most frequent demand is for the unification of Germany and the immediate abolition of the Zone system. One respondent flatly states that the Zonal arrangement-"must cease". Parallel with this, with equal intensity, is demanded the reestablishment of German economic prosperity. Many respondents regard this, more or less, as an obligation or duty of the Military Government. Many more, however, in more reasoned statements, say that no democratic development can be expected until, at least, a reasonable minimum of economic standards are reestablished. Some think that the "industrial skill and cultural standing of Germany justifies a standard of living, corresponding to the other European nations". In the same category falls the demand of those who would like to see unemployment eliminated as it may breed "new Hitlers".

Denazification is the second most frequent topic. While a few demand "the merciless completion of the denazification program", the overwhelming majority pleads for a more humane execution of it. Most of the respondents plead for a differentiation between the harmful and criminal type of Nazis, and those who joined the Party in the best of faith believing the idealistic pronouncements. A 65 year old educational leader argues that the US conception of denazification is mistaken as those who joined

Nazi Party members.

Even among those who wholeheartedly approve the method of gradual handing over of power, the chief anxiety seems to center around the method of selection of new personnel. Most respondents feel that if American forces are withdrawn too soon inefficient officials will capture responsible positions. As one respondent put it, "opportunists, carreerist little men backed by American power will only undermine democracy's prestige and will result in apathy". "People will judge the regime by the officials they come in contact with, and will say that "the old SCHWEINE are there again".

In about 75 percent of the replies the issue is connected with the question of denazification. Most respondents, the majority of them no ex-PGs, think that the denazification methods are unjust and alienate a great number of people who could be useful and constructive. On the other hand, at least, 10% of the respondents thought that the gradual admission to power will prevent Germans from feeling that things are done for them". The method is frequently approved also because "Germans, after all, know the conditions better than Americans". There are occasional warnings against the irresponsible use of the word "democracy" which, if not backed by the actions of the new Government officials, will only lead to general scepticism.

A few respondents think that it is impossible to speak of self-government or even "power in German hands" while the country is cut into four zones.

(V.) Which political Party suits you best? Have you always liked such or similar parties?

Of the 162 respondents, 67 expressed preference of the CSU or CDU; 47 for the SPD; 9 for the KPD; 7 for the LDP; and 2 for the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, which exists in the British Zone. The remaining 30 respondents were not certain about their choice.

Most of the respondents who found the CSU or CDU best, used to vote before 1933 for the Zentrum, the Deutsche-Nationale, or the Bayerische Volkspartei. At least half of the supporters of CDU or CSU maintain that it is the "continuation" of the Zentrum or the Bayerische Volkspartei. Similarly, about half expressed this preference because of the religious character of the CSU and CDU. The general impression is that respondents prefer the CSU and CDU 1) as a party based on religious principles; 2) a party defending individual property and uncontrolled economy; 3) a party of the "middle-way".

The overwhelming majority of the 47 who expressed preference for the SPD described themselves as adherent of that party before 1933. Nearly all of them regard it as the most moderate and most progressive Party which "serves the interest of the greatest number of citizens". Several of the SPD sympathizers express their hope for a united workers' Party in Germany although they emphasize their dislike of forcible methods in bringing it about. Most of the ex-Nazi-Party members preferred the CDU or CSU. Only two are among the 47 who expressed their sympathy for the SPD.

A consistent ideology is expressed by the nine respondents who expressed preference for the KPD. With one exception they mentioned the KPD as the most active and the most unselfish in pursuing national and general interests of the people. Only one

mentioned the KPD's stand on a united Germany as the chief reason for his choice.

The Liberal Democrats claim that this Party is the nearest to the Western democratic parties and, therefore, the most likely to help to establish equal relations with them. It appears in the main, that the elderly, conservative type of higher officials in the higher income groups, support the Liberal Democrats.

Continuity in the pre-1933 and present political allegiance is noticeable mainly among the Social Democrats and, to a lesser extent, among the Communists. This, of course, is due to the disappearance of the pre-1933 right-wing Parties. On the ground of the opinions expressed, at least; 60% of those who named the CDU and CSU as their favorite Party, can be regarded as the former members of the Zentrum, the Bavarian Peoples Party, or the Deutsche-Nationale.

VI. Why do you like this Party more than others?

Supporters of the CSU and CDU justify their attitude most often with the religious and Christian disposition of these two Parties. It is noteworthy that most of the arguments in support of allegiance to CSU or CDU are negative and are based on supposed avoidances and far less on positive features in their programs. They are said to be "not dictatorial", "do not believe in class-war", they are "not extreme and believe in middle-way", they are "not materialistic", -- or, because the respondent has "no confidence in the left-wing parties". One person maintains that his preference is due to the fact that the first elections have shown that the CSU and CDU were the strongest Parties. Several respondents believe that support for these parties is likely to gather most foreign sympathy for Germany. One ex-Nazi-Party member says that his preference is due to the fact that the "CDU cares for the troubles of the little-Nazis". Several elderly men with academic education believe that the CDU and CSU "will conserve cultural and moral values". Not a single respondent supporting the CSU or CDU, specified any definite and positive social or economic feature in the program of these Parties as his reason for support.

Among supporters of the SPD the view is general that the SPD is "the only democratic Party today". An equally high number liked the Party because it does not interfere with religion, keeps religion seperate from politics and regards it as a private matter. Many supporters of the SPD believe that its leaders are "the best experts in matters of economic reconstruction", that it is "a Party able to compromise", that "socialization of the main industries would minimize the danger of future wars", and that the "SPD wants to transform the social system to serve the interest of all classes". Several respondents think that "it is the least compromised of all Parties" and that "it does not harbor Nazis". Most of the recent converts to SPD believe the KPD to be "undemocratic" and the CDU "a refuge of reactionary elements". Several respondents expressed their hope for a united worker's party though they were not all sure whether the time was ripe for it.

A 64 year old Chamber of Commerce official who hesitated to support the CSU, says: "....because it unites the quiet reconstruction-minded, patient elements ..... also the SPD has an attractive program, especially since they have given up their demand for the separation of Church and State ..... whether the SPD or the CDU will govern us, will not make much difference .....

..... only if the SPD and the KPD would unite would there be a danger of renewed class-war ....." A 47 year old Evangelic church-goer says: "..... it corresponds best to my Christian and German sense of responsibility ..... Though religion and politics should not be mixed, still, a Christian must remain a Christian even in politics ....." A 39 year old Catholic priest writes: "only on the basis of religion and Christian teachings can a stable, democratic society be built .....". The CDU unites in its ranks people "who will always act under deeply religious motives ..... only such people are qualified to tackle the problems of today.....".

A Stuttgart editor, an SPD supporter, summarizes his attitude thus: "..... because, 1) in my view, it aims at international understanding and peaceful co-operation between nations, 2) seems to be most tolerant in spiritual matters, and 3) because it has the sincere desire to make Germany a clean and social country worthy of living in it .....". A highschool teacher, 65, one time persecuted by the Nazis, says: "... the SPD is today the only really democratic Party ... and it has more experience, through Trade Union activities, than any other political Party ... though I am religious, I disapprove of the Church's participation in the CDU ... in economic matters, also, I have the greatest confidence in the SPD..." A Catholic worker, 59, states: "I have chosen the SPD because it represents my economic and social group and gives me free hand in my religious and private matters. In contrast to the CDU, the SPD distinguishes itself by a really democratic attitude ... its past testifies that the SPD is qualified in economic, as well as in political matters, to face the problems of reconstruction".

A KPD supporter gives the following view: "... the United German Socialist Party, as the successor of the SPD and KPD, is the party of the German future. Present developments can not be imagined without it ... if it does not come, the bridge to Germany's future will be missing ... Germany, just like England, must develop a united workers' Party ..." Other KPD supporters regard the ideological basis of the KPD as the most just and even as the "most Christian". They believe it to be the most active supporter of an clean and benefical social system for all.

VII. Do you think that the German people as a whole, are responsible in any way for the Nazis coming to power and that they were able to establish a strong regime and strict controls over everything, in order to be able to conduct a war, etc. How far does this feeling of responsibility go and what could the Germans have done to prevent these developments? If no feeling of responsibility, why not? Why does he think then that the Allies speak of the collective guilt of Germans?

Most respondents answer these questions with lengthy speculations analysing the causes of the rise of Nazism. Ninety % of them concentrate on the factors which, in their view, had to lead to dictatorship and only about one in ten ventures to picture what positive steps could have been taken to prevent it. The whole attitude gives the impression of an attempt at justification rather than honest analysis of missed opportunities. The replies were examined according to groups professing the same Party allegiance and lead to the conclusion that the main divisions, i.e. CDU, SPD and KPD followers, have in broad outlines each a different set of arguments and individual type of reasoning on the subject.

Those professing to support the CDU and CSU seem to use as their main argument that under the prevailing conditions in the early 1930's it was idealism and misery which drove the German people into supporting the NSDAP. The intolerable chaos of party politics, the threatening left-domination and, above all, the widespread unemployment are named as the main factors leading to Nazism. Collective guilt for what happened is flatly refused without exception. A sprinkling of respondents admit a certain degree of responsibility for not having been more active against the Nazis, or for having been to credulous regarding their promises. Frequent is the argument that Hitler kept his promises up to 1937-38, made an end to unemployment, created prosperity and obliterated the chaotic party-political situation. Very rarely is reference made to the methods by which this was achieved or to what logical results these methods had to lead. More than half the respondents argue that if the German people are responsible, so are the Allies, who were in a better position to know what was going on in Germany and still kept up cordial diplomatic relations with the Hitler regime. Some even describe this as encouragement for those who vaccilated in their belief of the Nazis. This "foreign support" is often mentioned as completely invalidating any argument of German guilt or responsibility. Bishop Wurm is quoted saying that "Hitler got better support from abroad than Stresemann who represented German democracy". On the other hand, Jackson's statement is often quoted to prove that there was inner resistance to the regime. Almost unanimously it is maintained that no one knew the extent of terror and the methods applied in the KZs. Most respondents picture a chaotic Germany in the 1930s, a strong desire for a strong man, a credulous Germany handing over power to Hitler, a satisfactory regime for about 5 years when, "taking his mask off", Hitler proved to the Germans that they were mislead. Taking an over all picture, the economic argument, the emphasis on the oppressive unemployment and social disintegration, is the chief explanation of the Nazis' coming into power. Typical of the complete lack of fundamental analysis is a 64 year old Bavarian bankdirector's remark that "Hindenburg was an honest military man" and only his bad advisers made him bring this disaster upon Germany. Several respondents maintain that only those are guilty who directly participated in atrocities. Significantly, not a single respondent mentioned the "saving Germany from Communism" argument. Most of them referred only to the "chaotic political conditions". The issue of collective guilt is described as simply "the will of the victor to impose his conditions" or, in a few cases, as a diversionary measure on the part of the Allies to cover up their own responsibility.

A 55 year old, Catholic man of academic profession says: "We have lost this war and we can only regret all the devastation and all the murdered people, but never and in no moment has it been in our power to prevent this war. And when I say our, I mean the German people.

A 20 year old, woman teacher, an ex-party member, who doesn't find one among the existing Parties worthy of her support, writes: "The German people are responsible in that Hitler came to power. After all, they have elected him. In the beginning Hitler kept all his promises. Then, he broke his promises but most people noticed this only too late. No one could imagine what consequences Hitler's policy would have. The German people did not know that Hitler had planned war and, therefore, they were not in a position to prevent it. For the same reason the German people cannot be held guilty for all the crimes commited by Hitler. When, in spite of this, the Allies so

obstinately cling to the collective guilt theory, it only proves how little understanding they are prepared to show, or are able to have, towards us". The same motive that "the Allies don't know our circumstances and they cannot understand the events of the last 12 years in Germany" is frequently used to illustrate an entirely naive and fatalistic attitude. A farmer of 58, ex-PG and a CDU supporter says: "Everything was a part of world events directed by God's hand, and no man could change this. The Americans and the English could have prevented this world catastrophe if only they had influenced the Polish nation. The question of the Corridor could have been settled without war. The western Powers also have a little guilt in this catastrophe. Germany was economically in the way of the others. Even if a Scheidemann or an Ebert had lead us everything would have happened the same way as it did turn out".

Among the group of SPD supporters a very large percentage is inclined to admit the responsibility of Germans but no collective guilt. German responsibility is described as missed opportunities, lack of resolute action and credulity. The argument of other countries' responsibility is also very frequent. Many argue that the cordial diplomatic support received by the Nazis, convinced those who wavered. Lack of interference with Hitler's aggressive plans, especially at the time of the occupation of the demilitarized zone in 1938, is deplored. The general approach, in the case of SPD supporters, is more analytical. A large proportion blames the economic influences, "capitalists", "big industrialists", "monopoly capital" for its alliance with the NSDAP. Frequent is the criticism that the working classes did not use their basic weapon: - to strike against Hitler. The lack of unity among the workers' parties in 1933 is also mentioned as a general responsibility of the German workers. Overwhelming is the argument that the economic and social misery and, above all, mass-unemployment helped Hitler into power. A 37 year old ex-PG, describing himself as "Mitlaeufer" and, at present, SPD supporter, says that "without his wonderful recipe for unemployment and party political chaos, Hitler's nordic theories, his anti-semitism and other theories would not have brought him more than 100,000 votes..." Many respondents go in detail about economic discrimination against Germany, tariff policies, and world-political social and economic motives which, in their view, were openly discriminatory against the Weimar Republik. At least half the respondents mention with pride that the SPD was the only Party which voted in 1933 against the "Emergency Powers Bill" which finally gave free hand to Hitler. One respondent uses the argument that Nuernberg should prove to the whole world that the German people had no chance of opposition against the terror established by the Nazis.

A worker, 37, states that "the German people as such are not guilty but do have a certain responsibility. The reasons for the 45% Nazi-vote, before 1933, are of a practical, economic nature. It was given not by class-conscious, politically schooled workers but by politically unripe, nationalistically infected and materially needy little buergers". A 27 year old, Catholic churchgoer, SPD supporter, bluntly states:..."To return to the much discussed collective guilt of the nation, I would only like to say that I, myself, personally feel before God and my own conscience just as decent as any good American. If all my guilt is only that I am a German, then I will bear it". In contrast to the CDU supporter who thought Hindenburg "an honest military man", a 61 year old, SPD supporter says: "...the main guilt in that the Nazis came to power at all, rests with Hindenburg. Had he not put the entire power in the hands of that one man,

everything would have been different...." Finally, a 21 year old girl, a Catholic churchgoer, neatly sums up what so many other respondents say in different words: "To understand how Hitler, without any great difficulties or resistance, came into power, one has to consider the lethargic and even desperate mood in which the German people found themselves between 1918 and 1933. This reached its peak in 1932. Driven from election to election, again and again hoping for a way out and again and again disappointed, they were ready to clasp the first hand that promised a way out of this misery.... That there was no serious resistance even later is due to the fact that the people did find the promised bread and work. Thus the promises were not just empty words.... People were willing to accept strict measures, they were used to it already since 1914....even the Democracies know the law which punishes all those who want to undermine the existing form of state...."

Among respondents who are followers of the Communist Party the conditional recognition of collective guilt is more frequent. There is only one of the 124 respondents - a Communist - who squarely admits the Germans' collective guilt, though with the reservation that the Western Powers must share in it. The emphasis on the lack of working class unity is also more pronounced among the Communists. Otherwise, all the other respondents use the same arguments as the CDU and SPD followers, with more or less emphasis on the individual items. It is noteworthy that a certain number of respondents, irrespective of Party allegiance, express their doubts regarding the authenticity of the last two elections in Germany before Hitler's rise to power,

VIII. Up to what point should the individual obey his Government? Are there cases when it is the duty of the individual to disobey the orders and directives of his Government?

The overwhelming majority of the replies show a marked lack of thinking on this subject. Analytical approach is completely absent with one or two exceptions. Instead of stating their views on the question, most respondents give apologetic descriptions on the extent of terror which made resistance to the Nazi regime impossible.

About 90% of CSU and CDU supporters, and about 70% of all respondents, give short and general answers maintaining that everyone has to obey as long as it does not lead to conflict with his "conscience" or with "Christian morals". Very few go further, to specify what these mean and at what point or in what form should it lead to active resistance.

CSU and CDU supporters see the individual's attitude towards his Government regulated by religious principles. Some maintain that as long as the Government follows the interest of the public, it deserves support. Many think that if the Government does not compel them to undertake actions for which they cannot be responsible before their fellow human beings, it is worthy of support.

SPD followers have a somewhat more definite approach. They speak of strike, open protest, efficient Parliamentary system and persistence in facing the consequences of protests. SPD supporters also think that "collision with one's conscience" is the limit of obedience towards the Government. Many of them say that a well-drafted democratic constitution should be sufficient safeguard against dictatorial attempts. On the more

practical side, private economic interests by Ministers, are described as the limit where civil disobedience should start.

KPD supporters state almost unanimously that if a Government compels its citizen to act against their conscience, the only way to resist is to use similar methods. As a young man of 32 says: "Force has to be met by force and terror by terror". According to him, there is no other safeguard. A 47 year old painter, who "hesitates between the CSU and the KPD" answered the question with the one word: "Murder".

IX. Is there, in your view, any possibility that the Nazis or some similar group (not as National Socialists but something similar) could emerge and would attempt to seize power? Details, why does he think that the possibility exists?

Answers are sharply divided between two roughly equal groups believing and disbelieving such a possibility. As the question did not specify whether the coup would be under or after occupation, it is worth mentioning that nearly all respondents expressed their belief that such a possibility was out of question while the occupation lasted. Though attitudes to the question were by no means decided by party-political attitude, there are certain trends noticeable according to party political allegiance. It is evident that CDU and CSU supporters show less anxiety about the possibility of the resurgence of Nazism. Their fears are mainly centered around a possible dictatorship "from the left". They often regard denazification as very thorough and practically accomplished. SPD supporters on the other hand, very often count on the possibility of re-emergence of the Nazis or some similar group. They often mention separatist tendencies, the Bavarian Monarchist Party, and in some cases, even the CDU, as a possible camouflage, or even beginning of a Nazi come-back. KPD supporters also see the danger in camouflaged reactionary organizations or parties which may become a reservoire for ex-Nazis. Some of them regard a powerful right-wing block, including all "reactionaries" as inevitable, as a "bulwark against rising Socialism".

Where opinion is expressed about the factors which might favor a Nazi resurgence, the following reasons are mentioned, in order of frequency: a) material difficulties and misery, b) unjust and harsh occupational policy, c) nationalist reaction, together with division of Reich, d) admission or reactionary parties, Bavarian Monarchists most often mentioned, e) problem of homeless refugees and unemployed ex-PWs. Where opinions are expressed about the factors which make a Nazi resurgence impossible, the following reasons are mentioned, in order of frequency: a) presence of occupation troops, b) last 12 years and war taught a lesson to everyone, c) strong left parties, in connection with which several respondents mention the desirability of a united workers' party, d) stricter international interdependence and surveillance in the frame of the new international organization.

The overwhelming majority of respondents, including those who regard a Nazi revival impossible, do expect scattered resistance movements and underground organizations. Most of them expect them to be organized by lingering SS men and HJ-Fuehrers. Several respondents, including those who regard a revival of the Nazis impossible, express anxiety that a strong central German government should exist at the time the occupation troops leave Germany "to prevent a reactionary coup".

The following three opinions illustrate the range of views represented by the CDU:

A 64 year old, bank director in Bavaria, a Catholic churchgoer, writes: "This possibility doesn't exist any more as the people don't want to hear of them. Every such attempt in Bavaria would be impossible. The Bavarian wants his privacy, his freedom, his beer and his good piece of bread. The Nazis are finished". A businessman, 56, also Catholic churchgoer, says: "It depends on whether the moderate parties will succeed in enlisting the masses of the people in their ranks. If they succeed, a renewed attempt by the Nazis, or similar groups, would be impossible. If the shortages and misery cannot be eased, no one will be able to stop a new radicalism". A 60 year old savings-bank director, local functionary of the CDU, says: "It is possible; as the SS men who are not yet under control, work under cover. It would be necessary to exterminate Nazism with fire and steel".

A 34 year old employee and SPD supporter, thinks that there is a danger of Nazi return because "up to now the key positions in the civil service were not 100% denazified, and because of the rising hunger and misery, and partly as the result of the division of the Reich". A 59 year old, Catholic deputy buergermeister, SPD supporter, believes that momentarily there is no such danger. It could arise if "for instance, the so-called Monarchist Party would gain ground. I am, however, convinced that this cannot happen if the SPD wins more support among the people, a result we can expect. A further danger may arise through the fact that in the CDU congregate the former members of the Right Parties and the Nazis. They may attempt again, at the given moment, to seize power." A Catholic employee, who describes himself as NSDAP "Mitlaeufer" from 1937, at present a supporter of the SPD, gives a very systematic answer to the question. "The possibility exists. In my view, the motivating forces of such a movement would be 1) Deutsch-Nationale, Military-Junkers, and Capitalist circles of the older Wilhelmian type. 2) National Socialists, especially regulars like professional soldiers and HJ-Fuehrers. The two groups who would sympathize with the movement led by the former two, would be: 1) the wide bourgeous circles who still don't realize that the collapse of 1945 eliminated Germany, for an unlimited period, as a power factor, - and still dream of imperialism. 2) Many extreme-nationalistic bourgeois circles, who narrow mindedly expect that a Deutsch-Nationale turn over would ensure a barrier against Communism. - Precondition to a putch is that no occupation troops should be in the country. After all, not even the Nazis are so stupid that they should attempt a putch against the "panzers" of the occupation troops".

A 42 year old Bavarian landowner who left the Church in 1931 and describes himself as a supporter of the KPD, writes: "Yes. I don't think a coup led by National Socialists would be possible, but in some other form. -- There is a possibility in the form of Monarchy, through groups whose program it is to turn back historic progress, or perhaps under the cloak of the Church, which - of course - would have nothing to do with religion. An attempt can always be made to bind men's religous cravings to the chariot of reaction. Especially here in Bavaria this danger is latent.

X. In case the National Socialists or some other group would attempt to seize political power, would there be a possibility to prevent it? How would it be prevented,

provided that such an attempt, to take over power, would be made after the evacuation of the occupation forces?

Most respondents think that such a possibility can be ruled out. CDU supporters seem to be more convinced of this than SPD or KPD followers. It is significant that practically all respondents speak of the occupation in a tone implying that it benefits Germany insofar as it prevents civil war. Equally significant is an apparently widespread practice of speaking of democracy as something that can be accomplished by a certain date. References like "after two years, when democracy will be established in Germany" or "by the time the occupation ends democracy will be established in Germany", and the like, indicate a complete miscomprehension of the organic nature of a democratic society.

The majority of the respondents think that if such an attempt would be made it would mean civil war. About the same proportion think that after the experiences of the last two decades the democratic parties would prevent any development which might lead to such a coup. At least half the respondents believe that the Allies would immediately intervene, and an appriciable minority think that it would be the duty of an international organization (many name the UNO) to act in such a case. About 5% express the wish that U.S. forces should not leave the country before "democracy is safely established". Only about 1% believe that, should any group decide to attempt such a putch, nothing could be done to prevent or stop it. Generally speaking, there seems to be some contradiction in the attitude of the majority by belittling the possibility of an armed purge attempt of the Nazis (or a similar group) and at the same time supposing that such an attempt would lead to civil war, implying two, more or less, equally strong groups as opponents.

The minority which offers remedies against a possible attempt name: 1) general strike, 2) strong police action to crush the first attempts, 3) inviting foreign help, 4) nationalization of major industries, and 5) well armed, democratic police. Universal is the belief that no such attempt will be made and, in any case, it could not succeed, while the occupation of Germany lasts.

A 60 year old evangelic churchgoer of academic education and with an unusually high income, a CSU supporter, says: "The more the occupation authorities support the people ready to participate in reconstruction, and the more democratic strivings receive support in Germany and the more little people are shown generosity, - the more will the positive forces be strengthened and the destructive ones weakened and finally driven from the scene...." A farmer of 52 who gave very short and definite answers to all questions, answered the present one relating to action against resurgent Nazis, with the following five words: "to murder the whole band".

A 49 year old, ex-PG, SPD supporter and writer, says: "The best way to prevent a revival of Nazism is...in a thoroughly democratic educational system. As long as a foreign occupation army is on German soil, there is no chance of a Nazi return, provided that all the crazy rumors which circulate in Bavaria, and speak of a friendly treatment of the SS, even of regular military training of the SS in the Lechfeld (near Augsburg) Lager, will prove to be untrue. These rumors should be countered by facts, perhaps through the radio....People are receptive to

such stuff, after the last 12 years.... It means the complete undermining of democracy when it is printed in the German papers that former political leaders of the NSDAP receive better care in their camps than the politically clean German workers.... What the political panorama in Germany will be like at the time of the evacuation of the Allied Forces I would not dare to predict, in view of the uncertainty of that date. As I said, everything depends on whether the aim is to further the pacification of mankind or to sow new hatreds and new bitterness". A Bayreuth Landrat, 50, says: "The Nazis will make the attempt as soon as the occupation forces leave. 1) It is possible to prevent it only through manning all positions in public life by real democrats who can be tough against the enemies of democracy. 2) This, again, is possible only if only democratic Parties can be active. 3) The Police must be composed of absolutely democratic elements. 4) All attempts to change the democratic form of state, must be treated as a crime".

A 48 year old, higher employee, supporter of the KPD, thinks that the prevention of a coup is possible "only through a close co-operation of all workers and all reconstruction-minded forces in the German people, Trade Unions, SPD, KPD, in a united front against any kind of reaction".

XI. What are the main duties of the State towards its citizens? What will be the main duties of the German Government towards the German people, after the evacuation of the occupation troops? What do you expect, personally, from your Government?

About 75% of respondents think that the satisfaction of essentially material needs is the first duty of the State towards its citizens. Only about 25% think individual freedom of conscience, freedom of expression, "no secret police whatsoever" and religious freedom are the requirements most often mentioned together with full employment, "bread" and care for the war casualities, the old and the children. After those two main groups, normal daily requirements follow, typical of the momentary needs of the respondent's living conditions of geographical location. Rebuilding of cities, renewed export trade, inter-zonal trade, provision of raw materials, more homes and better health services fall in this category. A large proportion of respondents name establishment of friendly international relations as the chief demand of the people on their Government. It usually goes without other, detailed requirements, indicating that the respondent regards friendly relations with foreign States as a guarantee of, and frame to a prosperous existence of Germany.

Some of the respondents answered the question quite unrealistically. One, for instance, speaks about "a standard of living higher than before the war". Many other replies indicate that most people don't differentiate between a higher standard of living and a more equal distribution of national wealth. A surprising number of respondents use the following expression, or its approximate paraphrase: "a standard of living, corresponding to the character of the nation" (a lingering heritage of the Herrenvolk theory.)

There seems to be a widespread reaction to Government intervention in social and economic life. It is expressed in the very frequent reply that "the Government should let the people live undisturbed". There is an equally widespread and unrealistic expectation of all-over social services from cradle

to grave, without any consideration of the State's ability to provide it. War casualities expect care from the State, and the majority expects the State to provide better health services and care for the old and the young.

A middle aged business executive, CDU supporter, expressed his wishes in the following three points: "1) Bread and satisfactory standard of living, 2) To be able to work undisturbed and in peace, 3) To find admission to the world family of nations". A 57 year old, ex-PG of academic profession, now CSU supporter, enumerates his requirements, as follows: "1) Personal liberty, 2) No arbitrary justice, 3) Securing the right of every citizen to work, 4) Education of youth through schools and no Parties, 5) Protection of private property, 6) No secret police, 7) Responsibility of leading officials and Ministers to the people, 8) Possibility to punish members of the Government for actions against the public".

A 37 year old skilled worker, supporter of the SPD says: "The main duty is to secure peace and good relations with the neighbouring countries. These days and in the future, no country can be out of step. We all have to form one community".

A teacher, 35, adherent of the KPD, writes: "The Government must give the possibility to the individual to express fully his personality. It must secure a satisfactory standard of the individual and enlighten him about the political actions of the State. The State must undertake this work of enlightenment to enable the people to understand the political and administrative problems of the day. This must be done, however, without a Propaganda Ministerium but with simple and sober education. I, personally, expect the realization of a workers' democracy. This is the only possibility for me to see the continuity of our nation's life".

- END -

RESTRICTED

LAW NUMBER 3

SURVEYS BRANCH
REPORT No.6
INFORMATION CONTROL DIVISION
I C D
OMGUS USFET
20 April 1946

RESTRICTED

In the third week of February, shortly after the promulgation of Law No. 3, a survey of public reactions to the new law was made throughout the American Zone. Three-quarters of those interviewed (76%) said they had heard that it was necessary to register at the local labor office. At the same time, nearly half those who had heard of the law (36%) could not remember what the penalty for non-registration is. However, a very large majority of the whole population (87%) thought the law praiseworthy. And just as many held that the law would further rather than hinder reconstruction. No differences in proportions holding these attitudes were found between those who had heard about the law and those who had not heard about it.

Law No. 3 also provides that workers may not leave the jobs which they presently hold. A solid majority (62%) approved this measure, too, but appreciable minority opposition (25%) was discovered. Principal reasons given for approval of the freezing of workers were that the Arbeitsamt needs the authority which this measure provides in order to ensure proper distribution of workers to the job at hand (30%), that this measure allows the job to be carried out in an orderly way (18%), and that under this provision reconstruction will be more adequately carried out (6%).

Opponents of the measure pointed out that the practice is undemocratic insofar as it restricts individual freedom (12%). Others maintained that freedom of choice of job is necessary to the worker if he is to attempt to fit himself to a job which suits him and which he can efficiently carry out (7%). A few (2%) spoke about the blow which this provision offered to the incentive of workers because workers "will not be able to better themselves". Disapproval of this regulation was voiced by a smaller proportion (15%) of the population when the context of attitudes toward the measure was that of reconstruction of Germany.

Attitudinal differences between characteristic groups within the population indicate that higher discontent was felt in those areas where conditions are more difficult. Thus Bavarians, who are better off than people living in the other Laender, were found to be more in agreement (68%) that the regulation is good than were the people living in Hessen (55%) or Baden-Wuerttemberg (52%) -- where the standard of living is lowest. Similarly, residents of the three largest cities in the Zone-- Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Munich -- showed the lowest proportion (54%) approving this portion of the law among all city-size groups. However, least objection (70% approval, 15% disapproval) to the law was found not in the rural areas but in towns with populations between 10,000 and 100,000. It is possible that there is today an appreciable proportion of rural residents living by necessity in the villages, which cannot view the prospect of enforced stay in these places with equanimity for only 58% of this group approved the new regulation. More men (30%) than women (19%) disapproved the measure. And, probably, reflecting the geographical distribution of the two parties, more adherents of the CDU (32%) than of the CSU (17%) objected to this section of Law No. 3.

On the same survey, people were asked whether they thought there were many people in Germany who could work but didn't because they did not like the types of positions which were open. A large majority (70%) replied that many Germans were in this predicament. A plurality (31%) suspected that white collar and office positions were the most sought for, and unfound, jobs today. About one in ten people indicated that any light work or jobs which provide food are desirable because of the lack of adequate nourishment. A similar proportion, however, considered work (carpentry, masonry) or factory work to be the most desired. Two or three in a hundred thought people were looking for well paid jobs, jobs fitted to their training or jobs on the farm.

Indications of particular group worries were found in the fact that more young people (81%) than middle-aged (70%) were reported to say that many people were looking for suitable jobs, and that more residents of the three largest cities (68%) in the zone than residents of smaller cities (69%) also thought that many are seeking work cut to their interests.

Among all those working, however, a solid majority (63%) was definitely well satisfied with their jobs. And another fifth of the workers (23%) was fairly well satisfied with their jobs. And another fifth of the workers (23%) was fairly well satisfied. About one in ten workers (9%) were dissatisfied with their work, with half these people being very dissatisfied. The middle-aged were more satisfied (83%) but young people under 30 (73%) were relatively less happy about their jobs. Complaints heard were that the work engaged in was different from that for which they had been trained. It was pointed out by some white collar workers that force of circumstances had put them at ordinary labor tasks. Others complained similarly, that their work was too hard, and former PGs, particularly, said that their work was frequently humiliating. Another complaint was also reported -- that the income today was too low in view of the high taxes.

Non-workers were asked why they did not at this time have steady employment. Nearly half (44%) of these respondents, naturally, said they kept house for their husbands and did not consider getting any other type of work. One quarter (24%) of the unemployed reported that they were unable to work -- were too old, too sick -- or that they had been pensioned and did not have to work any more. One in ten (9%) non-workers said that they were refused jobs, having been denazified. About the same number (12%) complained that there was no work to be found in their area or that the work they were looking for could not be found.

Not an inconsiderable proportion (31%) of workers considered that they were not working as hard now as they did during the war. Still, about half (51%) of all those who worked during the war and are working now said there had been no change in the pressure of their work. And about one-fifth (18%) of the workers claimed that the times and special hardships encountered today made their work more difficult now than previously.

RESULTS -- Survey No. 14 -- 14 February 1946

The Allied Control Council has decreed in Law Number 3 that every adult must register at the Labor Office either to take a job or to be released from work. Have you heard about this Law?

Yes	76 %
No	24
	100 %

If "Yes": What punishment is provided in this law for those who do not register?

Correct	40 %
Incorrect or Don't know	36
	76 %

Do you think that this law is good or bad?

Good	87 %
Bad	2
No opinion	11
	100 %

Do you think that this decree will further or hinder the reconstruction of Germany?

Further	87 %
Hinder	2
No Opinion	11
	100 %

Law No. 3 also provides that workers cannot change their jobs without permission from the Labor Office. Do you consider this decree good or bad

Good	62%
Bad	25
No Opinion	13
	100%

Do you think that this decree will further or hinder the reconstruction of Germany?

Further	65%
Hinder	15
No Opinion	20
	100%

Do you believe that there are many people in Germany today who, in spite of being able to work, do not work because they do not like the jobs which are open to them?

Yes, many	70%
No, not many	17
No Opinion	13
	100 %

RESTRICTED

REACTIONS TO RECENT REVISIONS IN THE DENAZIFICATION PROGRAM

SURVEYS SECTION
REPORT No.7
INTELLIGENCE BRANCH
I C D
OMGUS USFET
May 11,1946

RESTRICTED

REACTIONS TO RECENT REVISIONS IN DENAZIFICATION PROGRAM

SUMMARY:

Misapprehension and lack of information about the denazification program was widespread in Germany. Most people wanted to have the occupying forces held directly responsible for denazification. Chief criticism of the program arose out of a feeling that too few individual distinctions are made. However, general satisfaction with the program was expressed by a slowly increasing majority of the populace. Resistance to giving over the program to solely German administration was observed. Approval was expressed, however, of the increased opportunity for punishing the guilty and screening out the petty followers. Inter-zonal comparisons showed few who thought the American policy was weak. Appreciable sentiment was found holding that in the American Zone the policy was not the most harsh.

INFORMATION ABOUT THE NEW LAW:

About six in ten (59%) had heard of the new denazification law which had just been published before the interrogation of a representative sample of the American Zone during the week of 15 March 1946. But less than half of those who had heard about the new law (28% of all those interviewed) were able to give a reasonable statement as to what the changes were.

Recognition of the provisions of the new law was more widespread than recall of the changes instituted by the measure. More than one-third of the population (36%) selected a sentence which described the present administration of denazification from a group of four sentences describing various possibilities. About one in ten people (13%) selected an incorrect statement, while the remainder (51%) said they did not know.

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CHANGES:

Very few (4%) of those who heard about the publication of the new law felt that the change was for the worse. Most (36% of all respondents) said that the law would allow denazification to be better carried out. Practically everyone who felt matters would be improved (80% of this group) gave as their reason for saying so the impression that the law now allowed for individual adjustment as to treatment and punishment of PGs. But those who viewed the new law with misgivings held that it would still be too harsh (55%), or that it would take too many years to administer (15%). However, more than one in ten of this group (13%) saw some advantage in the fact that Germans would have a chance to participate in its administration.

Criticism was offered by those satisfied as well as by those dissatisfied. Desire for stronger denazification was heard from both sides. However, the burden of the criticism of the unsatisfied (63%) as well as the satisfied (30%) resolved itself into a suggestion for more discrimination in judgments imposed. Small Nazis with nominal status only, those who were not activists, as well as those who were brought up to know nothing but Nazism, were urged to be treated with understanding. Individual attention by judges regarding each case on its own merits was, of course, also proposed.

INTERZONAL COMPARISONS:

Only a bare majority of the population (54%) was ready to venture a comparative estimate of the ways in which denazification is being carried on in all four zones. Half these people (26%) said differences in policy or procedure existed. In the main, the differences held in mind by most people (14%) were differences in the relative harshness or mildness of denazification in the various zones (7%). The table below tends to indicate that the smallest proportion of people believed that denazification was mildest in the American Zone, and the largest proportion believed this to be true of the British Zone. The reverse of this picture -- Attitudes as to relative harshness -- maintained the same pattern outline.

"In your opinion, are there any differences in the way in which denazification is being carried out in the four zones, or do you think that it is being administered in all four zones in the same way?"

Yes, there are differences	26 %
No, same in all Zones	28
Can't say, no opinion	46
	100 %

If there are differences, in which Zone is denazification carried out best? In which Zone is it the mildest? In which Zone is it most rigorous?

	Best	Mildest	Most rigorous
American	13 %	2 %	12 %
British	5	10	+
French	+	5	1
Russian	1	4	7
Can't say	7	5	6
	26 %	26 %	26 %

+ Less than one half of one percent

Detailed examination of the responses of those who considered the American Zone denazification program the best revealed that only a small proportion (8%) thought the program the mildest. A plurality (42%) thought the British handling of the problem to be most lenient. At the same time, nearly half this group (48%) replied that the most rigorous administration was developed in the American Zone, and nearly one-third more (31%) said the Russian program was most severe. Summary interpretation induces the statement that the American handling of the problem was generally thought to be most severe. Undoubtedly an appreciable minority thought of the American program as being somewhat in the middle of the road in relation to harshness. While few people felt our policy to be most lenient there was a sizeable minority which held that it was not as rigorous as that imposed in the Russian Zone.

TREND IN ATTITUDES:

General satisfaction with the manner in which the denazification program is being carried out was felt by a larger proportion of the population after the pronouncement of the recent revision in administrative procedure. Previous surveys of attitudes in this regard indicate that the adult population of the American Zone was rather evenly divided in its disposition toward denazification. In late March, a clear majority

(57%) expressed approval of the administration of the policy. Percentile results of successive samplings are shown in the table below.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the manner in which denazification is being carried out?"

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	No Opinion
26 Nov 45 +	50 %	41 %	9
13 Dec 45	50	41	9
27 Dec 45	46	43	11
8 Mar 46	54	33	13
15 Mar 46	57	30	13

+ Interviewing carried out during the following week.

The extremely widespread lack of understanding of the workings of the denazification program -- either as to policy or as to procedural administration -- seemed to contribute to the growing general satisfaction with denazification in the Zone.

Four statements, each describing a possible situation, were presented to the cross-section population interviewed and the people were asked to select the one statement which appealed to them most. A plurality (39%) selected the statement describing conditions today. But practically as many (38%) said they liked the situation described in two other sentences in which the chief responsibility and actual administration was given to the Americans as was the case previous to the new law. Only one in ten (9%) preferred to have denazification carried out by German authorities alone without supervision by American officials.

Three in four of those who preferred to have the Americans handle the program without any German help explained that justice and impartiality could be expected to result from this situation. Those who would like to see some German assistance while still leaving the main job in the hands of the Americans urged that cooperation was needed but that the responsibility and supervision should be American (38%), and that the German could not be trusted to do a fair and impartial job (32%). Another fifth (20%) frankly admitted that the Americans are most just and impartial.

The preponderant argument (65%) given for the present administration program was that cooperation was necessary to get the job done, but that only under American supervision would it be finished. Again, the responsibility was ascribed to the Americans as long as the ultimate supervision was theirs. Nearly all the sentiment (94%) in favor of a solely German operation was founded on the feeling that Germans who know Germany best should do the job.

In view of the apparent desire of a large majority of the people to leave the ultimate responsibility in the hands of the Americans, it is not surprising to discover that the new law in reality was relatively unpopular with some people. A bare majority (52%) of those who had heard about the new law were generally satisfied with the denazification program in our Zone. But a solid majority (64%) of those who had not heard about the law expressed similar approval. Among those who had heard about the law and were able to select the

statement describing the new situation only 49% were satisfied in general with the program. On the other hand 63% were satisfied among those who had not heard about the law and were not able to recognize the correct statement.

FORMER NSDAP MEMBERS:

Satisfaction of former Party members with the new program or, generally, with the denazification methods did not differ markedly from that of the general population. A tendency was apparent, naturally, for disapproval to be expressed by more PGs than non-PGs. Among those people interviewed whose relatives were Party members, however, sharper criticism and more dissatisfaction with denazification was observed. Evidently, repercussions upon the living standards of relatives of PGs were being felt and were being regarded as impositions upon "innocent" people.

ADDITIONAL TABULAR RESULTS

"Do you have any suggestions how and in what form denazification should be carried out?"

Yes	30%
No	70%

Suggestions:

Small Nazis, nominal Nazis should be treated less harshly, activists should be punished more harshly, great care should be used in deciding who are the activists	10%
Nazis should be exchanged for PsW and/or put into labor batallion	6%
Denazification should be stronger from the top down; too many Nazis are still in their old jobs	5%
Cases should be given individual attention	4%
Nominal Nazis should be treated as innocent; the young who knew nothing else should not be punished	4%
Other	1%
	30%

"Which of the following ways of denazification would appeal to you most?"
"Which of these ways is ordered by the new law?"

	Liked	Ordered
Denazification carried out by American officials without German help	13%	5%
Denazification carried out primarily by American authorities with German advice and assistance	22%	4%
Denazification carried out primarily by German officials with supervision by American authorities	39%	36%
Denazification carried out by German authorities alone without supervision by American officials	9%	4%
No opinion	16%	49%

RESTRICTED

REACTIONS TO THE NEW TAX LAWS

SURVEYS BRANCH
REPORT No. 8
INFORMATION CONTROL DIVISION
I C D
OMGUS USFET
1 JUNE 1946

RESTRICTED

REACTIONS TO THE NEW TAX LAWS

Two thirds (68% of a representative Zonal population), had heard of the new tax law. Almost all of these (64%) thought taxes would be raised. Most thought the new tax would have a direct impact upon the individual, for 40% thought it was the income tax which would be raised, 13% thought personal property and bank accounts would be affected, 15% said a sales tax would be instituted, and another 12% said that all taxes would be raised.

Further evidence of a widespread lack of acquaintance with the new tax laws was exhibited in response to the question: "How much do you estimate your taxes will be?" A large minority (43%) was unable to guess any amount. More of the uninformed were found among these people with low incomes than among those with high incomes. Whereas 54% of those with less than 50 RM income a month were unable to estimate an amount, only about one-fourth of those with more than 200 RM income a month were found to be similarly unaware. The greatest proportion of such confusion (72%) was reported by those respondents who said they had no income (about 25% of the total population). However, a very large number of these people were not destitute -- 31% of them said their income was sufficient to meet their necessary expenses, and 56% more said that their income was not sufficient but they were able to draw on their savings to live. The provisions of the new laws, affecting personal holdings in banks and property, had probably not yet been as widespread as had information about direct income taxes.

Similarly, when the population was grouped by size of income, a larger proportion of the lower income groups had no clear idea how the new laws would affect their living standards. Practically no variation was found among income groups, however, in the proportions which said that the new taxes would make it impossible to meet necessary expenses. Nor was there any difference in the proportions making this response between former PGs and non-PGs, or the better and more poorly educated, or the young and the old. Among social class groups, however, one third (34%) of the members of the lowest class said it would be impossible to meet necessary expenses. One-fourth (25%) of the upper class, but only 18% of the middle classes, agreed. Somewhat more discontent was indicated among the upper class when 10 of the 36 representatives of this group interviewed (28%) maintained that their necessary expenses could not be met under the new tax regulations.

"Do you think the increased taxes will make it impossible for you to meet all your necessary expenses?"

Income groups (Rs monthly)

	None	1-49	50-99	100-129	130-159	160-199	200-229	230-299	300
Yes	22%	27%	23%	26	28%	26%	22%	20%	19%
No	36	47	42	50	58	65	73	69	69
Can't say	42	26	29	24	14	9	5	11	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total cases	244	66	132	118	94	70	64	71	124

Socio - economic status groups

	On relief	Lower Lower	Upper Lower	Lower Middle	Upper Middle	Upper
Yes	7+	32%	25%	18%	16%	10+
No	9	39	51	60	65	21
Can't say	1+	29	24	22	19	5
		100%	100%	100%	100%	
Total cases	28	149	401	287	77	36

+ Actual cases shown

When asked to account for the increase in taxation rates, a plurality (43%) replied freely that more money was needed to pay reparations. A few held that the money would be used to stabilize the currency (10%), or to further the reconstruction of Germany (9%). An appreciable minority (31%) was able to comment only generally that "money is needed". Another 11% of the population could offer no accounting at all for the increased taxes.

The general public voted overwhelmingly (72%) that higher taxes were justified. This large proportion favoring the new law cannot be interpreted as approval of increased taxes. Rather, it was an acknowledgement by some that reparation justly belong to the victor, as well as a vote of approval for the other purposes recognized to be fostered by the laws. A majority (56%) of the population felt, when questioned directly, that the new laws would aid in the prevention of inflation. The most ready explanation of how this worked (22%) was that money would be taken out of circulation. Others said that, with currency stabilization, prices would be more closely held to today's levels (13%), or that the government would be able to pay its debts (7%), or that hoarding would be obstructed (5%), or the black market kept more closely under control (5%).

Under direct questioning, too, a solid majority (61%) said that the new laws would further rather than hinder the reconstruction of the German economy. The reasons given again reiterated (30%) support of the economy by a sound government finance and currency system, as well as control of inflation and black market. But an appreciable minority (83%) stipulated sceptically that this aim would be fostered only if the money is actually to be spent on reconstruction. Objectors (14%) who said that economic reconstruction would not be achieved by the new laws pointed out that business and industry would be set back by the heavy tax burdens (4%) and that everybody in Germany would now suffer through being unable to afford rebuilding in any personal fashion (4%), and that the incentive for work will be undermined (3%).

A third area of possible discontent with the new tax laws was explored in direct questioning. The public was asked to comment on the abolition of the social bonuses paid, under National Socialism, to parents with many children. Only about one fifth (22%) of those interviewed thought it was a good idea for the Nazis to have encouraged people to increase their families. The most usual comment (14%) was to point out that only through some such scheme could poor people have the number of children they wanted, or could afford to educate them properly. One in twenty-five persons (4%) offered the Hitlerite formula, "that the State needs children, for through an expanding population Germany became stronger". On the other hand, many reasonable arguments were made by those who disapprove the Nazi Bonus plan (62%). Nearly one in five (18%) said the purpose of the regulation was ultimately bad -- the State was only interested in raising soldiers to fight for more Lebensraum. The effect on workers was noted (15%) "that it encouraged laziness because people had children just for the income provided"; and the effect on the children was deplored (6%) "that it brought them into the world without providing for their proper training and education"; and the effect on women (4%) "that it made birth machines out of them", was also criticised. At the same time, one in ten persons (10%) followed the doctrine of the elite by proposing that it was not good to encourage children among the poor for "only people who can support their own should be allowed to have children".

Indeed the whole pattern of responses to the question "Why did National Socialism encourage people to have children?" exhibited the dominance of Goebels' propaganda over the thinking of Germans today. The replies varied only in the forthrightness of statement that the aim of National Socialism was to build Germany ever stronger -- an aim which very few Germans must have opposed.

The reluctance of the German people to deny the victor his "just rewards" was demonstrated by the large proportion (48%) which said that the new tax laws, which abolished bonuses for families with many children, were just. The large minority (35%) which denied the justice of the new laws appealed again to the difficulties of poor people in feeding and raising children (18%). Very few (3%) complained that the new laws forced children to pay for the sins of their parents.

More than half the people (53%) maintained that the new law abrogating the bonus system will actually prevent people from having as many children as they might have had. And as many as one in three people (33%) held that this was the intention of the law. Those who denied this intent to the law (47%) said, rather, that the law was designed to raise money for reconstruction of Germany (24%), to give equity to small families (7%), to raise money for reparations (4%), or to help prevent inflation (3%).

To summarize, it can be said that probably no more than one in three people had a reasonably clear idea why taxes were being raised at this time. Moreover, at least two in five persons were sceptical of the disposition of the funds to be raised feeling that they would most likely go to pay reparations to the victors. Widespread acceptance was available however, for the exploitation of two lines of thought: 1) Germany needs funds to repair and rebuild from the ravages of war, and 2) Germany can counteract inflationary trends by stabilizing the currency and removing some of the free money from circulation through increased taxation. Public support by German economists of the new tax laws as a step toward economic recovery, would probably appreciably aid in removing suspicions that the laws are designed by the Allies to weaken Germany, to reduce its birthrate, or to provide spoils for the conquerors.

ATTITUDES TOWARD RELIGION AND THE CHURCH AS POLITICAL FACTORS IN GERMAN LIFE.

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Surveys Branch
I C D
OMGUS (Rear)
June 7, 1946

#9

INTRODUCTION

A survey of the general population of the U.S. zone of Germany was conducted in the second week of March 1946, to determine the play and importance of religion and the Church in the political life and thinking of the people. In all, 996 people were interviewed thoughout the zone. The people interviewed were chosen in order to represent a design of the population as a whole.

The attitudes of four major groups within the population were found to be most pertinent to the topic considered: regular church-going Catholics, Catholics who attend church only irregularly, regular church-going Protestants, and Protestants who attend church irregularly.

Some of the characteristics of these groups are important in that they shed light on the attitudinal patterns of their representatives. Among Catholics, two out of three people (65%) said they attended church regularly, but only half (50%) the Protestants claimed similar habits.

As to political behavior, a large majority of the regular Catholics (71%) preferred the CSU or the CDU, while among the regular Protestants about as many (38%) supported the SPD as the two Christian parties (40%). The irregular church-goers of both faiths were predominantly SPD supporters, but also a large part of the strength of the LDP was drawn from them (63% of the LDP supporters were irregular church-goers). More of those who regularly attended church (74%) took part in the previous elections than did non church goers (59%).*

The groups varied markedly in educational experience. Regular Catholics contained the largest proportion (49%) of those with 7 or fewer years schooling. About one-fourth of the other groups were similarly poorly educated. But fewer regular church goers of both creeds had received higher education than had the non-church goers. One fifth (20%) of the former had attended school nine or more years, while nearly three in ten (28%) of the latter had grasped similar opportunities.

* Former Nazis tended to be non-church goers. Hence former PGs, who were not allowed to vote, increased disproportionately the size of the non-voting groups reported. Thus of the regular Church goers interviewed in this sample 12% formerly belonged to the NSDAP, while 17% of the non-church goers were members.

SUMMARY

1. Members of each of the two major religious faiths in Germany generally refrained from criticism of the lack of opposition to the Nazis on the part of the other church.

2. The strongest critics of each church were found among those who only irregularly attend each church.

3. Most Catholics felt that their Church led the way in speaking out against the Nazis. But most Protestants failed to admit that their church did not speak out or to claim that it did.

4. Only among regular Catholics was there found majority admission that the clergy had warned them of the dangers of voting for Nationalsocialism.

5. Recognition that Nazis may still remain among the clergy of either church was mainly withheld by the general population. And it has been concluded that a positive effort was made by many of those interviewed to "protect" the church from possible criticism on this score.

6. Important groups in the population felt that religion is a real force to be reckoned with in moving toward the reconstruction of Germany.

7. But support of religion, as a moral force in life, was distinguished by the Germans interviewed from support of the church, when it plays a political role. A plurality (43%) of the population believed that the church does at present take part in political affairs. However, a large majority (70%) of all the people considered that the church should be less interested in political affairs than it is today.

8. Major opposition (74%) was expressed, too, to instruction from the pulpit in regard to voting in an election or support of particular political parties.

9. Support for the reconstitution of another Zentrum party was strong (32%) among churchgoing Catholics. As many Catholic women favored as opposed the suggested move. But in all other characteristic groups strong opposition was expressed.

10. Underscoring the minimal inter-church rivalry found, more members of all groups examined thought that Catholics and Protestants would be able to cooperate successfully in a "Christian" political party than denied this possibility.

11. The degree of MG's support of the Church since the beginning of the occupation was said to be sufficient and fitting by a large majority (72%) of the people.

RESULTS

1. The Accepted Record of the Church Under Nazism.

Members of each of the two major faiths in Germany uphold their church as doing all possible to resist the National Socialists. But in both cases, the irregular church goers were more sceptical than the regular attenders.

"Do you believe that the (Catholic) (Protestant) Church has done its utmost to offer resistance to the National Socialists during their regime?"

	re: Catholic Church "Yes"	re: Protestant Church "Yes"
Catholics		
Regular	70%	18%
Irregular	47%	10%
Protestants		
Regular	24%	47%
Irregular	16%	26%

As seen above, the Protestants supported the efforts of their church less warmly than did the Catholics. However, this is not to say that they criticised their church in large proportions. Rather, more Protestants did not express an opinion about their church's activities than Catholics did about theirs. One-third (34%) of the Protestants did not comment straightforwardly about the Protestant church; but only about one in five (18%) Catholics did not comment about their institution.

Followers of each creed withheld judgment about the activities of the other group. Thus a solid majority of the Protestants (58%) held no opinion about the Catholic resistence and, among the Catholics, even a larger proportion (69%) declined to comment about the Protestant church.

Whereas over all four groups only 16% felt that the Catholic church had not done everything possible, and only 23% felt that the Protestants had not done everything possible, the criticism that did develop stemmed mostly from the two groups of irregular churchgoers. Thus one-third (33%) of the irregular Catholics denied that their church had resisted the Nazis and practically two in five (39%) of the irregular Protestants hold similar views about their church.

The most usual accounting of what it was that the Churches actually did in resisting the Nazis took the form of reference to preaching, personal influence, teaching and warning from the pulpit or in private of the dangers of National Socialism. In comments, this type of activity was interpreted as "active" resistance as distinguished from passive resistence offered in prayer and in a refusal to respect Nationalsocialist interference with baptism of children or confessions. A few cited the papal pronouncements circulated by letter to the Bishops of the Church. About one in ten offered only general comments when asked to specify the activities which demonstrated resistance. Many of those comments were apologetic in tone explaining, as they did, that it was impossible for the churches to do very much against Hitler's group.

On the other side were those who held that the churches could have done much more. Criticism to this point often distinguished between the Catholic and the Protestant church. It was pointed out that Church had power but failed to use its power in enlightening the people. The Catholic Church, it was said, left removal of the Nazis to God while the Protestant church did not do as much as the Catholics did.

A sharp indication of the difference of the attitudes toward the leadership role of the two churches in this respect was given in the responses to the question: "Do you believe that the church warned the German people ahead of time of the danger of voting for Nationalsocialism?"

Only Catholics who regularly go to church stood steadfast by their church. In the three other groups a larger proportion denied that the church had given warning then admitted it had. Since an affirmative response to this question probed into the guilt feelings of the individual on the matter of foreknowledge of the dangers of Nazism, it is important to observe that most churchgoing Catholics seemed to ally themselves with the resistance said to have been offered by their leaders. Among all Catholics, too, a majority (51%) of the answers to this question were to the point that warning had been given. But less than half as many Protestants (23%) answered similarly.

	Believed that Warning was given	Warning was not given	No opinion	
Catholics				
Regular	60%	18%	22%	100%
Irregular	35%	44%	21%	
Protestants				
Regular	28%	44%	28%	
Irregular	18%	52%	30%	

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Irregular	35%	44%	21%	
Protestants				
Regular	28%	44%	28%	
Irregular	18%	52%	30%	

Although many Germans must have no standards by which to distinguish a Nazi from a non-Nazi, still a pot may often with justification call a kettle black. The general public was asked: "Do you think that there are still adherants of Nationalsocialism among the Catholic or the Protestant clergy?" One-fourth of all those queried said there were still Nazis among the clergy, but most of these respondents (18%) pointed out that there were no more in one church than in the other. Nevertheless, a large proportion (32%) of the population withheld judgment on this matter.

When the replies to this question are examined within the four basic groups, it is found that a plurality (35%) of one group — the irregular Catholics — recognized that Nazis are still to be found in clerical robes. Most members of the other three groups denied this fact. Resistance to criticism of the other church body by members of one faith was seen again in the tendency of adherants of each of the churches to recognize more Nazis within their own church than in the other institution.

In the table below it can be seen that in spite of previous claim to anti-Nazi activity on the part of their church nearly as many Catholics admit that some of their clergy are still tainted with Nazism as deny this. On the other hand, not as many Protestants as Catholics claimed active resistence was initiated by their church, but many fewer Protestants than Catholics admit that some Nazis may still remain among the ministers. It can be concluded that a fairly large proportion of respondents replied in a prejudiced fashion in an attempt to stem criticism of their church. Certainly the respondents who go to church only irregularly were more active critics of the institution to which they had some original ties. But that the bond was not completely severed has been indicated in their responses. For appreciable proportions of these two groups also withheld judgment and others denied the most simple facts. It can be maintained at this point that ties to the church are very closely bound and held.

	Some Nazis still among the clergy	No Nazis still among the clergy	No opinion
Catholics	32%	38%	30%
Protestants	18%	49%	33%

2. Religion as an Accepted Political Force.

People in all walks of life were asked which they thought more important for the reconstruction of Germany whether people should be interested more in religion or in politics. Throughout the entire population about equal proportions spoke for religion (33%) and for politics (30%). About one in five (18%) was unable to allot greater importance to one than to the other, and the remainder held no opinion.

Most of those who upheld religion over politics commented that religion and belief in God organizes life into a meaningful pattern, that religion proves to be the foundation of existence, that it is a learned way of life which, if overthrown, is replaced by chaos. A few (4%) commented that politics had brought nothing but trouble to Germany. Others pointed out that politics without religion produces disunity and a pointless life.

With perhaps more realism, most of those who spoke for politics as a more important guide toward the future maintained that such an interest would most quickly get Germany back on her feet. Politics, it was said is directly concerned with problems of reconstruction while the Church is busy with other problems. A few (6%) held that it is not possible to build on religion alone when the problem of reorientation and democratizing of Germany is so predominant. To make good the mistakes that have been made is to revise a political system, these people said, it is not to remake a religious outlook.

When the replies of the four religious groups are considered it is found that regular churchgoers supported religion (43%) over politics (21%) as more basic to reconstruction. But non-churchgoers reversed this judgment preferring religion (20%) only secondarily important to politics (44%).

The table below indicates that followers of the two "Christian" political parties considered religion to be more important (47%) than politics (18%). But SPD supporters, on the other hand, gave relatively more weight to politics (45%) than to religion (21%). Those who, at the time of the survey, supported no party weighted these two factors about evenly.

Women, regardless of religious preference, supported religion rather than politics as more important to the reconstruction of Germany.

"In your opinion, what is more important today in the reconstruction of Germany — should people interest themselves more in religion or more in political activity?"

	Religion	Politics	Both	No opinion
Catholics				
Regular	44%	23%	16%	17%
Irregular	19%	52%	14%	15%
Protestants				
Regular	42%	19%	23%	16%
Irregular	20%	40%	19%	21%
Political Preference				
SPD	21%	45%	18%	16%
CDU	48%	10%	26%	16%
CSU	46%	21%	17%	16%
No preference	27%	31%	13%	29%
Catholic				
Men	27%	47%	16%	10%
Women	43%	20%	15%	22%
Protestant				
Men	22%	40%	22%	16%
Women	38%	21%	20%	21%

3. The Church in Politics.

Large segments of the population have been shown to favor religious interest and activity as a directive force in the reconstruction of Germany. And the church has been seen to be recognized as a moral force guiding and directing political activity. But the question whether the church should step out beyond this role and take an active part itself in political affairs has not been answered. In an attempt to measure attitudes toward this situation, the cross-section population was asked: "Should the church, in your opinion, be more or less interested in politics than it is now?"

A large majority (70%) of the total population considered that the church should be less interested in political affairs than it is today. Even more of the non-churchgoers (79%) than of the churchgoers (64%) thought there should be less activity on the part of the church. But the proportion of opposition was precisely as large among both Catholics and Protestants who regularly attend church. And this in spite of the fact that most of these Catholics had great respect for the counsels of the church.

The concensus of opinion justifying opposition to an active political role being taken by the church was nearly unanimous. Practically everyone of these people said that religion and politics are two different things, and consequently the church should remain neutral in political affairs. It seems more than likely that the interpretation is justified that in general the people felt that as a moral force the church should exert its influence but that it should stand apart from day to day practical politics.

This interpretation is upheld by the responses made to a succeeding question. The public was asked whether they thought it was the duty of the Church to instruct its members how to vote in an election and which political party to support. Again, a large majority (74%) opposed such instruction on the part of the church. Appreciable support for this activity was, however, given by regular Catholics (25%) and seconded by a smaller proportion of regular Protestants (15%). But only about one in ten (9%) of the irregular churchgoers agreed.

Half of all those interviewed justified their opposition by repeating the argument that the church should stay within the sphere of religious activity. But the remainder (24%) proposed the doctrine of individual judgment -- that each person should decide his political preferences himself.

In order to discover the frame of reference out of which the population views present political activity by the church, people were asked whether or not they believe that the church does take part in politics today. A plurality (43%) of the entire population (and of three of the four basic religious groups) recognized that the church does at present play a political role. Among regular churchgoing Protestants just as many (36%) denied that such activity takes place as maintained it was so (36%). No differences were found between groups expressing divergent political preferences on attitudes in this direction.

Attitudes toward whether the church should take more or less interest in politics than it does today were not affected by the respondents' judgments about the facts of church participation in political affairs. A large majority (70%) of those who denied that the church does participate thought the church should take less interest than it does today. Among those who said the church does play a part, a similarly large proportion (76%) thought this interest should be lessened.

The survey also questioned the public about the reconstruction of a political party like the former Zentrum Party. Whereas a bare majority (51%) of the general population opposed such a move, as many as one-fifth (20%) favored it. More in favor among the religious groups were the regular Catholics (32%). The table below indicates that Catholics generally favored this idea more than did Protestants.

More adherants of the three major parties — SPD, CDU and CSU — opposed than favored the formation of a new church party. While solid opposition (62%) was offered by the Socialists, smaller proportions of the members of the other two political groups (CDU-46% and CSU-41%) were of the same mind.

Relatively less opposition was offered among women than among men to a new church party. This finding was upheld among Catholics as well as Protestants. Among women of both creeds, however, a large proportion regi-

"In your opinion, would it be right if there were another religious party like the former Zentrum party?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	
Catholics				
Regular	32%	39%	29%	100%
Irregular	21%	61%	18%	
Protestants				
Regular	17%	43%	40%	
Irregular	13%	65%	22%	
Catholics				
Men	26%	61%	13%	
Women	30%	33%	37%	
Protestants				
Men	13%	68%	19%	
Women	16%	43%	41%	
Political Preference				
SPD	12%	62%	26%	
CDU	28%	46%	26%	
CSU	32%	41%	27%	
No preference	9%	51%	40%	

A majority (55%) of all people interrogated thought that Catholics and Protestants would be able to cooperate successfully in a "Christian" political party. The greatest degree of confidence in such cooperation was exhibited by the regular Catholics where a favorable proportion of 7 - 1 was recorded. This favorable margin was reduced among irregular Protestants to 3 - 2.

Regardless of their attitudes toward the formation of a new church party, most (73%) Catholics thought that members of both faiths could cooperate in the same Christian party. Among Protestants, however, those who opposed the introduction of a new party were less likely (48%) to believe that cooperation was possible, while most (75%) of those who favored a new party entertained the possibility of cooperation.

Socialists were least optimistic (47%) about the prospect of cooperation by members of the two faiths in a political party. But a majority (59%) of the CDU followers and a large majority (74%) of the CSU supporters thought such cooperation possible.

4. Attitudes Toward Military Government's Stand Toward the Church.

The position of Military Government vis-a-vis the Church was largely approved by the general population. All respondents were asked: "Has the American Military Government, since the beginning of Germany's occupation, given too much or too little support to the Church?"

A large majority (72%) answered that MG has given sufficient and fitting support to the Church. A few (4%) — most of these were non-churchgoers — said too much support had been provided. One in a hundred thought the church had received too little support. But members of the two faiths did not appreciably differ in their answers in this regard.

RESTRICTED

ATTITUDES TOWARD POLITICS AS A CAREER FOR THE COMING GENERATION IN GERMANY.

SURVEYS DIVISION
REPORT No. 10
INFORMATION CONTROL DIVISION
OMGUS (Rear) USFET

RESTRICTED

SENTIMENT IN FOUR NATIONS COMPARED.

Interest in political affairs in Germany has been reported to be scarcely heightened since the beginning of the occupation. Nor has the German public evidenced any grounded and informed concern about the political personalities appearing in position of leadership (See IPIS No.24, 26, 39, 41, 42). In order, then, to test one aspect of this disinterest in politics a scientific sample of the German adult populati in the American Zone and the American sector of Berlin was asked, " If you had a son leaving school, would you like to see him choose politics as a profession?"

Only about one in seven people (14%) said they would like to see their boy enter political life, but three-quarters (76%) of those interviewed said flatly that they would not look on such an interest with favor.

This same question had been asked of carefully selected samples of the British and American publics by the American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup Poll), the National Opinion Research Center (University Denver) and the British Institute of Public Opinion. A comparison of the results of these opinion polls gives some indication of the political orientation of the German people today.

The table below shows that an appreciably smaller proportion of the English people would disapprove such a career for their sons than is true in America or in Germany. Whereas two in three residents of the States thought such a choice would not be good for their sons, and three in four Germans hold the same view, only half the English were similarly disposed.

" If you had a son leaving school, would you like to see him choose politics as a profession?"

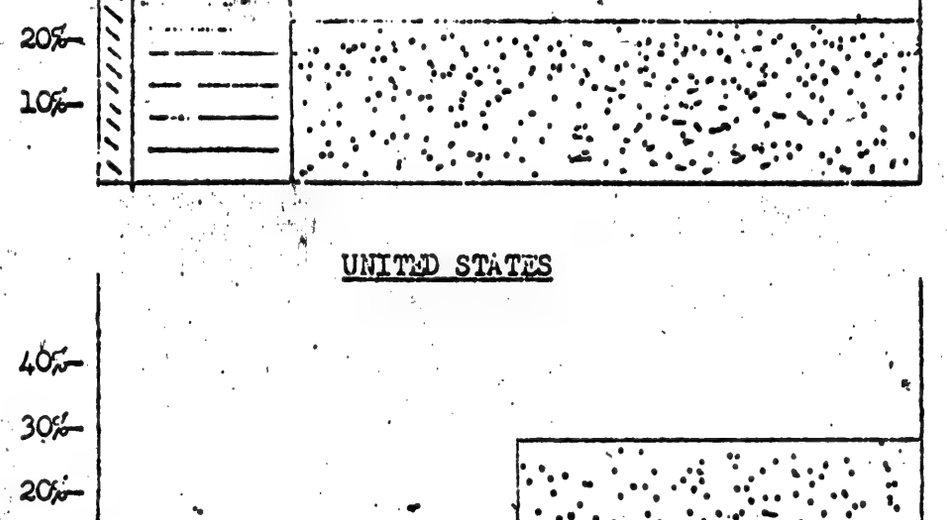
	Yes	No	No opinion
England (Jan. '45)	25%	48%	27%
United States (Jan.45)	21%	68%	11%
United States (Spring '46)	25%	65%	10%
Germany (April '46)	14%	76%	10%

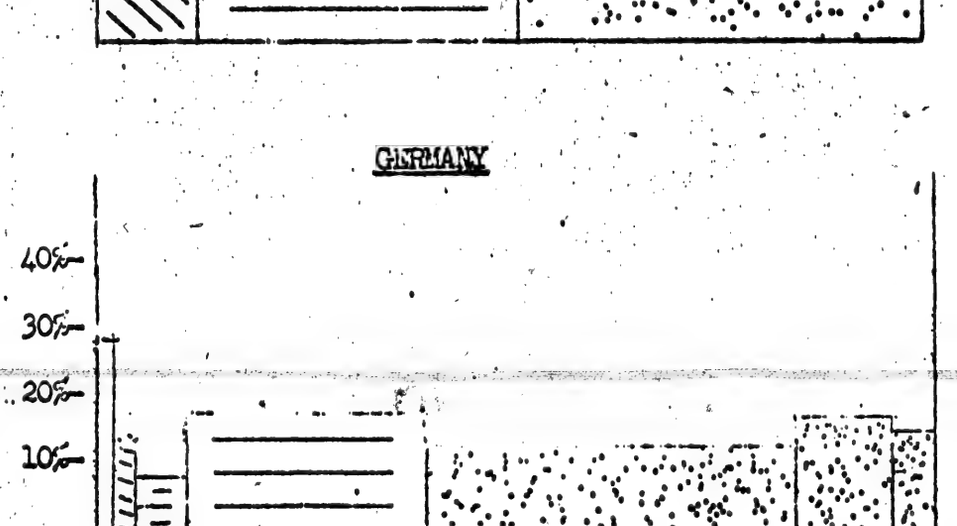
GROUP DIFFERENCES.

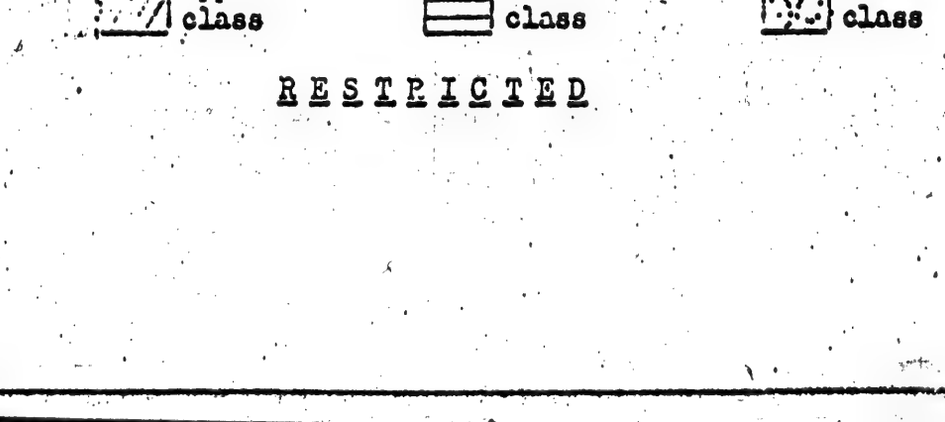
It is significant that in England more approval of politics as a profession was voiced by the upper class (32%) than by the lower class (24%). In the States this finding was reversed with the upper class voting in smaller proportion (13%) for such a step than did the lower class representatives polled (26%). The interpretation has been offered that England has more readily available, thus, better trained political leaders since the opportunities open to the upper class for education and training are greatly superior to those open to the lower class. In America, on the other hand, greater resistence to a public service career is given by those people who are in the best position to render the most useful contribution to society.

Class Structure and Attitudes in Three Countries Toward a Political Career

In the diagrams below the shaded areas represent the proportions of the population who would like to see their sons take up a political career. The height of each block represents the percentage holding the view in the different economic groups. The width of each block represents the percentage of the status group within the population.







Sentiment among German class groups differed from both the British and the American pattern. Whereas in both English speaking countries the middle class groups took a middle position (U.S. 15%, England 26%) on the question of encouraging youth to enter politics, German upper middle class representatives were most opposed to such a step. Less than one in ten (8%) approved and a very large majority (82%) disapproved. Appreciably less resistance was offered by the two higher classes as well as by those lower in the class scale.

In Germany, moreover, the size of the most favoring upper class group is important to recognize. As in England, only about one in twenty-five persons (4%) is called "upper class". But out of this small group, it is only within the very top structure (one in a hundred people in the whole society) that appreciable sentiment favoring a political career is found. It is indicated that in German society the tiny group of traditional leaders still bears more respect for politics as a desirable calling in life than do other class groups. Within the class structure there are no other groups which have appreciably greater than average regard for such a profession. In fact, upper middle class representatives oppose such a career more frequently than does the average German. (See charts.)

Among the various occupational groupings relatively greater favor (22%) for the proposition was expressed by those with professional status, and least favor (5%) was shown by farmers. The important groups of independent business owners, the officials and the higher white collar employees offered little, if any, more favorable regard to the matter than did the office workers and clerks.

In this connection, it must be observed that important differences were recorded among residents of various sized communities. Political apathy seemed to be overcome to an appreciable degree in the major Zonal cities Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Munich, and in the chief city, Berlin. Other smaller communities scarcely deviated from the average for the country as a whole. Slightly superior sophistication of the Hessian residents distinguished to a small degree the answers found in this Land from those given in the other two Laender.

Probably expressing some of the disillusionment incident to their experiences, more former soldiers who had been held as prisoners were opposed to their sons entering upon a political career than were soldiers who had not beencaptured or men who had not been in the army. Women tended to favor less strongly than did men such life work for their sons.

Former members of the NSDAP also reacted with disillusionment and cynicism. PGs in large proportion (83%) said they opposed this work for their youth. People who had not been PGs and had no former party members in their family were opposed in somewhat smaller proportions (74%).

In spite of the fact that those with professional status and that the very top socio-economic group voted more heavily than the average German for a political life for their sons, the better educated did not appreciably differ in their answers from the poorly educated. The tendency toward an anti-democratic orientation of the better educated, and the more than average proportion of PGs among this group, probably accounts for their divergence in this respect.

Such patterning seems also to be followed when the responses of the people questioned are considered within age groupings. The more Nazified younger people less frequently favored the proposed type of endeavor than did older members of the population.

A glimpse at the political orientation of people who affiliated themselves with the major political parties now licensed in Germany was provided in the responses of these strata within the population. Most favorably inclined to politics as a career were those who preferred the leftist parties -- the SPD and the KPD. Least favorably inclined were those who chose the CSU or those who had no party preference at all. A reflection of this outlook can be seen in replies of trade union and non-trade union members. Nearly three-quarters of the people questioned said they never belonged to a trade union. And among those people only about one in ten (11%) was disposed to think of a political career as one which they would like to see taken up by the coming generation. About twice as many people who are now trade union members, or used to belong to a union, or intend to join a union, looked with favor upon public service careers.

COMMENTS.

Elucidating comments made by the respondents were recorded in the field by the interrogators. The quotations below are intended to exemplify the typical attitudes which form the complex of justifications for the responses made.

Comments in Opposition to a Political Career:

THE NATURE OF POLITICS:

"Politics is a dirty business". (Berlin resident, 72 years old, pensionnaire, SPD supporter.)

"Politics perverts the character." (Karlsdorf resident, 70 year old man, CDU supporter.)

"Absolutely opposed. My son should earn his bread honestly. There are many crooks in politics." (Alfdorf resident, 29 year old man, semi-skilled worker, no party preferences.)

HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE:

"I know many who have lost everything in politics."
(Berlin resident, 22 year old woman.)

"If one bets on the wrong horse it is easy to lose everything. See what happened after National Socialism."
(Britz woman, 31 years old, wife of laborer, SPD supporter.)

"Everything can turn around as in 1933 and 1945."
Berlin man, 18 years old, apprentice.)

"I would never allow that — politics buys no bread. In 10 years one can be out on the street."
(Karlsruhe resident, 31 year old man, SPD supporter, semi-skilled worker.)

"To me that would be a dangerous occupation for my son. Politics changes too easily and ruins a whole family in one change."
(Stuttgart resident, 31 year old man, clerk, SPD supporter.)

"Just look at the Nuerberg trials."
(Unterobemdorf woman, 29 years old, CSU supporter, wife of businessman.)

"Because no one can see how the politician makes out."
(Koengen woman, 38 years old, on relief, no party preference.)

"One is a politician for 10 years and then sits in the KZ."
(Stuttgart man, 40 years old, SPD supporter, laborer.)

UNREWARDING:

"It is a thankless job. Whatever one does it is not right."
(Britz woman, 45 years old, wife of capenter, SPD supporter.)

"Because politics brings only sorrow and trouble."
(Berlin woman, 38 years old, wife of laborer, CDU supporter.)

NOT A PROFESSION; NOT A PROFESSION FOR MY SON:

"Politics is not really a profession."
(Berlin man, 65 years old, SEP supporter.)

"Why not a profession like everyone else?"
(Britz woman, 61 years old pensionnaire.)

"A laborer ought not to bother with such things."
(Berlin man, 55 years old, SPD supporter.)

"Only very few can do that."
(Berlin man, 48 years old, professional worker, CDU supporter.)

"My son has to be a worker."

"He must be a farmer."

"He ought to earn his money with his hands. That is always better."

POLITICS DEMANDS MATURITY.

"One must first have acquired experience. It is not a job for a young man."
(Berlin man, 59 years old clerk, CDU supporter.)

"One can only take up politics after experiencing all other fields."
(Bamberg man, 48 years old, SPD supporter.)

"That is no matter for a young man. He is not in a position to think about politics."
(Berlin man, 35 years old, white collar, SEP supporter.)

STRONG EMOTION.

Many respondents indicated horror and repugnance at the thought of their son taking up politics. The color of these expression is lost in translation, but strong conviction lay behind many phrases such as "Absolutely not", "Never", "For heavens sakes.No."

"I would kill him if he did that."
(Berlin man, 49 years old, SpD supporter.)

Comments Favoring a Political Career:

"Taking care of the needs of the people is a necessary profession."
(Berlin woman, 32 years old, wife of plumber, no party preference.)

"Only with the help of such men can things be better."
(Berlin 41 years old businessman, SEP supporter.)

"It could hurt nothing. We have bothered too little with politics."
(Marktgraitz man, 43 years old, CSU supporter.)

"It is good to work for peace."
(Buchen woman, 37 years old, pensionnaire.)

"So that the youth will be free of militarism and fascism and will become good democrats."
(Marktgraitz man, 44 years old, KPD supporter.)

1. A very large majority of the German public thought of politics as no career for their sons.

2. Two important variations in attitudes toward such a career occur within the class structure of this society. The very uppercrust is relatively more disposed toward the political activity which is traditionally theirs, while the upper middle class is relatively less frequently so disposed. The negative outlook of this latter group is interpreted to mean that appreciable proportions of this group are now disillusioned and cynical about politics. This reaction probably is a result of the experience undergone by the people who held the leadership positions during the Nazi regime.

3. Such disillusionment is apparent not only among participants in the Nazi government but also among those groups who closely identified themselves with National Socialist aims and ideals. The most important groups to be noted in this regard are the returned prisoners of war, and the young men and women under 30 years old.

4. Significantly greater respect for politics as a worthy profession was observed among supporters of left-wing parties and among trade union members. Supported by such a disposition, it is possible that out of these groups can arise a new class of leaders to rival Germany's traditional upper class politicians and statesmen.

5. The political apathy current in Germany seems only to be broken in the largest cities. Whereas the narrow class-isolationism of farmers was given expression, residents of all but the major cities within the American occupation sphere did not deviate from the normal response of Germans. It can be expected then that new leadership may well arise first in Berlin and in the major cities of each Land.

6. Comments made by those who were questioned exemplified the patterns of public thinking on this subject. Politics was thought of a) as an endeavor restricted to special groups of people, b) as an insecure occupation subject to shocking reversals, c) as a haven for scoundrels. A real understanding of the democratic advantages in a political career for the youth of Germany was revealed in the comments of many of the few who favored such an undertaking for their sons.

Tabular Results by Characteristic Population Groups.

"If you had a son leaving school, would you like to see him choose politics as a profession?"

	Yes	No	No opinion
Socio-economic Status			
Upper upper	29%	59%	12% 100%
Lower upper	16	68	16
Upper middle	8	82	10
Lower middle	16	76	8
Upper lower	13	79	8
Lower lower	16	68	16
On relief	15	77	8
Self-identification of respondents with class			
Upper	13	70	17
Middle	12	80	8
Worker	16	73	11
Lower	4	80	16
Occupation			
Employer	12	82	6
Employee	17	75	8
Housewife	12	76	12
Unemployed	13	77	10
Professional	22	69	9
Business	12	79	9
Officials & Higher White Collar	10	83	7
Office workers and clerical	8	83	9
Skilled	18	73	9
Semi-skilled	19	73	8
Laborer	15	70	15
Farmer	5	89	6
Union Membership			
Pre-1933 member	22	69	8
Pre-1933 non-member	11	79	10
Member today	18	69	13
Non-member, but plans to join	31	63	6
Non-member, does not plan to join	10	79	11
Education			
7 years or less	12	79	9
8 years	15	74	11
9 to 11 years	14	74	12
12 or more years	15	77	8
NSDAP Membership			
Former member	12	83	5
Someone in family was member	13	78	9
Neither	15	74	11
Religion			
Catholic	13	75	12
Protestant	14	77	9

GERMAN ATTITUDES TOWARD TRADE UNIONS

#F 11

SURVEYS BRANCH

INFORMATION CONTROL DIVISION

OMGUS (Rear)
27 June 1946

THE GERMAN PUBLIC VIEWS TRADE UNIONS.

One of the few promising bases for strengthening democratic ideas and patterns in German society, it has been pointed out, lies in the working classes and the trade unions. Since the occupation free trade unions have been reestablished under careful supervision by Military Government in order to eliminate certain developments and traditions which were less democratic than desirable. Considerable progress has been achieved and yet the difficulties still existing as a result of ruthless decimation of the working class leadership by the Gestapo and corruption of democratic workers' ideals by National Socialist ideology must not be underestimated.

The present study of attitudes towards the place of trade unions in German society is based on a public opinion survey carried out by the ODIC Surveys Unit in the middle of April. Over 1600 adult persons were interviewed throughout the American Zone and in the American sector of Berlin. These persons were chosen for interview according to scientific sampling methods so that the results are representative of the adult population as a whole.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

1. The survey showed that Military Government and democratic Germans are faced with the important task of clarifying public thinking about the nature and value of really free and democratic trade unions as against government-controlled trade unions such as the Nazi German Labor Front.

2. The general public is evenly divided on whether the Nazi's denial of collective bargaining and the right to strike was a good thing or not. Opinion is also split on the German Labor Front's record. The reestablishment of collecting bargaining procedures after the end of the occupation is opposed by more people than favor it, although the public generally subscribes to the principle of free trade unions. An advisory voice for workers in management, such as is provided in the Works Councils recently authorized by the Allied Control Council, is favored by most people. The present Military Government wage-fixing policies are favored by a majority of the public, but opposed by an important minority, composed especially of unionists.

3. Unionists in the American Zone, the survey showed, are non-radical for the most part and are oriented towards the Western democracies rather than Russia. A surprising minority group of unionists is attracted by certain authoritarian features of a government-controlled economy. Nevertheless their conception of free trade unions is more democratic than that of the rest of the population and, therefore, the workers remain one of the few promising bases for strengthening democratic patterns.

4. Nazism made some inroads among the pre-1933 trade unionists, but the compromised unionists tend to remain outside the new free trade unions now being organized. The new generation of unionists, without pre-1933 experience, is not appreciably less democratic than the old generation of pre-1933 unionists who have resumed activity.

I. The General Public's Attitudes Toward Trade Unions.

As soon as they obtained political power the Nazis moved swiftly to crush the free labor unions. In their stead they substituted the German Labor Front (DAF), a single all-embracing organization of workers through which the Nazis hoped to control all workers. Collective bargaining and the right to strike were abolished, wages were fixed by the State. To encourage the workers to accept their role in the new totalitarian society and to produce more, social measures were introduced. The workers also benefited as a result the industrial boom stemming from war preparations; the unemployment problem was finally liquidated.

A number or questions were asked in the survey to test the general public's present attitudes towards the DAF and the Nazi labor policy as well as their view of the proper role trade unions should play in the future.

A. Nazi Denial of Collective Bargaining and Right to Strike.

The public divided almost equally on the question whether the Nazi practice of wage control by the government and the abolition of collective bargaining was a good idea or a bad idea. Those who thought that the Nazi labor policy was good (35% of all adults questioned) advanced two types of arguments: 1. Strikes are a bad thing -- they always create bad conditions, never help anyone and only hold up work; 2. The standard of living was good under the Nazi system -- workers were well paid, everybody was satsified and happy. The Nazi labor system was disapproved by 38% of all adults questioned almost exclusively on the ground that workers had lost all their "rights" under this system. Significantly, almost no one opposed the Nazi labor policy on the ground that it lowered the worker's standard of living. Clearly, but apart from material considerations, the oppressive features of the Nazi system were felt and resented.

B. The Workers' Interests under the DAF.

Over half the adult population questioned had either belonged to the DAF or had a mate who did. Answeres to questions about the DAF, therefore, represented mainly former members' evaluations; most non-members of the DAF could express no opinion about it. Respondents were asked whether they thought the DAF had represented the interests of the workers satisfactorily. More people (37%) said that the DAF had done an unsatisfactory job in this respect than otherwise (22%). They charged that the DAF had no interest in the workers and did not do anything for them. The DAF was interested only in lining its own pockets; collections of money from the workers were used for other purposes. The DAF was a swindle and worked only for the Nazis and employers.

On the other side, the social benefits policies pursued by the DAF were recognized even by some of those who rejected it as not representing the interests of the workers satisfactorily. The vacations (Kraft durch Freude), health programs, better working conditions, etc. were all mentioned in this repsect.

C. MG Wage and Strike Policy.

Another question on the survey tested public sentiment toward the interim MG policy of keeping most wages at former levels for the time being and disallowing strikes. A small but important minority (24% of all adults) felt that this policy should be changed; only half of these people, however, based their opposition to the MG policy on the grounds that it denied workers their "rights" of bargaining and striking. The others opposed the MG policy on the ground that present wages were too low and should be adjusted to the present cost of living. On the other hand, a majority of the adult public (55%0 did not think that a change in present MG policy was necessary; the rest (21%) expressed no opinion.

D. Trade Union Powers After End of the Occupation.

The following question was asked: "Should the workers be given the right, after the end of the occupation, to organize themselves in order to demand higher wages and, if necessary, to strike: Or should the Government continue to have sole power to decide the level of wages? More people (42%) favored government fixing of wages than wanted to see collective bargaining and the right to strike reestablished (34%); the rest (23%) expressed no opinion. Those who favored collective bargaining again argued mainly that the workers must be given their "rights" since it is the only means they have of protecting their interests; the denial of these rights, it was argued, would be undemocratic and unjust.

Proponents of government control of wages based their view on the feeling that strikeswere a bad thing and that government control would bring about an orderly situation, peace and quiet. Only a few argued that the government had done or is doing a good job regulating wages and that it looks after the workers' interests.

E. Woerkers' Voice in Management.

A large majority (71%) of all persons interviewed thought that the workers should have a voice in the management of a factory or workshop; 18% opposed this, the rest having no opinion. Another question indicated that the bulk of the sentiment was for giving the workers only an advisory role in the management of the plant to be exercised through works councils, such as are presently being formed. Respondents were asked to indicate which of four alternative types of employer-employee relationships they preferred. Replies were as follows:

1) Employers should be allowed to run their business according to their own judgment without asking employees or their representatives for their opinion 7%

2) Employees should be allowed to advise in the management. They should be allowed to choose representatives for a "Betriebsrat" (Works Council), which will observe management and submit regularly the employees' opinions to the employer 66%

3) Employees or their representatives should have the same rights in running the factory as the employers 9%

4) Enterprises should be socialized. The managers should be appointed by a committee of the elected representatitives of the workers 9%

No opinion 9%

Total 100%

The above question, it will be noted, is worded only to obtain a general expression of attitude. The extent of popular desire for socialization of certain industries, of course, is not measured by this question. The replies do show that the bulk of the adult population is generally in favor of giving the workers an advisory role in management (such as was provided by the Four Occupation Powers in Law Number 22, published on 17 April). *

*For a report of political and trade union leaders' reactions to the Four Power Works Council Law see ICIS No.40 of 4 May 1946.

II. Non-Radical, Western Political Orientation of Unionists.

The observation made frequently by various oberservers, that German woerkers in the American Zone are not radical, was amply supported by the survey results. It may be noted in Table I that the bulk (about 65%) of union members were satsified that an advisory role for workers in management is sufficient. Party preferences expressed by union members, past or present, too, showed that while they are definitely more leftist than the population as a whole, a large minority of union members prefers conserv tive or rightist parties. The bulk of leftist sentiment among union members is for the Social Democratic Party rather than for the Communist Party.

Other questions on the survey established that the orientation of the workers in AMZON is towards the West rather than towards Russia. The following question was asked:

"Do you believe that any one of the four occupation powers does more than the others to improve the lot of the working classes?"

Although many persons had no opinion, those who did answer favored America and Br tain:

All four powers do the same	21%
The Americans do most	19
The British do most	7
The Russians do most	3
The French do most	*
Other answers	6
No opinion	44
Total sample	100%

(*Less than one percent)

The Western orientation of the German workers is also shown by answers to two questions asking respondents to compare the lot of the German workers before the war under National Socialism with the lot of American workers and Russian workers:

Lot of German Workers Under National Socialism Compared to Lot of American Workers Before the War

American workers better off	30%
German workers better off	13
No difference	10
No opinion, insufficiently informed	47
Total sample	100%

Lot of German Workers Under National Socialism Compared to Lot of Russian Workers Before the War

German workers better off	45%
Russian workers better off	3
No difference	6
No opinion, insufficiently informed	46
Total sample	100%

Two separate factors were emphasized by those who thought American workers better off than German workers -- more freedom and a higher standard of living. Those who thought the German worker better off than the American worker referred either to lack of unemployment in Germany, higher social status or standard of living. The feeling that under National Socialism before the war German workers were better off than Russian workers was grounded primarily on general negative attitudes towards Russia and/or Communism rather than on concrete grounds.

III. Some Characteristics of Members of Pre-33 Unions and Present-Day Unions.

All respondents in the survey, it should be pointed out, were asked whether they had belonged to a trade union prior to 1933, to the DAF (German Labor Front) under the Nazi regime, to a new trade union at present.*

The survey showed considerable overlapping of membership in the three types of unions. Not all pre-33 unionists are showing an interest in the new unions being organized today; those who are not, it will be shown, were more compromised by Nazism than those who are taking an interest in the new unions.

A. Characteristics of 416 pre-33 union members in survey sample

a) Constitute 25% of sample of adult population in AMZON and American sector of Berlin. (17% belonged themselves, 7% had mate who belonged, 1% belonged themselves and had mate who belonged.)

b) Are older group than rest of population.

c) 78% of them had joined the DAF during the Nazi regime.

d) 20% had joined the Nazi Party at some time.

e) 56% have already joined a new trade union or expect to join one in the future.

*On all questions of membership, the respondent was also asked if his or her mate belonged. The figures for membership used in this report, therefore, refer to membership on the part of the respondent plus membership on the part of respondent's mate.

B. Characteristics of DAF Members in Survey Sample.

a) Constitute 56% of adults (and/or their mate) interviewed in this survey. (38% belonged themselves to the DAF, 13% had mate who belonged, 5% belonged themselves and also had mate who belonged.)

b) 36% of former DAF members are members of a new trade union or expect to join one in the future. (Large DAF membership was due to Nazi desire to bring all workers under control; many workers were brought into DAF who would not otherwise have joined one. This largely accounts for fact that 64% of former DAF members are not members of a new union and do not intend to join one.)

C. Characteristics of 4/4 Members (Actual or Intended) of New Trade Unions in Survey Sample.

a) Constitute 26% of sample of total adult population in AMZON and American sector of Berlin. (11% of respondents and/or their mate have already joined, 15% more respondents and/or mate intend to join.)

b) 53% of them were union members prior to 1933; 47% have had no pre-33 union experience. The latter are a considerably younger group than the former.

c) 75% of them had joined the DAF during the Nazi regime.

d) 16% had joined the Nazi Party at some time. (12% of actual trade union members and 19% of intended trade union members had belonged to NSDAP.)

IV. Democratic and Authoritarian Tendencies Among Union Membership.

A separate tabulation of answers to some of the survey questions was made for the group of pre-33 unionists and the group of present-day unionists, both described above. Attitudes of these two groups of unionists were then compared with the attitudes of the population as a whole (see Table I). The comparison showed, as expected, that both groups of unionists are more democratic and more in favor of free trade unions with collective bargaining rights than the population as a whole. But, indeed, the surprising fact revealed was the extent to which even union members, whether of the pre-33 variety or whether members of the new unions, have come to accept non-democratic ideas of government wage-fixing as practised by the Nazis. A surprisingly large minority of the union members felt

that the Nazi policy of abolishing collective bargaining and the right to strike was a good idea, that the DAF did a satisfactory job of taking care of the workers interests, that collective bargaining and the right to strike should not be reestablished after the end of the occupation, and that, indeed, free trade unions are not desirable because they create too much unrest. On each question, more union members spoke against than favored these non-democratic points-of-view but the minority group was surprisingly large.

In sum, the survey showed that union members, speaking of course only of the American Zone, do not constitute at present a well-knit group with respect to elementary trade union ideology. As a result of experience with Nazi labor and wage policy, an important segment of organized workers has accepted, or has been attracted by, certain feature of a government-controlled economy.

V. The New and Old Generations of Trade Unionists Compared.

Table I shows that members of the new trade unions (actual plus potential members) are somewhat more democratic and leftis than the group of remaining pre-33 unionists.

Not all (only 56%) of the pre-33 unionists who still survive have joined or expect to join the new trade unions. Further analysis showed that the new trade unions have generally attracted the more democratic pre-33 unionists. Pre-33 unionists who evince no interest in the new unions tend to be people who compromised themselves with Nazism; they are more nazified in ideas and in terms of membership in the NSDAP than pre-33 unionists who are again active today. Politically they are less leftist and more rightist. Although the survey provides no data on this point, these currently inactive, more nazified pre-33 unionists were probably largely drawn from the old Christian (Catholic) trade unions. (See Table II, columns 1 and 2.)

Present (and potential) trade union membership is composed of two almost equal groups. The group of currently (and potentially) active pre-33 unionists may be referred to as the "old generation" element. The second group, the "new generation" is composed of union members (actual or potential) who were not members of the pre-33 unions, in most cases because they were too young. The possibility was investigated that the "new generation" of unionists might be less democratic than the "old generation", because they lack trade union experience and traditions. A comparison of attitudes, however, showed that the "new generation" is not appreciably less democratic than the "old generation" although it does appear to lean somewhat more towards the conservative parties than does the "old generation." At the same time, however, leftist sentiment among the "new generation" trade unionists is slightly more radical (pro-KPD) than among the "old generation." (See Table II, columns 2 and 3.)

TABLE I.

	Total Sample Adult Population	All Pre-33 Unionists	All present (& Potential) Unionists
Nazi Wage Control Policy			
Good	35%	33%	27%
Bad	38	48	57
No opinion	27	19	16
DAF Record re Workers			
Satisfactory	22%	22%	19%
Unsatisfactory	37	52	56
No opinion	41	26	25
Present NG Wage Policy			
OK, no change	55%	54%	50%
Should be changed	24	32	37
No opinion	21	14	13
Post-Occupation Wage Policy.			
Collective bargaining and right to strike	34%	44%	52%
Gov't fixing of wages	42	39	33
No opinion	24	17	15
Type of Workers' Voice In Management			
Employer retains full power	7%	4%	4%
Worker has advisory role	66	68	64
Equal voice for both	9	12	15
Socialization	9	13	13
No opinion	9	3	3
Desirability of Free Trade Unions			
Should be allowed	49%	68%	74%
Should not	29	21	15
No opinion	22	11	11
Party Preference			
SPD	30%	43%	50%
KPD or LLD	4	7	9
CDU or CSU	39	32	28
Other Conserv. Parties.	4	2	3
No party	14	12	7
Don't know, no answer	9	4	3

TABLE II.

	Pre-33 Unionists not Active Today	Pre-33 Unionists Active To-day ('Old Generation')	Non-pre-33 Unionists Active to-day ('New Generation')
Nazi Wage Control Policy			
Good	42%	28%	28%
Bad	34%	56	53
No opinion	24	16	19
DAF Record re Workers			
Satsifactory	26%	17%	20%
Unsatisfactory	35	61	45
No opinion	39	22	35
Present FG Wage Policy			
OK, no change	55%	47%	48%
Should be changed	24	39	35
No opinion	21	14	17
Post-Occupation Wage Policy			
Collective bargaining and right to strike	32%	52%	49%
Gov't fixing of wages	49	32	33
No opinion	19	16	18
Type of Workers' Voice in Management			
Employer retains full power	4%	5%	4%
Worker has advisory role	77	65	63
Equal voice for both	7	13	16
Socialization	6	16	11
No opinion	6	1	6
Desirability of Free Trade Unions			
Should be allowed	47%	77%	66%
Should not	34	14	16
No opinion	19	9	18
Party Preference			
SPD	30%	55%	41%
KPD or SAD	2	6	8
CSU or CDU	39	28	31
Other Conserv. Parties	2	1	5
No party	20	7	8
Don't know, no answer	7	4	7

ATTITUDES OF SOME BAVARIAN SCHOOLCHILDREN.

Report No. 12
SURVEYS BRANCH
INFORMATION CONTROL DIVISION
OMGUS (Rear)
28 June 1946

INTRODUCTION.

Two-hundred fifty Bavarian schoolchildren were asked to fill out questionnaires in the class room in the towns of Regensburg, Kelheim, Pirkensee and Burglengenfeld. This sample of children was carefully drawn to represent the populations of schoolchildren between the ages of 12 and 18 in the communities named above. Indicative of the back-ground of those who filled out the questionnaires is the fact that half of them said they belonged to the middle class, and nearly all the rest said they belonged to the workers' class. About one in six (16%) were the sons and daughters of evacuees and refugees.

Nearly nine in ten (88%) had belonged to Hitler youth organizations (HJ, Jungvolk, Jungmaedel or BDM). But today only one in eight (12%) was a member of a new youth organization (Katholische Pfarrjugend). Among their parents practically as many had belonged to the NSDAP (37%) as is usually found in the general population of the American Zone. Most (84%) of these Bavarian children were Catholic, of course. Reflecting their parents' preferences many would vote for the CSU (48%), if they were allowed to vote, rather than the SPD (18%) or the KPD (3%). Not an inconsiderable proportion (29%) said, however, that they would not vote even if they were given a chance to vote.

Status and Living Conditions.

The principal concern which these youth reported was food. Secondary worries arose from the uncertainty of getting jobs and the difficulties in getting clothing and shoes.* The greatest wish which they would like to have fulfilled was to be given more food (26%). But their second desire was for "peace" (20%). About the same number (17%) longed to have their brothers back from the prisoner of war cages. In the same vein, a plurality (30%) said that the type of help which Germany most needs is food. Smaller proportions spoke of the need to reestablish the economy (14%) and to provide jobs (21%). Not an inconsiderable number (14%) indicated annoyance with DPs and thought Germany could best be served by sending them home!

The health of these youngsters seemed good. About one in six (17%) said they had had colds during the month of May. (6% had had more than one cold and most of these had lost five or more days of school as a result.) Less than one in ten (7%) had had other illnesses. Diarrhea, sore throats and headaches were about evenly distributed as to incidence.

* Queried directly about their shoes exactly half of these youth said they had but one pair, another 8% said they had one pair in a bad state of repair, and one in a hundred said they had no shoes at all.

For entertainment, the greatest proportion (49%) read books and magazines. But sports were also popular (36%) as well as handicrafts and needle-work (24%).

Attitudes Toward School.

Almost everyone (98%) of the children said they liked to go to school. Most (66%) of them thought they stood in the middle of their class and many (34%) considered that they were good students. Very few (3%) admitted that they were bad students. Their best liked subjects proved to be mathematics (41%), German (22%), geography (11%), history (11%), biology (7%), and English (6%). The variety of their interests is shown by the fact that one-third more of the youngsters mentioned other favorite subjects (physiology, drawing, physics, music, handicrafts, chemistry, etc.).

The foreign language which seemed to them most preferable to learn was English by a large majority (74%). The motivations given were general interest and practical value. Overshadowed were French (8%), Latin (8%), Italian (2%), and Russian (1%).

Employment Preferences.

Almost all the youth questioned indicated humble and prosaic job aspirations. One fifth of the girls said they wanted to be dress-makers, about one in seven wanted to be sales-ladies, a similar proportion would be teachers. One in ten wanted to be clerks and the same number would like to be hair-dressers. Surprisingly, more girls (7%) than boys (3%) preferred being physicians or dentists. The most common reply given by boys was an expressed desire to be a baker or confectioner (14%). But nearly as many saw a happy future as an electrician. One in ten looked forward to a life as a carpenter, and few less (7%) thought the future as a clerk would be pleasant. About one in twenty wanted to be a radiotechnician or a bricklayer. None of the boys looked forward to being a teacher. Very few boys or girls (3%) did not know what job they would like in life.

General Orientation.

Inadequate realization of the reasons which brought about Germany's present condition as a defeated nation was exhibited by these youngsters. References to the weakness of the dictatorial system of government, the loss of Allies because of the indefensible moral position of Germany, the failure to acquire popular support among the masses of people which fell under the early supervision of the Central Powers -- such concepts as these were largely neglected in accounting for the loss of the war.

"Why did Germany lose the war?"

Overpowering strength of enemy.	
Germany's lack of material	36%
Guilt of Nationalsocialism	30
Treachery and espionage	13
Religious failure	10
Stupidity	1
No opinion	10
	100%

Similar lapses were revealed in reply to a question which asked the youth to name the three greatest Germans in their opinion. One-third mentioned names of poets (Goethe, Schiller, etc.), but about one-fourth recalled monarchs (Frederick the Great, Charlemagne, Otto, Ludwig, etc.). Bismarck was recalled by nearly one-fifth of the children (18%). Hitler was named by about one in ten; and Hitler, Goering, Goebbels, Himmler and Rommel together received 15% of the votes.

In reply to an exploratory question, "What would you do if you alone knew the secret of the atom bomb?", the same size bloc which had spoken up for the Nazi leaders as Germany's best spoke again for the destruction of their enemies. Seven percent said they would destroy Russia if they held the atom bomb themselves, another 3% would wipe out the Poles, 2% would do the same to the USA, another 2% to Czechoslovakia, and less than 1% would destroy England. But the most common answer to this question (38%) was that the secret would be kept a secret. However, among this group some qualifications were introduced such as "In case of a war would give it to the side I like best"; "would give it to the USA if there is a war, only just when it is absolutely necessary"; "if another war breaks out would use it to win the peace"; "use it only if necessary to build a world democracy." Ten percent said they would destroy the secret and a smaller proportion (7%) decided that it should be put to peaceful industrial uses.

The pupils were asked to write down what democracy meant to them. The pattern of responses indicate that, in general, they thought of greater popularization of government when they thought of "democracy".

"What does "Democracy" mean to you?"

Freedom of the people	23%
Freedom and better times	3
Government by the people	10
Equal justice for all, justice and humanity	5
Reconstruction	5
Party rule	2
Other	4
No Opinion	48
	100%

Attitudes Toward the Forces.

The American occupation soldier was not well regarded by many (39%) of the youth. However, nearly as many (35%) said they did like our soldiers, and the rest (26%) held no opinion. More than half of those who disliked the American soldier spoke with feeling about his general behavior -- lack of discipline, immoral activities, drunkenness. Others pointed at instances of careless jeep-driving, complained about the requisitioning of homes, unkept promises, the lack of interest in the Germans, and the drive toward denazification.

Among those who liked the American soldier about one-fourth spoke appreciatively about gifts they had received, and as many remarked about his friendliness and pleasant disposition. Others praised him for having "liberated" them, for his good discipline, his handsome uniform, his military qualities compared with those of other occupying powers, and his inclination toward order and cleanliness.

More displeasure with the occupation soldier was voiced by girls (41%) than by boys (26%). Conversely, more than half the boys (53%) but less than one-third the girls (29%) liked the American soldier.

Expectations.

These Bavarian youth indicated that they were looking forward to years of peace with a good degree of hopefulness for better times. However, when questioned directly about the prospects of another war, only about six in ten scouted the idea. Most of those who expected another war thought it would arise with Russia. It should be remembered that only forty miles away from their homes is the border of the Russian occupation Zone. (At and near the boundary many rumors are generated.)

"What kind of peace do you expect from the Allies?"

A good peace	30%
A lasting peace	28
A just or wise peace	21
A bad peace	12
A short peace	1
No peace at all	7
No opinion	1
	100%

"Do you believe that there will soon be another war?"

Yes	41%
No	59
	100%

Such sober hopefulness for future peace was underlined by these youthful students in their replies to the question, "What do you expect to find in a new Germany?" About four in ten looked forward to a free beautiful country, united in justice or truth or love and comradeship. About one in seven schoolchildren expected only hard work rebuilding the country, and a similar proportion hoped it would be better, particularly in the direction of the standard of living. Others anticipated a "democracy" (10%). A small proportion (3%) expected things to be bad. Comments made by others revolved around similar dispositions -- it will be like the USA, like the Third Reich, the old boundaries will be reinstalled, free commercial exchange will be reinstituted, or the foreigners will have gone home.

RESTRICTED

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF BOOK READING IN GERMANY.

SURVEYS BRANCH
Report No. 13
INFORMATION CONTROL DIVISION
OMGUS (Rear)
28 June 1946

RESTRICTED

INTRODUCTION.

A survey was made in late February of the reading habits and preferences of the adult population in the American zone. The ODIC Surveys Unit interviewed approximately 1000 adult Germans carefully selected from all parts of the zone in order to give a reliable sample of the adult population as a whole. The study was not designed to answer all the questions which can be asked today about publication problems, but to give some basic data to which reference can be made in subsequent studies.

I. Book Reading Habits.

Over half the sample population (55%) stated that they did not read books at all. The others (43%) gave various estimates as to the amount of time they spent reading books:

"How much time during the week do you devote to reading a book?"

Very little, up to 2 hours a week	11%
2 to 4 hours per week	7
5 to 6 hours per week	7
7 hours a week (hour per day)	4
8-10 hours per week	4
11-15 hours per week	4
16-19 hours per week	-
20-24 hours per week	1
25 or more hours per week	1
Indefinite answer	4
Don't read books	55
No answer	2
Total	100%

Most of the book-readers had recently been reading non-serious books and they frankly stated that these books had been read for amusement and diversion. About one out of every four readers had been reading recently for purposes of education, information and self-guidance.

"Which books have you read recently?"

"Kitsch", sentimental love stories, novels, mysteries, detective stories	27%
Travel, homeland, historical books	3
Religious books	3
Philisophy and classics	3
Technical, practical arts	3
Foreign books	2
Other	2
Total who read books	43%

"Why did you read this (these) books?"

Diversion, amusement	25%
Education, search for truth, to better myself	7
To pass time, out of boredom	5
Escapism, to forget the terrible times	2
To obtain strength, guidance, reassurance; to satisfy spiritual hunger	2
Was only book available	1
Book used to be forbidden	1
Total who read books	43%

Although, book-readers came from widely diverse backgrounds, they were heavily drawn from better educated circles, the younger adult age groups, and from middle-sized cities rather than from very small communities (under 2,000) or very large cities (over 300,000).

There were almost as many book-readers among the female population as among the male population; however, men tended to read many more hours per week than women. Persons not gainfully employed (mainly women) did not read appreciably more than those with employment (mainly men). Former Nazis were definitely more voracious book-readers than non-Nazis and this finding underlines the desirability of reaching these people with literature useful for reorientation purposes.

	Former Nazis	Non-Nazis
Read not at all	47%	61%
Read very little	11	12
Read 2 - 4 hours weekly	6	8
Read 5 - 7 hours weekly	14	11
Read 8 hours and over weekly	22	8
Total	100%	100%

Most book readers (about two-thirds) did not have a library in their community (or, if there was a library, did not know of it). Of the minority (about a third) of the book-readers that did have access to a local library, one out of four said that they had made use of it. Thus, only a very small group in the population (5% of total adult population; 9% of all book-readers) was making use of local libraries. In addition, of course, many books are being loaned and borrowed on a personal basis. Almost as many book-readers said that were reading borrowed books (40%) as said that they were reading their own books (45%). The opportunity to purchase new books was, at the time of the survey, still very limited. About 15% of the book-readers know that there was a bookstore in their community where they could purchase books published by German publishers; most of them, however, had not yet

bought any books. And, in fact, when asked whether they had read any books which had appeared since the war ended, only a very few people said they had.

II. Reading Preferences.

A number of questions were asked to explore the reading tastes of current book readers. Respondents were given a check list of ten topics and were asked to indicate which of these topics were of greatest interest to them. The replies showed that novels, fiction, short stories etc. were by far the leading topic of interest. Answers were tabulated for two groups of book readers; those who read very little to four hours per week and those who read over four hours per week:

Subjects of Greatest Interest Listed by Book-Readers

	Read up to 4 hours per week	Read over 4 hours per week
Politics	14%	21%
Farming and gardening	22	15
Art	18	27
Music	19	22
Novels, fiction, short stories	71	70
Contemporary affairs	13	22
Science	22	26
Travel	49	34
Religion	28	16
Philosophy	10	11
Total (more than one answer in some cases)	266%	264%

Forthcoming books on Germany's problems, book-readers voted, should deal with reconstruction (Wiederaufbau), the future of Germany and of Europe. Second choice was books dealing with economic problems:

"Which of Germany's present problems would you like to see treated in books to be published soon by German publishers?"

	Read up to 2 hours por week	Read over 4 over per week
Reconstruction, future of Germany and Europe	54%	60%
Economic matter, trade (international and domestic)	10	12
Youth and education	5	6
History of last 13 years, origin and history of war	6	2

	Read up to 2 hours per week	Read over 4 hours per week
Refugee and evacuee problem	1%	4%
Food	4	1
Labor problems, union organization	1	2
Technical and specialized books, farmers' problems	1	1
Other (art, religion, future of soldiers, morale information on the US., emigration, personal problems)	7	9
No answer, no interest	22	14
Total (more than one answer in some cases)	111%	111%

Queried as to what types of books and authors they would like to see on sale as soon as possible, book readers expressed greatest interest in books and authors forbidden during the Nazi regime. Almost as much interest was shown in new books by German writers living in Germany. The alternatives were presented to respondents who indicated their choice; many gave more than one answer:

"Which of the following types of books should be offered for sale as soon as possible?"

	Read up to 4 hours per week	Read over 4 hours per week
Books forbidden by the Nazis	58%	57%
New books by German writers living in Germany	40	54
Books by German writers living abroad	24	43
New books by foreign writers	27	37
No answer, no opinion	14	8
Total (more than one answer in some cases)	163%	199%

MAIL TO STIMME AMERIKAS

February and March, 1946

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Surveys B ranch
Information Control Division
OMGUS (Rear)

6 July 1946

INTRODUCTION

A previous report (8 April 1946) analysed the mail written to Stimme Amerikas from the inception of broadcast requests for mail through 28 January 1946. Here is presented an analysis of the mail received after that date and through 1 April 1946.* Probably all the mail written to Stimme Amerikas is included through 4 March 1946. After this date some mail was routed directly to New York. After 1 April, all mail was routed directly to New York. The number of pieces read are shown in the table below for each seven day period.

Volume of Mail Analysed by Date Written

29 Jan - 4 Feb	656
5 - 11 "	542
12 - 18 "	575
19 - 25 "	526
26 Feb - 4 March	568
5 - 11 "	363
12 - 18 "	157
19 - 25 "	73
26 March - 1 April	7
TOTAL PIECES:	3466

The mail was read by trained German evaluators. Background information was recorded for each letter - sex of writer, town in which he resided, date of writing, type of communication. In addition, from the body of the letters were culled expressed program preferences, types of favorable or adverse criticism, and the principle topics mentioned or the main theme of the letter. The most pertinent letters were copied and excerpts from some of these appear in the Appendix to this report.

BACKGROUND

Sex of Writers

Over the period considered, more men than women wrote to comment on the broadcast or to direct an appeal to the initiators of the program. In spite of the fact that the American Zone of Germany contained more women than men (about 60% women, 40% men), more men than women have been shown to tune to this American broadcast (see: Radio Listening in Germany, Winter, 1946, Surveys Section, Intelligence Branch, Information Control Division, OMGUS, 1 March 1946). The figures in Appendix 1 indicate that among listeners just as many women as men wrote letters and expressed an active interest or took this chance to bring their problems to the attention of the Americans.

Area From Which Mail Was Written

The proportions of the letter-writing audience living outside of the American Zone maintained their interest in Stimme Amerikas. A majority wrote from within the Zone, and the audience writing from the three other zones remained appreciable and important. Over half the inter-zonal mail

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* After passing through the scrutiny of G-2 and CCD, the mail came to the Surveys Branch for analysis. The original letters were sent on to New York after analysis was completed.

came from the British-controlled area, about one-third from the Russian Zone, and the remainder from the French Zone. In March the mail seemed to increase from the British Zone and to decrease from the other two zones. Within the American held area, an increase in the Bavarian audience could be observed. Initially about one in ten letters had been received from this Land, but toward the end of the period studied, about one in five letters were received from Bavaria. It should be remembered the Radio Munich increased the time alloted to Stimme Amerikas. While there were some indications that the Bavarian audience was still growing, the last few weeks studied did not show a much larger letter-writing audience than that which was present in Land Hesse. Proportionate to the populations of the three Laender, then, it can be said that the letter-writing group within Hesse seems to be appreciably more stimulated than that in the other Laender. The representation from Baden-Wuerttemberg would seem about normal to its population, while Bavaria was under-pepresented. Analysis of later weeks might fruitfully inquire into further changes of these proportions. With equal broadcasting time alloted to the program by each of the three American Zone stations, the problem of an increase in the audiences within each Land can be said to be a matter of appeal to the diverse interests of these distinct audiences.

Mail by Size of Community

During the time-period studied, nearly 85 in 100 Germans lived in towns and villages with fewer than 100,000 inhabitants. However, initially about seven in ten letter-writers wrote from communities of this size. In later weeks, this proportion dropped to nearly six in ten writers. Greater interest and awareness and a broader outlook on the part of big city residents can be cited as one basic factor which distorts their representation in Stimme Amerikas' mail. It is not clear whether it can also be said that residents of the large cities are increasingly interesting themselves in world and political affairs, or whether residents of the smaller towns are becoming less interested in such matters. It is probable, however, that the former is true while small-town people are not being appreciably stimulated to waken out of the lethargy of their little world. It can be suggested that strong efforts might fruitfully be made to arouse the large population resident in small towns to see that their interests are involved in and affected by matters reported to them in Stimme Amerikas' broadcasts.

Week-end Habits

More letters were mailed on Monday than on any other day of the week. And the chances that a letter would get mailed seemed to decrease regularly each succeeding day, with the smallest chance arising on Sunday. This suggests that following the large audience which is built up on week-ends and Sundays, and following the period of personal conversations and visiting which take place during these days, new decisions arise among the members added to the listening audience. Thus not only can most effective appeals be made to the listening audience during week-ends, but more responses can be elicited at such a time.

Day of Week	Proportion Mailing
Monday	20%
Tuesday	17
Wednesday	17
Thursday	15
Friday	13
Saturday	12
Sunday	6
	100%
TOTAL CASES:	1957

Frequency of Listening

Volunteered information about frequency of listening did not vary appreciably from that previously reported. Slightly more than one in five people claimed to listen every day to the program. And about one in eight claimed that he had listened clandestinely to these broadcasts while the war was on. Only one person, among those who wrote in March claimed to have heard the program for the first time.

CONTENT OF MAIL

Main Themes of the Letters

In spite of broadcast statements that Stimme Amerikas was interested only in comments relative to the broadcasts, and not in requests for aid in returning PWs from the States, or to act as a maildrop for relatives in the States, etc., a large proportion of the letters continued to raise the unwanted problems. Still, after January, a smaller proportion of letters did raise consideration of personal problems abroad. In the three months considered, the percentages centering their thoughts at least partly on such personal affairs were: 62%, 49%, and 48%. On the other hand, no appreciable variation could be observed in the number introducing remarks about their difficulties within Germany.

The population remained sensitive to accusations of war guilt. At least one in ten letters denied the war guilt of all the German people, or projected this guilt upon segments of the population, upon Hitler, the SS or others.

During March, about twice as many letters contained references to the reconstruction of Germany as had been found during the two preceding months. A desire was consistently expressed for reassurance that it would be possible for Germans to continue to live, that a stable society is being planned and these plans are being implemented, that the youth of Germany would find it possible to grow within democratic patterns. Other remarks, of course, pointed to inconsistencies of our program and activities, or alluded to contradicitions in steps taken by the separate Allies.

Slightly more than one in twenty letters continued to inveigh about the denazification program. Wide misconceptions continue to be held among the German population about the administration of this program. Enlightenment can continue to be given the German people about the aims and the administration of our policy in this matter.

Today there are in Germany reestablished offices of the Department of Immigration. But one in ten writers to Stimme Amerikas continued to request information or to ask for help in regard to leaving Germany for life abroad. The possibility of going to South America seemed to be reasonable to more people than the possibility of going to the United States.

Specific program suggestions continued to be made by a few letter writers. In January one in ten people (9%), in February fewer (7%), and in March still fewer (4%) commented specifically to this end.

Why was the Program Disliked?

Very few critical remarks were heard about Stimme Amerikas. However, over a three month period, a pattern of comments was observable. Consistently, each week, remarks about the commentators were made. In the three months twenty people were displeased with the tone or direction of these comments. It seems probable that these few people represent only the smallest marginal group which may be disturbed whatever the program may be.

The next largest group (16 letter-writers) was displeased with the time at which the broadcasts take place. But between 5 March and 1 April only one person spoke to this point. Again, it seems likely that with four programs carried today by each of the three stations in the American Zone, little criticism to this end is justifiable except based on very particular individual circumstances.

Another indication of how miniscule is the criticism offered in these letters is the fact that the third largest group (12 persons) expressed distate for jazz music broadcast on the program! But again, no comments were heard in this regard after 5 March.

Other types of criticism also sharply decreased after the end of February. For instance, after 25 February, no one wrote about displeasure incurred by the viewpoint or tone of the program, or about the political commentary, or about the assumptions maintained in comment on the program about the future of Germany.

Popular Feature of the Program

No significant variations were found among the aspects of the program which appealed to the letter-writing audience. The commentators maintained the highest popularity, immediately followed by favorable mentions of the discussions and speeches presented. More specific comments in the latter direction especially praised the discussion of political affairs. In contrast to the tiny proportion which remarked unfavorably about the approach or orientation which supports the programs presented, consistently about one in twenty writers (167 people in the three months) said they liked the basic tone of the material presented. In each of the months, too, about one in fifty people requested more material or said they liked Stimme Amerikas for its presentation of various aspects of American life.

Among programs requested for presentation, stories and descriptions of life in America topped the list. Political commentary, discussions of the problems of reconstruction, and requests for popularized science material were each mentioned by fewer but the same number of individuals. In the three months thirteen writers requested more religious programs, while fifteen urged that more time be devoted to art and literature.

In Appendix II are found excerpts from some letters which exemplify the more pertinent comments and requests whose relative weights have been discussed above.

APPENDIX I

A. Percent of Mail written by Men

29 January - 4 February	58%
5 February - 11 February	56
12 February - 18 February	56
19 February - 25 February	55
26 February - 4 March	52
5 March - 11 March	54
12 March - 18 March	55
19 March - 1 April	61

B. Area From Which Mail Was Written

	February	March
American Zone		
Land Hesse	17%	16%
Land Baden-Wuerttemberg	14	12
Land Bavaria	17	21
Land unknown	4	5
TOTAL:	52%	54%
British Zone	21%	26%
Russian Zone	16	11
French Zone	11	9
TOTAL:	100%	100%

C. Percent of Mail From Towns Under 100,000

February	71%
March	62%

D. Themes, Subjects and Topics Touched Upon in Mail

	February	March
Personal problems abroad	49%	48%
Personal problems in Germany	45	38
Denial of war guilt, ascription of war guilt to others	11	13
Program suggestions	7	4
Desire to leave Germany	11	9
Pro-Allied sentiment	7	4
Remarks about reconstruction and future of Germany	8	17
Criticism of denazification	6	7
Requests for publications	4	3
Requests for other information	5	2
CComparison of inter-zonal conditions	2	1
Comments on political affairs and elections	3	2
Remarks about international organization, problems of international cooperation	2	1
Remarks about occupation of Germany, criticism of Military Government	3	6
Desire for leadership	2	1
Anti-Communistic statements, anti-Russian remarks	1	2
Economic problems: inflations, reparations	1	1
Pride in German culture	1	1
Problems of minorities	2	1
Life in US, comparisons	3	1

APPENDIX II

Excerpts from Letters to Stimme Amerikas

Old Acquaintance: A large number of letter-writers claimed to have listened for years.

"Stimme Amerikas was like a daily prayer to me during the entire war. I listened every night, sometimes right through to the morning."

"Now is the time when I can give you my heartfelt thanks for the broadcasts over the London stations and now again over the German network. From your words of truth and clarification I drew strength when I listened "black" in order not to lose faith in the Good while living in this House of Error and in order to maintain my faith in the victory of Truth over Lies. Whenever I heard your pleasant voice it was like the voice of a good friend and gave me faith and confidence in the depths and darkness of this hell."

Program Suggestions:

"I should like to hear something about the conditions of officials and civil servants in America."

"I should like to hear something about the life of the American worker."

"I should be very gratified to hear something on the Stimme Amerikas program about the American universities and high schools. In this respect there is indeed a great lack of information here in Germany which needs to be cleared up."

"Would there not be room on your program sometime for a discussion of the cultural interests of the American woman? You can be sure that many German women would like to hear about this."

"For years I have listened regularly to your broadcasts and have been able to acquire an objective opinion about what has actually happened in these times. I should like to hear more statistics about America."

"Please give us discussions about democracy -- the difference between it and the form of government which we have here now. Tell us about the youth movements in America and England."

"In the first place I should very much like to get genuine information about the development of your country ... the teachings and principles by which your leaders have influenced the people and formed public opinion."

"I should like to hear some consideration of anti-semitism, democratic politicians, etc."

"Are there any political organizations for youth in America? I should like to hear news about them."

"I should like to mention that perhaps it would be an advantage to bring more programs for the youth. After all, they were the most infected by the Nazi teachings ..... It is the youth which is the future of every nation ..... Do show them the way of living of other peoples in good and bad days. Particularly because in your country so many races have found a home, you have a great variety of experiences to discuss."

"Couldn't you start a program in which the listener speaks? Perhaps questions could be answered, or views and opinions of the listeners could be read."

"The stories from American history which you present scarcely stir us. After all they can be read in any child's book. What you tell us about American culture is damned specious nonsens like the little stories called "Life in These United States" in the Readers Digest. But Lewis, Faulkner Wolff, Erskine and Twain have more to say to us than the 100% americanism of Uncle Sam and the typed characters which you are able to present on the radio, not because they do not represent a generality of what happens in the world, nor because they do not comment generally upon the passing scene, but because they are always shown through the American's eyes. Take Babbitt, for instance, is he not a character which is seen everywhere in the world wherever there are men and women and children and wherever there is Business? And indeed does he not move men -- and humanity -- and indeed also Americans, if you really want him to? How should one get to know America? Indeed do you really think that everyone knows what is typical of his own country?

A little story by Mark Twain, Poe, or John Dos Passos is vastly more typical of your country than "Gone with the wind," or the biography of Benjamin Franklin.

Why don't you let Thomas Mann speak occasionally? This man has something to say.

I hope that you do not accept my outlandish criticism in a false sense. You should realize that ~~that~~ in Germany one lies when one is polite.

As an old listener I claim my well-earned rights -- earned in many night hours pressed close to a Volksempfaenger trying to hear Peter Arnold while just around the corner in Berlin Himmler was fouling the air with his blasts."

"I am a medical student, 22 years old. For 12 long years we in our schools and universities have heard nothing more positive about America than that it was discovered by Columbus in 1492 and that its first residents were Indians. Could you present to us something about how it is today, and its historical development, its present-day domestic and foreign policies. We have a real and intense interest in these things. Your help may bring us closer together. I hope that you understand me rightly. I am a German and I do not want to emigrate to America. But I should like to learn, to work and to learn again. One must get to know countries and peoples and the relationship of peoples to peoples in order to be able to grow in world experience. In my profession this is important for a kind of wisdom is required to be a physician.

"All that we know, generally, about America is that it is purely a country of technicians and technicians, sportsmen, good health and calm nerves. Please, if it is possible tell us something about the spiritual qualities of America."

"What do Americans think about us Germans? What does the simple man on the street say when America sends food to Germany? What picture of Germany does the American soldier take home? Will it be possible again to build the bridge of understanding and friendship that once stood binding our two countries together?"

"Your NBC used to carry a program "What the People Are Saying in the United States." I should like to know today whether there is any such program and whether there is a possibility that we might be able to hear it?"

Criticism: Largely a refusal to accept a democratic point of view.

"This morning at 8 o'clock we bad Germans had to hear again the song of hate of that propagandist, Anna Buerger. After a well-planned introduction the lady comes finally to her point: to her poor Jews."

"I read Professor Jaspers' analysis of Anna Buerger, published in the Frankfurter Rundschau No. 6, of the 22nd of January. While Professor Jaspers had delineated Anna B uerger very nicely here, one could also read between the lines how he pointed to the lies which she utters. It is too bad that this happened for the broadcasts of this lady have now lost their value. Each time that I hear her I have the feeling that she does not speak the truth. The saying keeps going through my head: Whoever lies once will not be believed even when he speaks the truth. This does not make a difference to me alone. But different friends and acquaintances of mine also shy away from Anna Buerger's broadcasts for this reason. "

"Fools (Anna Buerger and Peter Arnold), do you think you can move us to desert our Fuehrer and our conception of the world by your scolding?

"You regard the entire German people as guilty participants. And that we must protest — we who had nothing, absolutely nothing to do with the frightful criminal system of the Nazis."

GERMAN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE EXPULSION OF GERMAN NATIONALS FROM NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES

Report No. 14A

SURVEYS BRANCH
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8 July 1946

SUMMARY

1. Expellees were more hopeful about establishing good relations with the resident German population than were resident Germans. But at best only half of each group expected that contacts betwen the groups would go smoothly.

2. Relationships with expellees on a conversational basis were more frequently established by those elements of the population with most undemocratic outlooks.

3. Awareness of the mass-migration character of the movement of expellees was basically lacking among the population of the American Zone. Only one-third of the people thought that at least one million expellees would come to this section of Germany.

4. Most people projected responsibility for the move upon groups other than the general German population. Half the people blamed the Allies for a "policy of hatred and revenge", less than one-third blamed the Nazis and their misdeeds, about one-fourth were unable to give any accounting for the movement.

5. But a large minority (40%) thought the Germans themselves should take care of the evacuees that come here. The most undemocratic elements in the population were among those most ready to accept responsibility for the care of these people. About half the people, however, in some way attributed responsibility for their care to the Allies and particularly to the Americans.

6. Large majorities of the population were ready to accord equal political and economic rights to evacuees.

7. About two in three Germans estimated that both food and housing would not be adequate to provide for the evacuees. Group differences reflected particular felt difficulties in this direction. Only about one in three people thought that jobs would not be plentiful enough to provide work for the evacuees.

8. A large majority (at least seven in ten people) said that the evacuation was unjustified in general. More of the undemocratic opposed the evacuation than was true of those groups which are better oriented toward the Allies.

INTRODUCTION

During the last week of March a survey was made of public attitudes toward the evacuees from the Sudetenland, Poland and other European countries. A total of 964 people were interviewed representing, in miniature, the population of the American Zone.

Both evacuees and members of the general German public were interrogated. It is presumed that an element of selection was introduced by the fact of registration in the Food Ration Offices insofar as some evacuees tend to be held in camps and to be fed by special rations. Names were drawn from the Offices in 72 selected communities throughout the Zone. About 15% of those interviewed were found to have lived in their town less than one year. Nearly one in ten people (9%) identified themselves as evacuees. The rest (6%) were individuals who had moved around within Germany. Some questions were directed to evacuees only, others to non-evacuees and most to both populations.

The mental set of the German people at the time of the investigation needs to be kept in mind. Food had not as yet become the overwhelming concern of a very large bloc of people. A standard question, regularly repeated on surveys, which asks for a free description of the worries and troubles which beset the individual questioned, introduced this questionnaire. Replies indicated that about one-fifth of the people were concerned over PsW and missing people. And slightly fewer were worried about unemployment. Later surveys have shown a much greater proportion (about 35%) worried about food and, in addition, other problems seemed to have paled in significance. In relation to the evacuees, then, it must be interpolated that concern over their presence in Germany as a factor disturbing the food situation has probably grown more widespread and serious in later weeks.

A secondary feature which must be kept in mind is that at the time of the survey rumors of an impending war between Russia and the United States were most widespread. On this survey people were asked if they had heard any disturbing rumors recently. About four in ten (38%) said the rumor which disturbed them was that war with Russia would break out any day. Only slightly more than one in a hundred people said they were disturbed by rumors of the effect of the influx of evacuees upon the food and housing situation. It must be interpolated, then, that concern over the presence of expellees in Germany was probably somewhat less intense when placed in the context of an impending war.

Finally, the greatest influx of expellees into already overcrowded towns and villages has taken place after this study was completed. The actual presence of this large body of people undoubtedly has made its impact upon the attitudes of the general public.

While the data in this report indicate a really serious morale problem existed on or about 1 April, it must be assumed that this matter is even more serious today.

FINDINGS

The Expellees Evaluate their Reception in Germany.

Three out of four of the expellees said that they had been better received in the American Zone than they had expected to be. Among the remaining quarter about half were unable to judge as yet, not having really settled into the community; and the other half said their reception had been worse than they had anticipated. It is probable that compared with the difficulties undergone in travel from their homes to a resting place in Germany the latter seemed more attractive. But such relative attractiveness also was likely to fade with time as the new home began to stand in relation to the abandoned home.

There was some indication of anticipated difficulties in the thinking of the evacuees. Whereas about six in ten thought they would get along with the resident German population, one-fourth of the expellees said they did not expect to do so. But when the thoughts in this direction were probed, it was apparent that some of the confidence in good relations was merely a reflection of determination to get along rather than a founded appreciation of how this was possible. One-half of the expellees said that they felt they would get along because the Germans are "nice people and we understand each other." Or, they based their confidence on past experience -- "I have lived here before and know the Germans well." The remaining half of the expellees felt without assurance that they had to make the best of things with no other choice before them. But one in eight was already discouraged saying, "These are another kind of people and do not understand us evacuees."

The Resident Population Looks at the Expellees.

Fully a third (35%) of the resident population said they had already spoken with an evacuee. Some interesting variations by population groups were observed. More men (39%) than women (32%), for instance, had met with the evacuees and had spoken with them. This is probably a result of the easier social movement of men in the population and the traditional tendency of women to withdraw from contacts with strangers.

But former NSDAP members (48%) had also more largely developed such contacts than had non-members (32%). It may be presumed that several factors operate to produce this result. There are more men than women among former party members, for instance PGs, too, are the more active,

intelligent, and well-to-do members of the population who now find themselves with free time on their hands. The result of such heightened interaction is, naturally, an interpretation of the cause and effects of the evacuation through the eyes of people who are in themselves poorly disposed to accept Allied policies.

A similar effect probably can result from the disposition of the members of the higher social classes to have met more frequently with expellees than did those lower in the social scale. Whereas over half (55%) of the upper and upper middle class members had talked with an evacuee, and a similar proportion (52%) of the lower middle class group had done likewise, only one in three of the upper lower class (30%), and one in five of the lowest class (22%) had been in such a position.

Those who had spoken with evacuees were asked what they had found out about the experiences of these people. The most usual response (16%) was that the expellees were glad to get away from the "terrible" people with whom they had been living. Two groups of Allied peoples were particularly named -- the Russians and the Czechs. A smaller proportion (6%) replied that the expellees said they were badly treated here with little food and poor quarters. About one in twenty commented that they had been told that the expellees want to go home when conditions change, that is, when the Allied influences leave. Smaller proportions (about 1% each) answered that the expellees would like to go home from here as soon as possible since it was better there than here; that utter misery prevailed with total deprivation of property and belongings; that there should be another war so that it would be possible to expunge the Allied forces and make it possible to go home; or that they would like to stay here and find work if this were possible. The tone of each of these types of comments was that of disgruntled disrespect for the purpose of the move.

The reports given the ICD interrogators by non-expellees were widely at variance with those given by the expellees themselves. The inclination of the particular types of people, who had had most contact with the evacuees, to find Allied policies unacceptable must not be overlooked.

Those who had spoken with the evacuees were also asked what impression stese strangers had made upon them. About one in eight resident Germans said that the impression they had gotten was "good" and 5% more spoke highly of the evacuees using phrases like "very good" or "very friendly". A major impression (11%) was also that of pity with reports of the pathetic sights seen given full play. A group of about the same size said that they were unfavorably impressed with the evacuees, that at least a part of them made a "bad" impression.

The expectations of the expellees (only half of them thought they would be able to get along with resident Germans) was supported by the attitudes of the latter. For among the non-expellees just as many thought (50%) that the expellees would get along with the people here, about one-fourth thought they would not, and the remainder held no opinion about the result of the influx. However, even among the most sanguine half there were qualifications upon the expectation. About three in ten non-expellees said that the expellees would get along all right if they are decent people, or if they do their part and cooperate and work. Others said that they are well taken care of and provided for so they should get along all right; or that since they are all Germans they should fit in as well as anyone else; or that the expellees have no other choice -- in their destitute position they have to get along. At the same time, those pessimistic about relations between the evacuees and the general population offered two main justifications for their viewpoint. It was said (11%) that the evacuees are foreigners and intruders and will be treated as such. And a group just as large (11%) proposed that the evacuees are no good and do not want to work so "the fact that they will not get along is their own fault." A few in a hundred pointed to the shortages in housing and food which will be complicated by the new population and, therefore, likely to induce resentment. It was also said by a few that the evacuees hate the Germans and hold them responsible for the present plight in which they find themselves; or that the evacuees are resigned to their fate, ask for little, and do not expect anything but poor treatment, and will be treated in the way they expect.

Awareness of the Magnitude of the Problem.

Gross misapprehension of the size of the expellee problem could be observed among the population of the American Zone. Only about one in three (34%) individuals questioned estimated that at least one million evacuees would be coming here from places such as Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Austria. Nearly one-fourth of the people guessed that less than one million evacuees would come to Western Germany while the remainder (42%) were unable to suggest any number at all. Nor was this underestimate corrected to any large degree when the answers of the better educated were considered apart from the replies of the poorly educated. While less than one third (29%) of those with seven years or less schooling estimated that at least one million would come to Germany, about one-half (49%) of the better educated were as well informed. Among the more poorly educated there was not only a greater inability to make any guess at all, but just as many (27%) thought that less than one million people would be moved Among those with twelve or more years education fewer people underestimated (22%) but a large group, too, (29%) were unable to name any figure at all.

Responsibility for the Expulsion Order.

Everyone who was questioned in the sample was asked: "Apart from the war, whom or what do you regard responsible for the great number of evacuees?" Half (51%) the people attributed the responsibility to the Allies, to the feeling against Germany, the hatred of the Germans, revenge for the misdeeds of the Germans, punishment imposed by the victor upon the vanquished, or the bitterness of the governments in Czechoslovakia or Poland toward German nationals within their borders. Less than one-third (29%) put the blame upon the defunct Nazi system or upon Hitler himself, or upon the misdeed of the Nazis while occupying other countries. One in a hundred respondents accepted the responsibility saying "we ourselves are guilty, it is our fault." A few (4%) had other replies -- shortage of food in the neighboring countries; a move to prevent future wars; a move to purify the nationals within national boundaries, etc. And one-forth (25%) of those questioned were unable to judge who or what was responsible in their eyes for the evacuations.

Attribution of such responsibility varied among some population groups. Former PGs tended to withhold accusation of the Nazi system or leaders (25%) and to place the responsibility more generally at the feet of the Allies (55%), while non-PGs somewhat more frequently imputed the guilt to the Nazis (31%) and somewhat less frequently to the Allies (47%). The well-educated even more sharply underlined the outlook of the former PGs. People who had had a college education held together in a large bloc (61%) that the Allies and their "hate-policies" should bear the responsibility. But among the more poorly educated only half the people (50%) answered in the same direction. Such differences were maintained between socio-economic groups, too, with the upper classes more frequently holding the Allies to be responsible for the expellees. Followers of the Socialist Party in Germany were more likely to accuse Hitler and the Nazis (35%) of having brought such a mass movement about than were the followers of other zone-wide parties (25%). CSU supporters, particularly, blamed the Allies (60%), while less than half the SPD people (44%) agreed with them. No differences were observed between the judgments of men and women or Catholics and Protestants on this question.

Responsibility for the Care of the Expellees.

In regard to the care of the evacuees who come to Germany much more charitable reactions were encountered. A large minority (40%) of the Germans held that they themselves should take care of these people, or that each community which receives them should provide for their well-being. But, again, a large minority (25%) withdrew from

this responsibility and maintained that the Americans or the Allies, the countries that expelled them, the whole world should bear this burden. Moreover, nearly as many (23%) included the Allies along with Germany in the responsibility to care for the evacuees. Less than one in ten people (7%) would thrust the responsibility upon the former Nazis. One in eight people (13%) could not decide upon whom such responsibility should be placed. In the end, it is apparent that the Allies were held fully or at least partly responsible for the care of the evacuees by more people (48%) than the proportion (40%) which accepted this as a responsibility of the German nation or communities.

Nevertheless, there were some groups whose members proved to stand more on the side of the acceptance of this responsibility than in favor of putting the load on the Allies wholly or in part. The major population group with this character was that composed of the residents of Gross-Hessen. Only one in three (29%) would thrust this responsibility upon us while nearly half (46%) were ready to accept it themselves. In the other two Laender there were more who wanted to escape the whole responsibility (45%) than there were willing to accept it (37%). Protestants, too, more than Catholics were prepared to care for the expellees. And the people who had attended college were somewhat more ready than were the more poorly educated to undertake such care. This pattern held, also, for the former members of the NSDAP and for the higher social classes. Residents of the largest cities -- Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Munich -- were more generously disposed toward the evacuees than were residents of smaller towns. Indications were presented that in the medium large cities (100,000 to 250,000) there was greatest resistance to German efforts to care for the evacuees and the largest proportion wanting to place the responsibility upon the Allies.

What is probably most significant in these findings is that among the most obstinate groups -- the regular church-going Protestants, the well-educated, the upper classes and the former NSDAP members -- there was found more readiness to assume responsibility for the difficulties brought upon Germany through the actions of her responsible ministers. But this willingness needs to be evaluated in the light of their recalcitrancy on the general problem of accounting for the evacuee situation discussed above. Essentially, these people said "the policy of hatred and revenge introduced by the Allies is understood as indicative of the general orientation of the Allies toward Germany. We Germans accept this. We will do our part to relieve the misery brought willfully upon us by yourfrightful policy. But we cannot love you the more for it." A further interpretation is indicated that perhaps some of the greater activity on the part of these groups in meeting and talking with expellees arises out of their desire to document the facts of the evacuation for future possible use in torpedoing Allied good will being built among the German people.

Expellees as Members of the German Society.

Probing in two directions showed that a large majority of the German population was prepared to grant the expellees equal political and economic rights. But somewhat fewer (74%) were ready to give political equality than economic equality (81%).

Primary opposition to political equality for the evacuees was found among followers of the CSU. As many as one-third (32%) held that such rights should not be accorded to the evacuees. Among other political blocs only about one in ten would have denied such rights. Among occupation groups, businessmen and officials and higher white collar workers, as well as farmers, felt in more than average proportion that such equality was not deserved. The same group differences were observed in regard to job opportunities for expellees.

General Evaluation: Is the Evacuation Justified?

The sharpness and generality of criticism presented above is emphasized by the largely negative response to the question: "Do you believe the evacuation of these people is justified or not?" More than seven in ten people (72%) said it was not justified, a few (2%) said it was only partly justified, and about one in six (14%) said it was justified. The rest (12%) did not express an opinion.

Characteristic groups in the population differed in the expected direction. Somewhat larger proportions maintained that the general policy was justified among SPD supporters, irregular church attenders, non-PGs, the less well educated, women, residents of the largest cities and residents of Gross-Hessen. But even among these groups large proportions thought the matter unjustified. Only those people living in Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Munich failed to line up a solid majority in opposition.

Reasons given for acceptance of the policy centered around help for the expellees on the ground that they are brother-nationals and deserve as much sympathy and aid as any German; or that it is necessary to make up for Hitler's mad policies which brought such distress upon the whole Continent that it can only be fair to ask this of the German nation. A few people remarked that "we would have done the same", or "unless this is done the PGs will remain to ferment within other borders"; or qualified their acceptance of the policy by saying that it is justified only for those who went willingly to settle in other countries.

Most of those who felt that the evacuation was unjustified maintained that the misery brought upon the expellees could not be morally upheld (47%). It was said that it was unchristian and unpolitic as well as senseless

to uproot people who have been settled for centuries. A secondary reason given for the answer "unjustified" (14%) was again a moral argument: not all these people anymore than all Germans were guilty of imposing misery upon others. "It was not their fault that there was a war." Nearly one in ten (9%) supported his judgment by pointing to the realities of the food and supply situation -- that the other countries could support the evacuees but Germany was unable to support even her own population. And some alluded to the Lebensraum theory by saying that Germany will now be even more thickly populated than she was before and therefore even more pressure will develop for expansion. Others (2%) felt the evacuation unjustified as long as the DPs remain in Germany. One in a hundred held to the rights of movement or residence for all peoples anywhere in the world. Some remarks were heard to the end that discrimination segregated the women and children for evacuation to Germany and that it was unfair to send only non-workers; or that a policy of revenge and hate could only lead to disaster.

Effect of Evacuation upon Basic Economy.

The cross-section population was asked to indicate which of the three problems -- food, housing and jobs -- would not be able to be solved for the influx of evacuees. A solid majority of all those questioned despaired of finding a solution for the lack of food (71%) and housing (64%) but only one-third (35%) thought the matter of jobs was insoluble.

The consequences of such a situation as was described to the ICD interrogators was further explored. Few people (5%) proposed civil strife, more spoke about chaos (14%). But most people indicated that the usual results of such shortages would develop -- hunger, sickness, misery, homeless people, robbery, suicide. About one in fifty considered that there would be a move toward communism. As many as one-fourth of the population were unable to predict any result. That more serious organized repercussions were not anticipated probably was a function of the widespread ignorance of the mass character of the immigration, as well as the traditional respect for authority among Germans.

Within population groups food was not always ranked as the most insoluble problem although this was nearly always the case. In Baden-Wuerttemberg, for instance, food and housing were rated by similar proportions (66%) of the population as the most difficult obstacle. And in the very large cities -- Frankfurt, Stuttgart, and Munich -- housing (87%) outranked food (77%) even here were food is most short. Within the top social classes, too, both food and housing were said to be insoluble by practically equal proportions (70%).

To find work for the evacuees was thought to be impossible by half or more of the upper classes, the officials and higher white collar workers, and those residents in medium sized cities (10,000 to 250,000). More hopeful than the average about the work situation were laborers and residents in the largest cities.

The variations by population groups very probably indicate principle concerns of each of the groups which are not necessarily related to the problem of relief of the evacuees. For example, it is no more difficult for the upper classes to get living quarters than it is for the lower classes. On the contrary, it is undoubtedly easier. Yet the higher the social class the more people predict housing shortages for the evacuees. It should probably be interpreted that the upper classes are experiencing more pinch in the housing facilities than ever before and, psychologically, notice more the relative reductions in room-space per individual than do members of the lower classes.

APPENDIX

"Apart from the war, whom or what do you regard responsible for the great number of evacuees?"

	Hatred & Revenge	Allies	Hitler & Nazis	We are	Other	Don't know
Party Preference						
SPD	29%	15%	35%	1%	4%	24%
CDU	27	23	26	2	2	28
CSU	40	20	25	2	4	22
None	33	22	25	-	3	25
Religion						
Regular Catholic	37	12	30	1	4	26
Irregular Catholic	31	18	32	2	6	18
Regular Protestant	29	20	28	1	1	27
Irregular Protestant	29	24	28	2	5	20
Sex						
Men	31	21	31	1	4	22
Women	31	18	25	1	5	26
NSDAP Membership						
PG	36	19	25	2	7	22
Non-PG	29	18	31	1	4	24
Education						
7 years or less	36	14	32	1	3	24
8 years	28	18	31	1	3	26
9 to 11 years	30	28	18	3	5	24
12 or more years	29	32	25	-	7	15
Socio-Economic Class						
Upper to Upper Middle	38	17	32	2	8	18
Lower middle	31	20	32	2	5	13
Upper lower	30	23	26	1	4	23
Lower classes	32	13	27	1	2	35

"In your opinion who should be responsible for the care of these people?"

	Germans	Nazis	Germans & Allies	Allies	Don't know
Section					
Wuerttemberg-Baden	38%	8%	23%	21%	9%
Bavaria	37	7	24	21	11
Hessen	46	4	19	10	21
Religion					
Regular Catholic	33	10	24	21	12
Irregular Catholic	35	9	24	20	12
Regular Protestant	46	5	19	17	13
Irregular Protestant	39	5	25	16	15
NSDAP Membership					
PG	45	5	27	17	6
Non-PG	38	8	22	18	14
Education					
7 years or less	39	9	19	22	11
8 years	38	5	22	17	18
9 to 11 years	36	5	30	17	12
12 or more years	47	4	29	19	1
Socio-Economic Class					
Upper to upper Middle	44	6	27	16	8
Lower middle	41	5	25	19	10
Upper lower	38	7	23	19	13
Lower classes	37	7	19	18	19
Size of community					
Under 2,000	41	6	20	17	16
2 to 10,000	34	11	24	19	12
10 to 100,000	38	7	23	21	11
100 to 250,000	40	1	41	14	6
Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Munich	45	8	15	19	16

"Do you believe the evacuation of these people is justified or not?"

	Justified	Not Justified	Partly	No opinion
Section				
Wuerttemberg-Baden	10%	75%	2%	13%
Bavaria	14	76	2	8
Hessen	19	62	1	18
Size of Community				
Under 2,000	13	72	3	12
2 to 10,000	10	80	2	8
10 to 100,000	15	73	3	9
100 to 250,000	16	70	2	12
Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Munich	25	48	2	25
Sex				
Men	15	74	2	9
Women	14	69	2	15
NSDAP Membership				
PG	11	79	2	8
Non-PG	16	69	2	13
Socio-Economic Class				
Upper to upper middle	9	81	3	7
Lower middle	14	73	3	10
Upper lower	14	71	1	14
Lower classes	17	67	2	14
Education				
7 years or less	14	73	1	12
8 years	16	68	1	15
9 to 11 years	14	71	5	10
12 or more years	11	85	3	1
Party Preference				
SPD	18	70	2	10
CDU	11	74	-	15
CSU	12	78	2	8
LDP	8	77	5	10
None	11	71	2	16
Religion				
Regular Catholic	13	75	1	11
Irregular Catholic	18	72	2	8
Regular Protestant	9	77	11	12
Irregular Protestant	18	63	4	15

"Should equal right be given to evacuees to participate in politics and elections just like the rest of the population, or should their political rights be curtailed?"

	Equal rights	Curtailed	No opinion
Party Preference			
SPD	81%	14%	5%
CDU	81	8	11
CSU	60	32	8
None	74	12	14
Occupation			
Business	63	26	11
Higher officials	70	23	7
Clerical	82	10	8
Skilled workers	77	17	6
Semi-Skilled workers	75	16	9
Laborers	70	15	15
Farmers	65	21	14
Unemployed	80	16	4

"Should an opportunity be given evacuees to get good jobs, or to make themselves independent, or should better positions and independent occupations be chiefly reserved for resident populations?"

	Equal opportunity	Reserved	No opinion
Party Preference			
SPD	86%	11%	3%
CDU	85	9	6
CSU	71	26	3
None	84	7	9
Occupation			
Business	75	20	5
Higher officials	79	19	2
Clerical	81	13	6
Skilled workers	85	13	2
Semi-skilled workers	90	7	3
Laborers	79	11	10
Farmers	78	19	3
Unemployed	83	14	3

"In your opinion, which of the following problems will have to remain unsolved for evacuees in the American Zone -- housing, food, or jobs?"

	Housing	Food	Jobs	Don't know
Section				
Wuerttemberg-Baden	66%	65%	35%	17%
Bavaria	61	69	44	7
Hessen	63	81	38	6
Size of Community				
Under 2,000	63	68	37	10
2 to 10,000	56	70	36	10
10 to 100,000	49	69	50	9
100 to 250,000	85	90	63	1
Frankfurt, Stuttgart Munich	87	77	20	5
Party Preference				
SPD	62	68	40	9
CDU	54	70	35	15
CSU	59	69	39	8
None	74	81	44	6
Socio-Economic Class				
Upper to upper middle	70	71	49	4
Lower middle	63	68	41	8
Upper lower	63	73	37	9
Lower classes	59	72	39	12
Occupation				
Business	66	69	40	9
Higher officials	70	74	53	2
Clerical	65	73	42	5
Skilled workers	60	62	37	13
Semi-skilled workers	65	72	33	7
Laborers	66	79	25	11
Farmers	59	72	34	12
Unemployed	60	66	47	8

RESTRICTED

RELATIVE EFFECTS OF FOOD SCARCITY IN TWO COUNTRIES.

#15

SURVEYS BRANCH
INFORMATION CONTROL DIVISION
OMGUS (REAR)
27 July 1946

RESTRICTED

Relative Effects of Food Scarcity in Two Countries.

When policy decisions in regard to the size of the food-ration in Germany are under consideration, it is not unusual to hear a desire expressed for a measured evaluation of the relative ration situations in various European countries. Public opinion surveys have just been reported from Germany and from England which give some insight into this situation. The work in England was done by the British Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup Poll). In Germany, the ICD Surveys Unit carried out similar investigations based upon scientifically chosen samples of the Zonal population.

This question was asked throughout both countries: "Do you feel that you are getting enough food to enable you to work efficiently?" Very stable responses were offered in England. A survey taken in late November, 1945 and another in March, 1946 brought identical results. Exactly half the people questioned said that they felt they were not getting enough food to be able to work efficiently. Almost as many said they felt sufficient food was being procured by them.

In Germany, one survey was conducted before the cut in rations which took place on the first of April this year. Two more surveys were conducted since then. In reply to the question asked in March about six in ten respondents said they were not getting enough food, about four in ten said they were. Assuming that the samples in Germany and England both represented a cross-section of the population, it can be said that about 10% more Germans than English were at that time feeling serious effects of the limited rations.

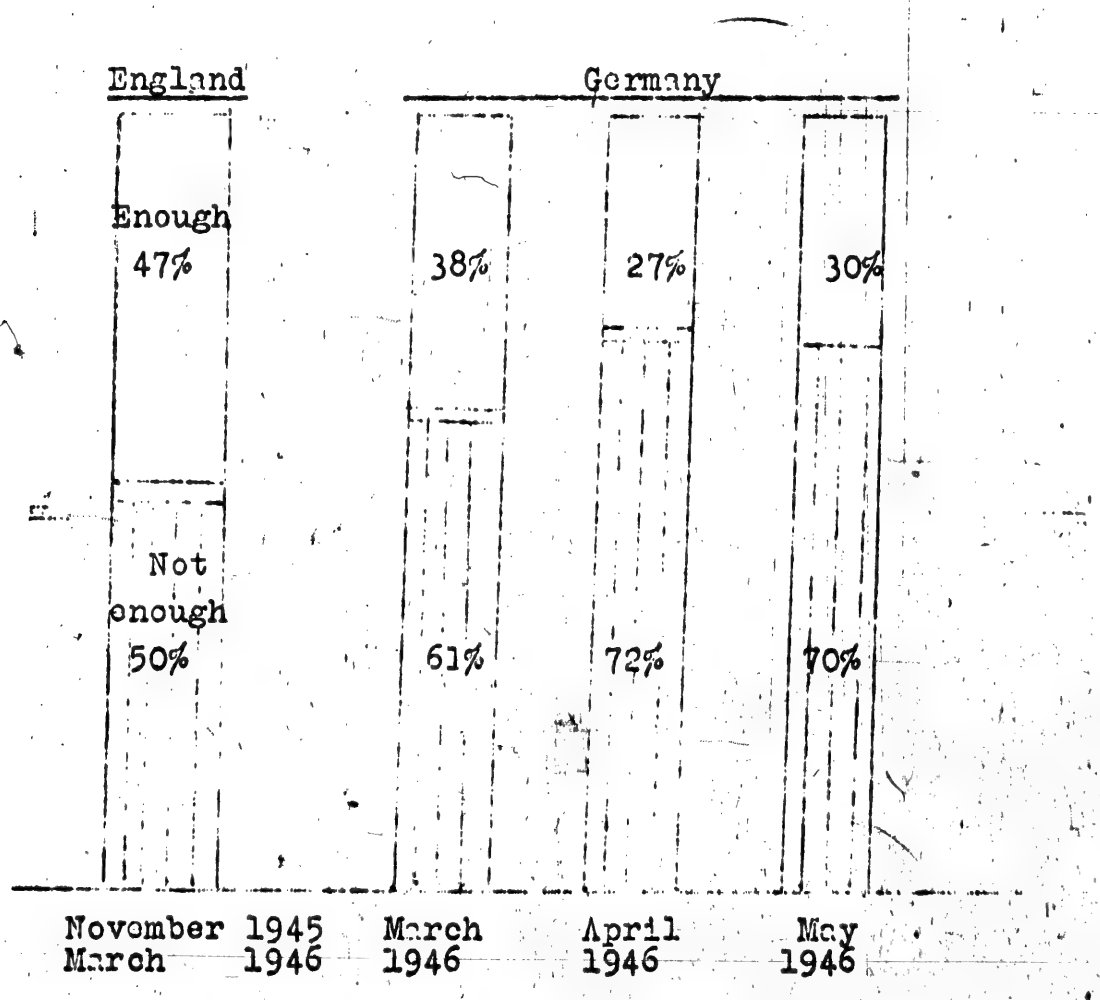
The two later investigations made in Germany showed a still larger proportion of people who maintained that food affected their working ability. Both these studies (carried out after the ration cut) returned about seven in ten respondents who maintained that the allotment of food was insufficient to meet the energies expended in their work.

This question was also asked in Berlin as part of the May survey. Berliners held in very large proportion to being fed below their requirements. Nearly nine in ten (88%) said they were getting too little food to carry on their work efficiently.

But Berliners were not alone in presenting complaints in such large proportions. Within the American Zone, even a larger proportion (93%) of the residents of towns between 100,000 and 250,000 reported such hardship. And only slightly fewer (85%) answered in the same direction in towns containing 50,000 to 100,000 people and in the large cities Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Nuremberg, and Munich. About three in four people resident in communities from 2,000 to 50,000 felt the same way, while among the large population living in villages under 2,000 only about six in ten answered similarly.

It can be concluded that a larger proportion of the German than the English public saw the food limitations as seriously affecting their work capacity. Within Germany, too, the distribution of food probably was not equal among communities of various sizes. But even in the smallest towns and villages, a larger proportion felt the enervating effects of the lowered ration than did the average Englishman. If it can be assumed that the standard food ration in Germany's neighboring countries is somewhat lower on the average than that in England, then the data reported here indicate that the German ration as well, is lower than the English ration.

Question: "Do you feel that you are getting enough food to enable you to work efficiently?"



P R E S S R E L E A S E

Survey Section

Report No.16

Intelligence Branch

Office of Director of Information Control

Office of Military Government for Germany (U. S.)

(Rear Echelon)

Note: Excerpts may be published but no re-write, please. Credit Surveys Section, ODIC, in order to avoid dangers of false confirmation.

7 August 1946 -- FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

MAJORITY OF GERMANS BELIEVE NURNBERG TRIALS FAIR

Guilt of Defendants and Organizations Conclusive

Reactions of Population to Trials Favorable

Bad Homburg, Germany, 7 August 1946 — A series of public opinion surveys has found that a majority of the German people believe the defendants at the International Military Tribunal (Nurnberg Trials) are guilty of having taken part in planning the war. The percentage of people believing that the 21 accused major war criminals are receiving a fair trial is even higher.

This series of public opinion polls conducted among the German population by the Surveys Section of the Information Control Division reveals that the Nurnberg Trials are serving the intended purpose of bringing to light the story of war atrocities and instructing the German people of their leaders' guilt.

As the trials have progressed, more data on war crimes and individual guilt have been made available to the German people. The results of a study shortly after the Tribunal convened in November 1945 revealed that in the intervening few weeks 65% of the German people had learned something from the proceedings. In later polls the percentage of people having gained some information rose to 87%.

The question was put to the German people, "Have you learned anything from the proceedings at the Nurnberg Trials which you did not know before?

	First Survey	Second Survey
Yes	65%	87%
No	33	11
Don't know	2	2
	100	100

"What did you learn?"

	First Survey	Second Survey
Learned about concentration camps	29%	57%
Learned about German aggression and early war preparatio	12	8
Learned of the activities of Party leaders	6	8
Learned that they had been betrayed by their leaders	5	4
Learned "much", "knew nothing before"	11	10
Other	5	7
Learned of the annihilation of the Jews	-	30
Learned that Hitler and leaders were worse than they thought	-	3
	68 +	127 +

+(Columns total more than 65% and 87% respectively because some respondents gave more than one answer).

It is interesting to note that 57% of the German people indicate that they first learned about concentration camps through the Nurnberg Trials. As the trials progressed and more information concerning atrocities was released, 30% of the people interviewed said that they first learned about the annihilation of the Jews.

Interest in the trial proceedings has, however, suffered a constant decline. The German population was naturally affected by the indictments, and a high degree of original interest was to be expected. The defence of the accused received much attention, and the German people expected to hear reiterated to the world those same explanations with which they had been propagandized during the past decade. But the defendants' testimony was different from that perhaps expected by the population, and as the line of defence became evident, interest in the trials waned. This conclusion is based on readership studies of newspaper articles concerning the Nurnberg Trials. The proportion of readers has steadily decreased from 82% to 67%, and the degree of interest in these articles has declined from 62% to 36%. Among readers, the number of people who read articles all the way through has dropped from 64% to 51% and "partial readers" have increased from 35% to 48%.

In a series of eight surveys, taken since before the opening session of the International Military Tribunal, the percentage of people believing that the Nazis would receive a fair trial has never dropped below 75%. This low was reached, interestingly enough, at the time the Russian prosecution had the stand. The average for the eight surveys shows that 80% believe the Nazi leaders would receive a fair trial, 4% did not believe the trial would be fair, while 16% held no opinion on the question.

The study at the time the Russian prosecution began to state their charges reveals that, among those people who knew that the Russians had begun their case, 51% thought their presentation of the charges was orderly and just, while 21% answered in the negative and 28% did not have an opinion.

The guilt of the 21 war leaders on trial is maintained by a conclusive majority of the German population. An almost similar proportion believes that all defendants are guilty of taking part in the planning of the war.

"Which of the defendants do you think is not guilty?"

70%	-- said all are guilty
9%	-- named someone considered not guilty
1%	-- said none are guilty
20%	-- held no opinion
100	

Hess was named most frequently (by five per cent) as not guilty. Von Papen and von Neurath, were named by two per cent. Raeder, Doenitz, Keitel, Speer and Schacht were each named by one per cent or less of the sampled population.

Seven out of ten people interviewed indicated that all the defendants are guilty of having taken part in planning the war. One out of ten said that not all were guilty, while the remainder held no opinion. The guilt of the defendants is, without a doubt, established in the minds of the German people. The guilt of the indicted organizations -- the Reich Cabinet, the Leadership Corps of the Nazi Party, the SS, SA, Gestapo, and the General Staff and High Command of the German armed forces -- is accepted by a somewhat smaller majority. Six out of ten people interviewed indicated that the indictment of whole organizations was justified, while one quarter claimed that such an indictment was not justified and 15% held no opinion.

Nearly half of the people interviewed believe a death sentence for the accused would be handed down. The manner of execution was not specified. Another fifth of the population thought the verdict would be "life imprisonment" or "forced labor". Very few (one in a hundred) argued for mild punishment on the grounds that the defendants were carrying out orders on higher authority, one of the principal grounds of the defence. The remaining group could reply only in the vague terms that a "just" verdict would be decreed (13%), or that they did not know what the punishment would be (13%).

The sampled group split sharply on the question of whether all defendants would receive the same punishment. Less than four in ten (37%) indicated that the punishment would be the same, and most of these people thought the sentence would carry the death penalty. Almost half of the people interviewed (46%) said the punishment would vary according to the individual defendant. Heavier punishment is expected for Party leaders such as Goering, Streicher, Ribbentrop, Kaltenbrunner, Sauckel, Rosenberg and Frank. Military and naval leaders and the defendants von Papen, Schacht, and Fritzsche are expected to receive lighter sentences. More people expected Rudolph Hess to receive lighter punishment than any other defendant.

The defendants at the Nurnberg Trials today are not considered the only ones who have committed war crimes. Seven out of ten people think there are others guilty of war crimes. Only 17% said that the present defendants are alone in their guilt while 12% did not express an opinion. Among those who thought that there were others guilty, Nazi Party members and lesser leaders were named most frequently followed by other party people, industrialists, the German Army, and the SS. The Gestapo, the notoriously terroristic state police organization which is guilty of many war atrocities, was named by only 1% of the people. On the other hand, 6% of the people interviewed attributed guilt to leaders in the United states, England and/or Russia.

Almost six out of ten people felt that those guilty should be charged after the Nurnberg Trials, but a similar proportion did not know which of these groups would be charged. And although further trials are expected to be held at the conclusion of the trial of the 21 major defendants, 82% of the people did not know that the political leaders now in prison camps would be tried.

[illegible] shortly after Goering [illegible]
in his own defense, [illegible] of the people [illegible]
they were favorably impressed [illegible]
limited an unfavorable [illegible]
unqualified [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] his deeds, accepted responsibility
did not try to place the blame on others 12%

He told more than necessary in order to absolve others 1

Many things for which he was not guilty -- concentration camps, shooting of Prisoners of War, etc. 2

He spoke well, his defence was good 3

Total favorably impressed 18

He was obviously lying, nobody could be Hitler's right hand man and not know what was going on 12%

In spite of his defence, he hasn't changed any, as bad as ever 9

He only tried to clear himself, save his own skin 8

He got himself in deeper, only implicated himself more, he betrayed himself 4

Just a lot of words, empty talk 7

Total unfavorably impressed 40

No information, don't know about Goering's testimoney 42

100

Although attendance at the trials by Germans is not permitted, a series of surveys shows that a majority of the readers find the newspaper reports to be complete and trustworthy. In only one instance did the proportion who were satisfied with the newspaper reports drop below 75% of the people interviewed. At the time the defence was presenting its evidence, 15% of the people felt that the newspaper reports were not completely trustworthy. This is an increase of 10% over the average for all previous surveys.

As soon as a verdict has been announced, further public opinion surveys will be conducted to study immediate public reactions to the decision. These results will be made available as soon as they have been compiled.

In a survey taken shortly after Goering testified in his own defense, 18% of the people interviewed said that they were favorably impressed with his testimony, while 40% indicated an unfavorable reaction and 42% felt too unqualified to offer an opinion.

The question and results follow:

"What impression did Goering's defense of his former deeds make on you?"

He admitted his deeds, accepted responsibility did not try to place the blame on others	12%
He told more than necessary in order to absolve others	1
Many things for which he was not guilty -- concentration camps, shooting of Prisoners of War, etc.	2
He spoke well, his defence was good	3
Total favorably impressed	18
He was obviously lying, nobody could be Hitler's right hand man and not know what was going on	12%
In spite of his defence, he hasn't changed any, as bad as over	9
He only tried to clear himself, save his own skin	8
He got himself in deeper, only implicated himself more, he betrayed himself	4
Just a lot of words, empty talk	7
Total unfavorably impressed	40
No information, don't know about Goering's testimoney	42
	100

Although attendance at the trials by Germans is not permitted, a series of surveys shows that a majority of the readers find the newspaper reports to be complete and trustworthy. In only one instance did the proportion who were satisfied with the newspaper reports drop below 75% of the people interviewed. At the time the defence was presenting its evidence, 15% of the people felt that the newspaper reports were not completely trustworthy. This is an increase of 10% over the average for all previous surveys.

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ATTITUDES TOWARD INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP IN GERMANY COMPARED WITH ATTITUDES IN SEVEN OTHER COUNTRIES.

Report No. 17

SURVEYS BRANCH
INFORMATION CONTROL DIVISION
OMGUS (REAR)
APO 757 U.S. ARMY

8 August 1946

In order to provide a test of the orientation of the German people toward other nations of the world a question was asked on a late Spring (15 April 1946) survey of the German public (American Zone) which had been asked in seven other countries. The question was: "Which country, in your opinion, will have the greatest influence on world events during the next ten years?" This question obviously probed into the growing awareness of Germans of the position of the great powers in the world. Replies indicated, then, to some extent where the German public is ready to cast its lot.

A solid majority of the people interviewed thought that the United States would chiefly influence world history in the coming decade. And about one in twenty more (6%) was ready to assume that the United States and Britain would act together as one power. Only about one in ten Germans looked to Russia as the most important country in the future ten years, but again a small group (6%) could not distinguish between the relative strengths of the United States and Russia. Only a very tiny proportion (2%) held that Britain was the country which would influenc future world decisions. About one in seven people (15%) was unable to express a judgment on this matter.

The reasons given in support of the replies reemphasized the fundamental distinction made by Germans when they think of future reorganization of their country under the direction of the four great powers. Practically half those who thought America would dominate the world scene, for instance, held that the great economic strength, the rich resources and the great stocks of food in the States would place her in the supreme position. About one in five of these people spoke about the political ideology and leadership directed toward peaceful ends which would carry America forward in a dominant role. Only about one in seven referred to the military might of the United States — her army and navy, the atomic bomb.

On the other hand, nearly six in ten of those who thought Russia would occupy the leadership position maintained that the revolutionary drive of Bolshevism would bring her to the first rank. One in seven more, on the other hand, spoke respectfully about the ideological leadership and need for peace which would determine Russia's action in the future.

Britain's force was said to reside, by most people, who chose this nation, in her political strength. But mention was made, too, of Britain's naval and military power and the overseas economic resources of the empire.

When the German attitudes are compared with those expressed by people of other lands, it becomes apparent that rationalizations about "economic resources" or "political strength" or "military might" do not entirely account for the attitudinal distinctions made. As was true in all the other countries, the United States was ranked as the primary leader by a proportion larger than that given any other country. And, in the same way, Russia was ranked second. But among the eight diverse populations, Germany showed the smallest proportion granting the most influential position to Russia. And here arguments about economic strength and ideological aggressiveness and military power can be said to hold as reasonably as for America.

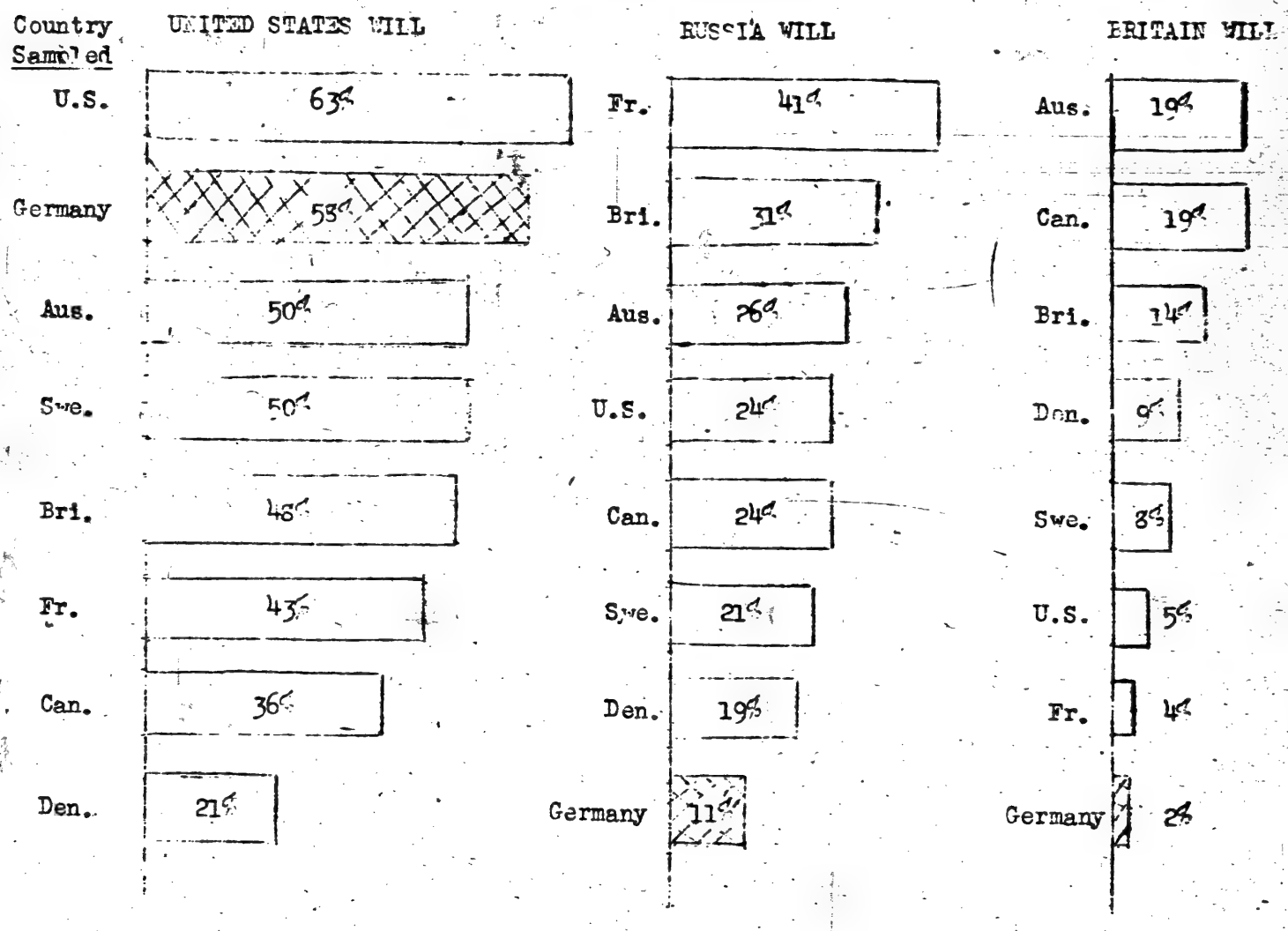
It has been said that the world is becoming polarized toward either Russia or toward the United States, that these two countries are attracting a decision on the part of other peoples to line up with one or the other great nation. The data indicate that such a situation, if true, is further advanced in Germany than in countries such as France or Denmark.

Moreover, the relative picture presented in the chart below indicates that in those countries whose populations most respect Russia (France or Britain) more people considered that Russia would stand preeminent in the world in the years to come. Whether it is wishful thinking, or distrust, which provides the basic motivation for a decision between Russia and the United States cannot be said. But undoubtedly both pressures operate to induce clustering of the expressed dispositions of the German people.

Finally, the size of the proportions mentioning countries other than the Big Three and those holding no opinion at all must be taken into account. Appreciable minorities with such characteristics were found in Germany, Canada, Sweden, France and Denmark. About three in ten Germans (half of these held "No opinion") were unable to center their decision upon one country, or mentioned countries beside the Big Three. Indecision on the part of such a number probably indicates that the future, in respect to the place of Germany, is unclear to this group. The uncertainty shown by those responses, however, was not equal to that found in Denmark where about half the population seemed to be torn between the possibilities of the United States or Russia holding the leading role on the world stage.

A Cross-Section of Adults in Seven Countries and the American Zone of Germany Was Asked Which Country Will Have the Greatest Influence on World Events in the Future. Three Answers Frequently Given Were:

THREE RESPONSES



"Which country, in your opinion, will have the greatest influence on world events during the next ten years?"

Responses	15 April '46 GERMANY	Nov. '45 Australia	July '45 United States	July '45 Canada
United States	58%	50%	63%	36%
Russia	11	26	24	24
Britain	2	19	5	19
U.S. and Britain	6	-	1	-
U.S. and Russia	6	-	2	-
Other	2	-	-	2
No opinion	15	5	5	19
	100%	100%	100%	100%

	July '45 Sweden	July '45 Denmark	July '45 France	26 Aug. '45 Britain
United States	50%	21%	43%	48%
Russia	21	19	41	31
Britain	8	9	4	14
U.S. and Britain	-	12	-	-
U.S. and Russia	-	7	-	-
Other	5	4	8	2
No opinion	16	28	8	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%

RESTRICTED

A STUDY OF FOOD CONSUMPTION AND ATTITUDES TOWARD RATIONING AND GENERAL HEALTH OF THE GERMAN POPULATION

Report No. 18

SURVEYS BRANCH
INFORMATION CONTROL DIVISION
OFFICE OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT FOR GERMANY (US)
(REAR ECHELON)

14 August 1946

RESTRICTED

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

During the second week of May a survey was conducted to determine food consumption, attitudes toward rationing and the general health of the German population.

The sample was constructed of 1698 interviews -- 1504 representing a miniature of the population in the American Zone, and 194 in the British and American Sectors of Berlin. An additional 526 cases were obtained to build up the sample in order that breakdown tabulations by individual city size groups could be shown. Thus, an actual total of 2224 individual interviews were made.

Shown in this report are tabulations by various population groups, as well as by place of residence, both city and Land. Naturally, these tabulations are made on smaller numbers of cases, and in some instances, the statistical reliability may not be as great as when considering the tabulation of the total sample.

Wherever mention is made to the American Zone (AMZONE), the reference is only to the three Laender within the zone -- Bavaria, Gross Hessen and Wuerttemberg-Baden. Berlin is not included in tabulations of the American Zone, but is shown separately, along with other tabulations by city size groups. Reference to Berlin includes both the American and British Sectors of that city.

It must be remembered that the interviewing on this survey took place during the middle of May, and that certain developments in the food situation may have occurred since that time. With the advent of summer, the food problem has been relieved to some extent by the availability of fresh fruit and vegetables. The extent of this is shown in tabulations within the report.

Interrogators report that some evasion in answers was found in two series of questions. Interestingly enough, neither dealt with the actual food consumption nor the obtaining of supplementary food. Evasion was found principally when the black market was discussed and when questions referring to the rationing system were asked. Answers to these questions would indicate the respondent's attitude toward the American Military Government policies and might, therefore, be subject to some bias in this report. When considering the discussion of these questions, some weight might well be given to this factor, and answers favorable to MG should be slightly lowered.

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

1. A majority of respondents believe that the food ration is largest in the American Zone and smallest in the Russian Zone.

2. Nine out of ten people interviewed in the zone say that the food ration card system is fair, while six out of ten interviewed in Berlin believe it is unjust.

3. Six out of ten respondents in Berlin believe the food situation will improve, while less than four out of ten residents in the zone believe it will get better.

4. Not a single person in Berlin said that the food ration as of today (May) was satisfactory, while only 12% of the people in the zone indicated satisfaction.

5. Residents in the zone, on the whole, eat much better than do Berliners. Bread and potatoes lead the list of foods eaten in the zone in the 24 hours immediately preceding the interview, while most Berliners had cereal and bread.

6. Greater food scarcity in Berlin is demonstrated by the fact that substitutes for unavailable rationed food items are received more frequently by Berliners than by residents in the zone, while more of the latter had received special food rations in the week preceding the interviewing.

	AMZONE	Berlin
Received substitutes for unavailable rationed items	12%	28%
Special food ration distributed within the last week	25%	5%

7. Homemade preserves are available to 40% of the residents in the zone; to 11% of the Berliners.

8. More than half of the Berliners say they are able to obtain food in addition to the rationed items purchased at the store, while only 21% of those in the zone are able to do this. The median average interval at which this supplementary food is obtained is once a month, while the quantitative value of the food is, for the majority, one meal for one person per week.

9. More than eight out of ten people -- both in the zone and Berlin, cannot go to the country in an effort to obtain food.

10. One out of ten people eat in restaurants. The medium average number of meals per week is two to three per person.

11. Less than one out of ten people indicate that they give food away to someone who needs it more than they.

12. Eight out of ten people interviewed in the zone, and nine out of ten in Berlin obtain some food in addition to the authorized ration.

	AMZONE	BERLIN
Obtain supplementary food through raising animals, gardening, working for it, from farms	20%	67%
Have homemade preserves	40	11%
Say they are able to obtain some food in addition to the rationed food bought at the store	21%	53%
Go to the country and obtain food from friends or relatives	18%	15%
Eat in restaurants	11%	12%
Received a special food ration in the week preceding the time of interviewing	67%	94%
Received substitutes for unavailable rationed food items	12%	28%

13. Every single person interviewed in Berlin said that a black market existed there. In the zone 42% of the respondents said there was a black market in their community, 29% said there was no black market in their community and 28% were uninformed.

14. A conclusive majority of the respondents blame the black market for shortages in food, clothing, shoes and tobacco.

15. The black market is blamed for exerting unfavorable influence on economic conditions by a majority of all respondents.

16. Farmers are not exempt from black market activities, but they deal in them less than do other people.

17. More than six out of ten respondents indicated that the authorities were doing everything possible to eliminate the black market.

18. Seven out of ten respondents have lost weight in the intervening four and a half months between the beginning of the year and the time of interviewing. In the zone the median average number of pounds lost is 10, while Berliners have lost 17.

19. Seven out of ten people in the zone and eight out of ten in Berlin say they do not get enough food to work efficiently.

20. Three out of ten respondents have suffered at least one cold in the month prior to the time this survey was conducted (May).

21. Half of the people in the zone and 31% in Berlin say they expect to make preserves this summer. The median average number of litres is 22 and 10 respectively.

22. Six out of ten residents in the zone and one quarter of the people in Berlin plan on having gardens this summer. The median average size per garden is 85 and 266 sq.meters respectively. (Residents in the zone, especially farmers, do not include the size of fields planted with food crops.)

23. Nine out of ten people do not expect to receive food parcels from friends or relatives outside Germany.

THE FINDINGS

Attitudes Toward Rationing.

Respondents in the American Zone consider that they are still better off than residents of any other zone as far as the food ration is concerned. When asked if they thought the food ration was larger in some zones, 41% mentioned the American Zone, followed by 29% who mentioned the British Zone. Many respondents mentioned both zones since more than one answer was accepted. In the Berlin Sector, the response was not as favorable. Only 22% said the food ration in the American Zone was the largest, with 16% indicating the British Zone as best. In considering these findings, it should be remembered that the recent food riots in Hamburg and other "food" incidents of lesser degree followed the interviewing on this survey.

The table showing the results to this question follows:

"Do you believe that food rations in general are the same in all four zones, or do you believe that they are larger in some zones than in others ?"

If "Larger in some", ask:

"In which zones are the food rations the largest ? In which the smallest ?"

	AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	1504	194
Rations LARGER in some zones	47%	47%
Rations SAME in all zones	24%	30%
Don't know if rations are different	29%	23%
	100	100

The 47% in AMZONE and the 47% in Berlin who said that the rations were larger in some zones indicated that:

Rations are LARGEST in:		
American Zone	41%	22%
British Zone	29%	16%
Russian Zone	1%	5%
French Zone	*	1%
Don't know	*	9%
	71	53
And that rations are SMALLEST in:		
American Zone	*%	1%
British Zone	6%	3%
Russian Zone	22%	32%
French Zone	18%	6%
Don't know	2	9
	48	51

* Less than 1%

It is interesting to note the positions of the Russian and French Zones. In Berlin, respondents indicated that the food situation in the Russian Zone was, without qualification, worse than in any other zone. While respondents in the American Zone also mentioned Russia most often, the French Zone ran a very close second. This may well be interpreted as meaning that much of the knowledge about the food situation in zones other than the one in which the respondent lives is based on rumor or hearsay. Proximity of zones, of course, has some bearing as is also indicated.

As far as the ration card system itself is concerned, 89% of the people interviewed in the American Zone think that it is justly handled. However, in Berlin, only 37% of the respondents think that the ration system is fair.

The reasons given by Berliners who believe that the ration system is unfair would appear to be based on a comparison of their food ration with that of people of their acquaintance.

The tables which follow give the results for AMZONE and Berlin.

	AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	1504	194
Think ration card system is JUST	89%	37%
Think ration card system is UNJUST	5	61
Don't know	6	1
	100	100

Why is the ration card system UNJUST ? The reasons given by Berliners are:

	Berlin
People who do not work should not get rations	21%
Favoritism shown	20
Rations are too small, not enough to eat	17
DP's and expellees get the food	3
	61

It is clear that the people are aiming their complaints at others who, they think, obtain more food than deserved, rather than at an actual food shortage. The force of the complaints is, therefore, lessened considerably, although the reality of food hardships is probably given some expression, too. Psychologically, the reported incidence of interpersonal aggression is indicative of expected aggressive reaction on the part of a people tutored in scapegoatism.

With the reduction on April 1 of the caloric content of the daily ration to 1250 calories, the ensueing six weeks before the interviewing on this survey was conducted, enabled practically everyone to form an opinion on the reason for this reduction. The reason mentioned most often, by respondents in both the American Zone and Berlin was that there actually was insufficient food. This does in no way contradict other statements made by respondents, because it is probably felt that the reason the ration is small is due to a food shortage, rather than any desire on the part of the Americans to "starve" the Germans. The temper of the Germans seems to be, "Were there food, or facilities for producing it, we would get it". Of course, there still appear such answers as the "necessity of feeding others", representing, in terms of this question, an inequity in distribution. It is, however, of lesser importance than among the reasons for believing the food ration card system is unjust.

The reasons given why the food ration has been reduced are:

	US ZONE	Berlin
Sample	1504	194
Insufficient food, food shortage in Germany and/or world	41%	31%
Insufficient food stocks, poor crops	27	30
Must feed other countries, other zones	3	9
Must feed others in Germany, overcrowding, too many occupation forces	15	3
Production facilities unavailable, lack of seed, equipment, personnel	6	2
No interzonal trade, poor transport, no unified command, political reasons, bad organization	8	14
Want to lower living standard, hatred toward Germany, punishment	2	3
Other reasons	2	2
Don't know why ration has been reduced	5	13
	109	107

(Columns total more than 100% because some respondents gave more than one answer.)

Since the food ration was reduced solely because of a shortage of food, it is evident that a considerably proportion of the German population does not realize the reasons behind the reduction.

There is some difference worth mentioning in the opinions of respondents when tabulations are made by the Land in which they live. Bavarians, notably, attribute the food shortage more frequently to the fact that there has been a considerable influx of people into Germany than do respondents in other Lands; Hessians more frequently indicate an understanding of the world food shortage.

	Bavaria	Gross-Hessen	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	878	311	315
Insufficient food, food shortage in Germany and/or world	36%	50%	46%
Insufficient food stocks, poor crops	26	26	29
Must feed others in Germany, overcrowding, too many occupation forces	19	8	7

But Berliners are more optimistic about the future. When asked the question, "Do you believe that the food situation in the American Zone will get better or worse in the next few months ?", 61% said that it would get better, whereas, among respondents in the American Zone, only 37% said, "better". It is difficult to ascertain the foundation of this belief among Berliners, except that they may feel that "things can't get any worse." In Bavaria, where the food problem is evident to a lesser degree, more people think that the food situation will get worse than think that it will improve. It seems that in those areas having the least amount of food people expect the situation to improve and vice versa. An important proportion of the population held no attitude on this question.

	AM.ZONE	Berlin	Bavaria	Gross-Hessen	Wuerttemb.-Baden
Sample	1504	194	878	311	315
Food situation will					
Get better	37%	61%	33%	43%	41%
Get worse	41	11	49	33	27
Don't know	22	28	18	24	32
	100	100	100	100	100

In the American Zone 12% of the people interviewed on this survey said that they were satisfied with the food ration. In addition, 24% said the food ration could be made to suffice, although it was not easy to manage. But in Berlin, not a single respondent indicated complete satisfaction with the food ration, with 21% saying only that it was adequate.

Interestingly enough, Bavarians showed the highest degree of dissatisfaction with the food ration. Nearly seven out of ten (66%) of those interviewed in Bavaria said the food ration was too small, compared with 57% and 58% in Gross-Hessen and Wuerttemberg-Baden respectively.

In cities, the degree of satisfaction is inversely proportionate to the size of the city. Respondents living in the smaller communities indicated the highest degree of satisfaction and conversely.

"How are you making out with food ?"

Area	Ration Satisfactory	Ration too small	Ration Adequate *
American Zone	12%	67%	24%
Berlin	-	79	21
Bavaria	12	66	22
Gross-Hessen	17	57	26
Wuerttemberg-Baden	11	58	31

	Ration Satisfactory	Ration Too small	Ration Adequate *
City Size groups			
Under 2,000	21%	48%	31%
2,000-9,999	12	66	22
10,000-49,999	6	72	22
50,000-99,999	1	80	19
100,000-249,999	1	84	15
250,000 and over	4	83	13
Occupation			
Professional & Business	12	60	28
White collar	2	76	22
Clerical	7	69	24
Skilled labor	7	71	22
Semi-skilled labor	2	83	15
Unskilled labor	7	75	18
Farmers	42	16	42
Unemployed, pensioned and others		73	19
Type of Ration Card Held			
Basic card	5	75	20
Fully or partially self-sufficient persons'card	35	25	40
Workers card	1	81	18
Card for pregnant women and sick persons	9	73	18
Age			
29 and under	15	62	23
30 - 39	11	66	23
40 - 49	8	68	24
50 - 59	14	56	30
60 and Over	16	62	22

*Respondents indicated that the ration was too small, but with care it could be made to suffice.

II. Food Consumption.

What food is available is actually being distributed to the population. In the American Zone 88% of the respondents said that in the last week they had received everything they were entitled to on their food card tickets. In Berlin 85% were receiving the maximum food allowance. Although many respondents gave no reason for not being able to obtain all the food they were entitled to, those that did, said: "There was no supply, none in the store, supply sold out."

In the American Zone, there was very little indication of the types of food which could not be obtained. Mentioned most often were bread, cereal, sugar, dried vegetables, and skimmed milk. In Berlin, however, respondents indicated the entire list of foods in their diet. Besides those mentioned in AMZONE, Berliners listed cheese, curds, milk, potatoes, fish, eggs, coffee, fruit, vegetables, and fowl. Thereas in the zone, each food was mentioned by some respondents. Berliners mentioned all foods as being unobtainable.

There is no reason to doubt the absolute validity of respondents' answers to this question. The food mentioned as being unobtainable does not appear in the list of foods eaten in the last 24 hours. This is, at least, some verification. In no instance is there an overlapping of the answers to the two questions.

The table following shows the results to the question, "Will you please tell me the types of food, rationed and unrationed, which you have eaten in the past 24 hours ?"

	AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	1504	194
Potatoes	91%	91%
Bread	87	96
Coffee	84	57
Fats	70	48
Farinaceous foods	52	98
Skimmed milk	52	2
Fresh vegetables	50	42
Meat	32	12
Dried vegetables	23	4
Milk	23	5
Cheese	18	-
Eggs	15	1
Curds	9	1
Sugar	5	33
Canned vegetables	5	3
Salt and spices	4	5
Fish	3	8
Dried fruit	3	1
Fresh fruit	2	12
Beer	1	1
Fowl	1	-
Other	5	38

It is evident, therefore, that as far as the staples — bread, potatoes, coffee, fats, fresh vegetables, and meat — Berlin fares almost as well as does the zone. Residents in the AMZONE are able to obtain more dried vegetables and dairy products, while Berliners do better in sugar, farinaceous foods, fresh fruit (surprisingly enough) and fish.

With no percentile exception, residents of small towns, and farmers, of course, are much better off as far as food is concerned than are the people who live in the larger cities. Bread, fats, meat, milk, and eggs are obtained by a higher percentage of people living in towns under 2,000 population than by any other city size group. In contrast to Berliners, large city residents in the zone obtain only one item — fresh vegetables — somewhat more frequently than do small town residents. However, the mean average number of items received by residents in the various size communities varies only little. But, no matter how small the difference may be, it must be remembered that we are dealing with food, and food rationed at the barest subsistence level. Those people who live in small communities and who are in a position to obtain more food, and food with higher caloric content, are much better off.

The diet of the farmer is far superior to that of any other group of people. He eats more and better. He obtains more bread, fats, meat, milk and eggs than does anyone else. Skimmed milk and dried vegetables appear little in his diet.

There is very little difference in the food consumption of men and women, and young people, over 18, eat only little better than older persons. The people in the lower socio-economic level eat almost as well as do those in the higher brackets. Having been a member in the NSDAP, or having a party member in the family, does not seem to make any difference as far as being able to obtain food is concerned.

All these statements referring to the diet of the respondent, it is understood, are restricted to his expressed food consumption in an average 24 hour period.

Substitutes for rationed items not available.

While people in Berlin were not able to obtain a great many food items to which they were entitled, they had the opportunity, however, of selecting substitutes. In Berlin, 28% of the respondents indicated that substitutes were given for rationed items which were not available, while in the AMZONE, only 12% had substitutes available. In the zone, these substitutes were available principally in Bavaria, and again, in the smaller cities.

The complete table follows:

"Were substitutes given last week for rationed items not available at the store ?"

	AMZONE	Berlin	Bavaria	Gross-Hessen	Wuerttemb.-Baden
Sample	1504	194	878	311	315
Yes	12%	28%	18%	7%	3%
No	71	72	63	85	80
Don't know	17	-	19	8	17
	100	100	100	100	100

Berliners seem to be very well aware of the food situation, and if there is any possibility of their obtaining any additional food, they know of it. With food as scarce as it is in Berlin, it is only natural to assume that the residents keep abreast of every development in the food situation.

Distribution of special rations.

Another source of food supply is found in special food rations which may be distributed at certain times. The supply of this special ration, and the frequency of its distribution are subject to wide fluctation, depending upon the region, time of year, and size of city. In Berlin 94% of the people interviewed said that no special ration had been distributed. In the AMZONE, people fared somewhat better with 67% not receiving any special ration.

"In the last week were any special food rations distributed in this community in addition to the regular food ration for all Germans ?"

	AMZONE	Berlin	Bavaria	Gross Hessen	Wuerttemb.-Baden
Sample	1504	194	878	311	315
No special ration distributed	67%	94%	69%	79%	49%
Special ration distributed	25	5	21	19	42
Cheese	11	1	14	4	10
Fish	8	2	5	10	16
Sugar	5	-	1	5	15
Vegetables and dried peas	2	4	1	1	5
Other and unspecified	3	2	1	2	7
Don't know if food ration was distributed	8	1	10	2	9
	100	100	100	100	100

In Berlin, therefore, we can see that substitutes play an important part in the food problem, while special rations are less frequently distributed. In the zone, on the other hand, people receive the food to which they are entitled (with much less substitution in individual items) and special rations, of greater quantity than in Berlin, are also distributed. In the smaller size towns, where a larger proportion of the residents have access to farm products, special rations are less often distributed. But the larger the city, excluding towns under 10,000 population, the less often are special rations made available. Residents of Wuerttemberg-Baden seem to have profited, during the week preceding the survey, from a special fish and special sugar distribution.

III. Availability of Supplementary Food and Source of Supply.

Despite hardship endured in obtaining an adequate supply of food, there are available to the Germans many sources of supplementary food which nets them calories in addition to their authorized ration.

Some people, however, as indicated in previous discussion of the question "How are you making out with food ?", are completely satisfied with their food ration. Most of these people, it may be assumed, do obtain some food in addition to their authorized ration.

A second question, asked to determine what people were doing to obtain more food, reveals a higher proportion saying they are completely satisfied than did the first question previously discussed.

The comparison is shown in the following table:

Per cent indicating complete satisfaction with food ration

	ANZONE	Berlin	Bavaria	Gross Hessen	Wuerttembg. Baden
Sample	1504	194	878	311	315
"How are you making out with food ?"	12%	0%	12%	17%	11%
"What are you or other members of your family doing to obtain more food in addition to that received on the ration card ?"	29%	22%	25%	38%	32%

The complete results of the question, "What are you or your family doing to obtain more food in addition to that received on the ration card ?" follow:

	AMZONE	Berlin	Bavaria	Gross Hessen	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	1504	194	878	311	315
Am satisfied, don't do anything, obtain extra rations, work on farm	29%	22%	25%	38%	32%
C an't do anything, no time, opportunity, contacts, money or articles to trade	42	11	49	27	39
Obtain supplementary food through raising animals, gardening, working for it, from farms	29	67	26	35	29
	100	100	100	100	100

It is important to note that the majority of those respondents who said they worked on farms and were satisfied with their rations (included in category 1) are not farmers. In the zone, only 31% of the people who say they work on farms to obtain food in addition to what they get on their ration cards are farmers. In Berlin, none of the people who obtain supplementary food in this manner indicated that they were farmers.

Berliners again prove their ability in being able to obtain the maximum amount of food available. The low percentage of respondents in Bavaria who obtain supplementary food indicates only that additional food is obtained through some other source. This will be shown in tables later in the report.

There is marked variation between the ability of people living in small towns and those in large cities to obtain supplementary food. Residents in small communities are in this respect, as in others mentioned, in a much better position, and make the most of their opportunities.

Preserves.

Another source of supplementary food supply is preserves. As might be expected, residents of smaller towns and farmers, have these stocks. Bavaria, surprisingly enough shows a higher percentage of people not having preserves than does either of the other two Laender. Berlin is in the worst position of any city size group.

"Do you have any preserves which you made yourself ?"

	AMZONE	Berl	Bavaria	Gross Hessen	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	1504	194	878	311	315
Yes	40%	11%	31%	56%	47%
No	60	89	69	44	53
	100	100	100	100	100

	Under 2,000	2,000-9,999	10,000-49,999	50,000-99,999	100,000-249,999	250,000 & over
Sample	662	185	196	444	231	312
Yes	45%	44%	37%	34%	28%	24%
No	55	56	63	64	62	76
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Food sources other than stores.

In an attempt to determine the maximum number of people who obtain supplementary food, another question, somewhat similar to one previously discussed, was asked. The question "Are you or your family able to obtain any food in addition to the rationed food you buy at the store ?" Tabulating this question revealed that some people who had said that they could do nothing to obtain supplementary food indicated in answer to this question that they were obtaining food in addition to their ration.

Berliners again prove themselves the most adept with 53% admitting that they obtain supplementary food, compared with 21% in the zone. The principal items obtained by Berliners are: Bread and flour (28%), cheese (24%), potatoes (17%), and fats — butter, fat, bacon (9%). In the zone, bread and flour was mentioned by 8%, milk and eggs each by 7%, vegetables and fruit by 3%, and fats and potatoes each by 3%.

	ANZONE	Berlin	Bavaria	Gross Hesson	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	1504	194	878	311	315
Obtain food	21%	53%	23%	18%	16%
Do not obtain food	76	47	74	79	80
No answer	3	--	3	3	4
	100	100	100	100	100

The people in the higher socio-economic levels also prove themselves somewhat better at obtaining supplementary food than do those in the lower brackets. Within the highest bracket 28% indicate that they obtain additional food, whereas only 20% in the lowest level are able to do so. This condition is probably due to the fact that those in the higher socio-economic categories have more time at their disposal and, naturally, more money.

The following analysis indicates the source of this supply, the frequency of obtaining this food and the quantitative value in terms of meals.

The principal sources of supply for residents in the zone are the country and farmers (12%) and friends, relatives and employers (4%). In Berlin, these same two sources are each mentioned by 18% of the people interviewed and 15% say that they get their supplementary food on the black market.

The median average interval at which this additional food is obtained, by both Berliners and residents in the zone, is once a month.

Although Berliners obtain this supplementary food as frequently as do residents in the zone, the latter seem to obtain a somewhat larger quantity. The following tabulation shows the quantitative value of the food obtained on the basis of meals per person per week.

	A ZONE	Berlin
Sample	1504	194
One meal for one person per week	8%	35%
Two to four meals for one person per week	3	13
Five or more meals for one person per week	2	1
Quantity of food unspecified	8	4
Total obtaining food	21	53

The Country as a Potential Food Source.

To determine what amount of food is obtained from the country, the question was asked, "Some people are able to get some additional food when they visit relatives or friends in the country areas. Are you or your family able to do this and how often ?" *

	A ZONE	Berlin	Bavaria	Gross Hessen	Wuerttemberg Baden
Sample	1504	194	878	311	315
Do not go to the country	81%	85%	78%	87%	85%
Go to the country weekly	3	1	3	1	2
2 or 3 times monthly	3	-	3	2	2
monthly	4	6	6	2	1
Less than once a month	7	8	8	7	7
Interval unspecified	1	-	1	1	2
No answer	1	-	1	-	1
	100	100	100	100	100

*Many of these questions may seem repetitious, but it was found that a series of such questions was necessary in order to determine the proportion of people obtaining additional food from various sources. A blanket question to this effect would not serve the purpose, since respondents often neglected to mention a particular source of supplementary food, or did not consider the food obtained as such.

Very little difference appears in the tabulation of answers by city size groups, but it must be remembered that residents in towns under 10,000 population have a natural access to farm areas, and need not necessarily go out of their way to "go to the country." This tabulation is shown in the appendix to the report. Bavarians, however, more frequently than residents of other Laender, found trips to the countryside fruitful.

Although eating in restaurants cannot be considered as actually obtaining supplementary food, since ration card credit is deducted, it does give an advantage to those people who can afford to patronize restaurants when rationed food items or substitutes are not available in the stores. This conclusion is very evident when the tabulations by people in different socio-economic levels and those residing in different city size groups are considered.

"Do you eat in a restaurant sometimes ? How often a week ?"

	US ZONE	Berlin
Sample	1504	194
Do not eat in restaurants	89%	88%
Eat in restaurants:		
Less than one meal per week	*	1
One meal per week	3	2
Two to three meals per week	4	4
Four to five meals per week	2	1
Six meals per week	1	3
Seven meals per week	*	1
More than seven meals per week	*	-
Number of meals unspecified	1	*
	11	12
	100	100
Median average number of meals per week	2-3	2-3

* Less than 1%.

Bavarians eat out more often (14%) than do residents in either Gross Hessen (5%) or Wuerttemberg-Baden (9%). This can be accounted for in part by the fact that a smaller proportion of people in Bavaria received special food rations. Bavaria, also, would have more food available for restaurant consumption, and the opportunity for gathering together provided by eating in a restaurant would appeal especially to Bavarians.

As might be expected, more people living in large cities eat in restaurants than do people living in smaller communities. Whereas, 25% of the people living in cities of 250,000 or over eat in restaurants, only 8% of those living in towns under 2,000 population do so. The complete tabulation of the answer broken down by city groups appears in the appendix.

A greater proportion of the people living in Berlin than in the zone either work for the Americans or have someone in their family who does and receive a meal a day. In Berlin 10%

of the respondents or members of their family worked for the Americans, and 8% received a meal a day. In the zone, 3% of the people interviewed either worked for the Americans or had someone in their family who did, and all received a daily meal. (In all, 39% of the Berlin residents interviewed in this survey indicated that they worked for the Americans or that someone in their family did or that they knew someone outside of their family who was so employed. In the zone, 24% fell into this category.)

Giving food to someone who needs it more is not a common practice in Germany. In Berlin 10% of the people interviewed said that they gave food away, while 8% of the respondents in the zone answered to that effect. But, as shown in the following table, even when food is "given" away, it rarely goes out of the family circle.

"Do you regularly give a part of your food ration to someone who needs it more than you do? To whom?"

	AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	1504	194
Do not give food away	92%	90%
Give food to:		
Relatives	4	3
Parents	1	4
Children	2	-
Husband	1	1
Refugees	4	-
Evacuees	1	-
Household help	*	1
All those that are hungry — children, P's W, neighbors, friends	4	1
Other and unspecified	*	-
	8	10
	100	100

* Less than 1%.

Supplementary Food - From All Sources.

If we consider as a whole those people who obtain food, from any source whatsoever, in order to supplement the amount authorized by their ration cards, we find that 80% of the people in the American Zone and 90% in Berlin are able to obtain additional food from at least one source. The table showing these sources and the percentage of people obtaining food from them has already been presented in the Summary section of this report.

We are, therefore, faced with that proportion of the population which is unable, for one reason or another, to obtain any food other than that on their ration card. Analysis of this group reveals their characteristics, and should serve as a guide for any authorization of supplementary food.

There are more people in Bavaria, proportionately, who do not obtain supplementary food than in either of the other two Laender. A much higher percentage of residents in large cities, and particularly large Bavarian cities, as compared with people living in smaller towns, do not obtain this additional food. On the other hand, former NSDAP members hold the edge over non-members, Protestants over Catholics, regular churchgoers over people who do not attend church regularly. More old people obtain supplementary food than do younger people, while people with less education are in a better position than the more highly educated groups. By political preference, members of the CDU party seem to hold the favored position as far as obtaining this additional food is concerned.

In considering the tabulation of religious groups and church attendance, large differences are evident between regular and irregular churchgoing Catholics. Analysis of these groups shows that three fourths of the irregular churchgoing Catholics come from larger cities. The fact is, therefore, that irregular churchgoing Catholics do not obtain as much food as their more devout brothers, not because they do not attend church regularly (although this may have some bearing) but because this group resides principally in large urban areas.

The same situation holds true, to a great extent, in the tabulation of answers by education groups. The more highly educated people are found in larger cities, and therefore, it is to be expected that the amount of supplementary food which they might obtain is less than that obtainable by residents of small communities.

CDU members are located principally in Gross-Hessen and Wuerttemberg-Baden, and the fact that they obtain more supplementary food than members of other political parties upholds the evidence that more supplementary food is available to residents of these two regions than to Bavarians.

Farmers, naturally, receive the largest amount of supplementary food of any single group.

With the exception of the oldest group of people, it seems that young people do not obtain as much supplementary food as do those in older age brackets. This is probably due to the fact that the supplementary food obtained is not as readily available by unprepared scrounging, but rather through contacts, knowing the right people, having funds, and having friends or relatives in the country.

The complete tables showing the results just discussed follow:

	Obtain Supplementary Food	DO NOT Obtain Supplementary Food
Area		
American Zone	80%	20%
Berlin, British and American Sector	90	10
Bavaria	73	27
Gross-Hessen	90	10
Wuerttemberg-Baden	90	10
City Size Groups		
Under 2,000	86	14
2,000 - 9,999	81	19
10,000 - 49,999	84	16
50,000 - 99,999	75	25
100,000 - 249,999	69	31
250,000 and over	65	35
NSDAP Membership		
Former members	87	13
Former members in family	81	19
Non-members	78	22
Religious groups and church attendance		
Catholic regular churchgoers	81	19
Catholic irregular churchgoers	66	34
Protestant regular churchgoers	86	14
Protestant irregular churchgoers	82	18
All Catholics	77	23
All Protestants	84	16
All regular churchgoers	82	18
All irregular churchgoers	76	24
Age		
29 and under	74	26
30 - 39	77	23
40 - 49	84	16
50 - 59	85	15
60 and over	79	21
Occupation		
Professional and Business	83	17
White Collar and Clerical	74	26
Skilled labor	86	14
Semi-skilled labor	71	29
Unskilled labor	76	24
Farmers	93	7
Unemployed, pensioned and others	75	25

	Obtain Supplementary Food	Do NOT Obtain Supplementary Food
Political party preference *		
SPD	77%	23%
CDU	89	11
CSU	81	19
No party preference	78	22
Party preference undecided	77	23
Education		
Seven years or less	82	18
Eight years	85	15
Nine to eleven years	68	32
More than eleven years	72	28
Sex		
Men	81	19
Women	79	21

Per cent obtaining supplementary food

	ALLZONE	Bavaria	Gross Hessen	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Under 2,000	86%	81%	91%	95%
2,000 - 9,999	81	66	94	82
10,000 - 49,999	84	80	97	84
50,000 - 99,999	75	75	64	76
100,000-249,999	69	75	57	75
250,000 & Over	65	43	83	85

* The small number of interviews with persons belonging to other political parties do not permit separate tabulation.

IV. Black Market Activities.

In an attempt to discover where and to what extent black market activities are keeping food off the market, a series of questions was designed to gain this information.

It was found that black market activities, on a scale large enough to be considered of important proportions, operate principally in large cities.

The question was asked, "Do you believe that there is a black market in this community ?", and if so, "Is it important or not ?"

	AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	1504	194
No black market in community	29%	0%
Black market exists and is:		
Important	17	78
Unimportant	19	16
Don't know	7	6
	100	100
Don't know if black market exists		

There is a great deal of variation by city size, but in general, the pattern followed is very close to that of the availability of supplementary food, in reverse. That is, wherever black market activities flourish (such as in large cities), there seems to be a lack of supplementary food.

	Under 2,000	2,000-9,999	10,000-49,999	50,000-99,999	100,000-249,999	250,000 & Over
Sample	662	165	196	444	231	312
No black market in community	45%	33%	13%	13%	4%	5%
Black market exists and is:						
Important	4	4	21	24	21	54
Unimportant	18	26	26	15	17	12
Don't know	2	5	8	18	28	18
	24	35	55	57	66	84
Don't know if black market exists	31	32	32	30	30	11
	100	100	100	100	100	100

The black market is considered by a large majority of people to be the reason why many things that could otherwise be bought are now unavailable. Mentioned most frequently by Berliners and second by residents in the American Zone was food.

These same results appeared when people were asked if they thought the black market had any influence on economic conditions. Shortages of consumer products was mentioned first by respondents in both Berlin and the AMZONE.

"Do you believe that the black market is to blame that you cannot buy many things that you would be able to buy otherwise ?" and if so, "What can't you buy as a result of the black market ?"

	AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	1504	194
Black market is not to blame for shortages	21 %	13%
Black market has created shortages in:		
Food	20	54
Clothing and textiles	23	39
Shoes	13	15
Tobacco	6	4
Household equipment, furniture	10	-
Farm and business equipment	2	2
Other and unspecified products	8	5
Total blaming black market for shortages	56	82
Don't know if black market is to blame for shortages	23	5
	100	100

In large cities where economic conditions are worst and where the existence of the black market is common knowledge, the population tends to attribute shortages to black market activities. Presumably, therefore, the residents in large cities would support measure against the black markets assuming that, thereby, more goods would be available on the open market. In the tabulation that follows of the answers to a more general question, the shortage of consumer products and food especially, appear highest on the list of effects of the black market.

"Do you believe that the black market has any influence at all on economic conditions ?" and if so, "What ?"

	AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	1504.	194
Black market has no influence on economic conditions	11 %	5%
Black market results in:		
Creating shortages in consumer goods, food	42	60
Inflation, rising prices destruction of the poor	19	25
Money having no value, can only barter	5	5

	AMZONE	Berlin
People refusing to work, black market more profitable	1	4
Other bad influences	4	6
Total believing black market influences economic conditions	67	91
Don't know if black market has any influence on economic conditions	22	4
	100	100

The farmers' part in black market activities is not to be underestimated. A majority of respondents — 54% in the American Zone and 85% in Berlin believe that farmers trade unrationed food for other commodities, rather than sell it for money. It is interesting to note, that although Berliners have less contact with farmers than residents in the zone, they are so conditioned to black market activities that they are inclined to attribute such dealings to all groups of people without reservation.

The question, "According to what you have heard or know, do the farmers want money or other commodities for the unrationed food which they sell ?", resulted in the following answers.

	AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	1504	194
Farmers want money for unrationed goods	4%	5%
Farmers want money and other goods for unrationed food:	54	85
Clothing or textiles, shoes	35	66
Tobacco	12	15
Other food — sugar, coffee, etc.	6	11
Household goods; furniture, etc.	6	7
Farm equipment, machinery, tools, nails, etc.	6	2
Other and unspecified items	3	19
Don't know whether or not farmers want money or goods for unrationed food	42	10
	100	100

In general, however, farmers are not accused of keeping food from the open market as much as might be indicated in the above table, either because some people do not constitute barter as black market dealings, or because unrationed food gives the farmer a somewhat greater leeway in disposal than food in general.

Respondents were asked, "Are you of the opinion that farmers in general are keeping from the open market food which they should sell in the normal way ?"

	AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	1504	194
Yes	33%	61%
No	40	21
Don't know	27	18
	100	100

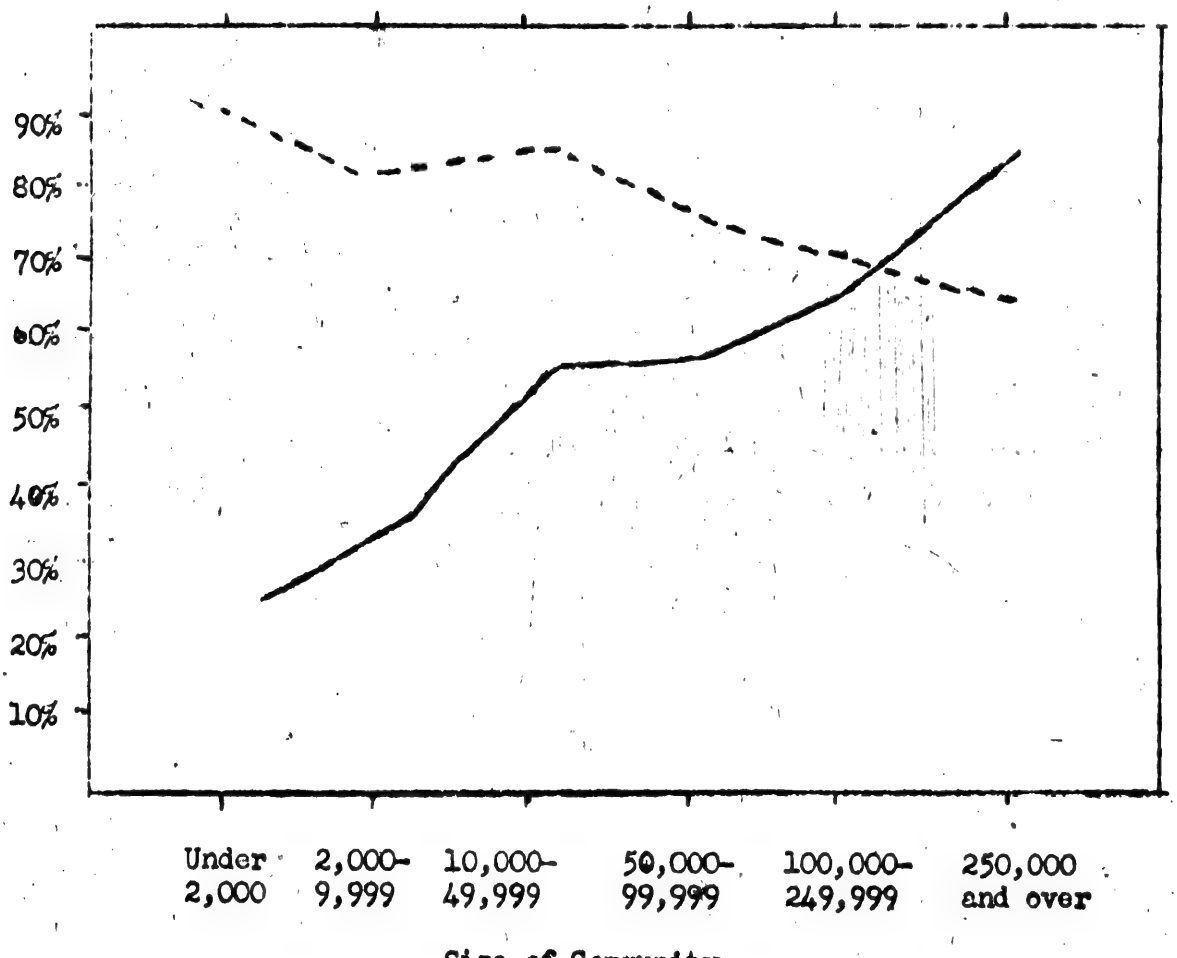
Berliners again attribute black market dealings to farmers by a larger percentage than do those in the zone. And again, Berliners seem to be more aware of black market activities as indicated by the considerably smaller proportion who say "Don't know" to this question, as well as to others dealing with black market operations and other subjects.

More than six out of ten people interviewed believe that the authorities are trying to kill the black market. Berliners go along to this effect by as large a majority as do people in the zone, but a greater proportion believe that not everything is being done.

"In your opinion are the authorities doing everything to remove the black market ?"

	AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	1504	194
Yes	63%	62%
No	21	34
Don't know	16	4
	100	100

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AWARENESS OF BLACK MARKET IN RESPONDENT'S COMMUNITY AND ABILITY TO OBTAIN SUPPLEMENTARY FOOD:



V. Effects of the food situation on the general health of the population.**

In the intervening four and one half months between the first of the year and the time this survey was conducted, 66% of the respondents in the zone and 76% in Berlin indicated that they had lost some weight. This is the minimum reported proportion of respondents since it does not take into account those who say that they don't know whether or not they have lost any weight. The median average number of pounds reported lost in this period is approximately 10 pounds for residents of the zone, and 17 pounds for Berliners.

"Do you know whether you have lost any weight since the beginning of the year ?" and if so, "How much ?"

	AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	1504	194
Have not lost any weight	14%	16%
Have lost:		
One to three kilograms	19	14
Four to five "	21	12
Six to ten "	19	33
11 - 15 "	4	9
16 - 20 "	2	4
21 - 25 "	*	1
26 - 35 "	*	*
Over 35 "	*	*
Amount unspecified	1	3
Total having lost weight	66	76
Don't know if any weight lost	20	8
	100	100
Median average number of kilograms lost	4-5	6-10

In breaking down the sample by region and by the various city size groups, we find that a greater proportion of residents of Gross Hessen than in either of the other two Laender said they lost weight, although the median average number of kilograms lost per person does not vary.

* Less than 1%

** These data are presented for their interest as a report of what people say relative to their general health. Naturally, such reports from the general population are not based upon medical diagnoses, nor can an element of bias be unsuspected when a population strictly rationed in food consumption is queried about possible weight losses.

	Bavaria	Gross Hessen	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	878	311	315
Have not lost any weight	13%	14%	15%
Have lost:			
One to three kilograms	18	18	23
Four to five "	22	22	18
Six to ten "	17	22	17
11 - 15 "	4	5	5
16 - 20 "	2	1	1
21 - 25 "	*	*	*
26 - 35 "	*	-	*
Over 35 "	*	*	-
Amount unspecified	1	4	1
Total having lost weight	64	72	65
Don't know if any weight lost	23/100	14/100	20/100
Median average number of kilograms lost	4-5	4-5	4-5

	Under 2,000	2,000-9,999	10,000-49,999	50,000-99,999	100,000-249,999	250,000 and Over
Sample	662	185	196	444	231	312
Have not lost any weight	16%	18%	15%	6%	7%	10%
Have lost:						
One to three kilograms	18	17	19	20	18	16
Four to five "	21	25	20	25	28	25
Six to ten "	15	19	22	24	28	17
11 - 15 "	4	2	7	5	9	4
16 - 20 "	1	3	3	2	-	1
21 - 25 "	*	1	1	-	1	1
26 - 35 "	-	*	1	-	-	1
Over 35 "	*	1	*	-	-	*
Amount unspecified	1	3	1	2	-	*
Total having lost weight	60	71	74	78	84	65
Don't know if any weight lost	24/100	11/100	11/100	14/100	9/100	25/100
Median average number of kilograms lost	4-5	4-5	4-5	4-5	4-5	4-5

* Less than 1%

The effects of this loss in weight may be presumed to have had a definite bearing on the individual's ability to work. More than seven out of ten respondents indicated that they did not get enough food to be able to do good work, while in Berlin nearly nine out of ten people replied to this effect.

"Do you believe you get enough food in order to be able to do good work ?"

	AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	1504	194
Yes	28%	9%
No	71	88
No opinion	1	3
	100	100

The fact that more residents in Gross Hessen indicate they have lost weight than do people in both Bavaria and Wuerttemberg-Baden, is underlined by the fact that a greater proportion of residents of Gross Hessen also say that they do not obtain sufficient food to enable them to do good work.

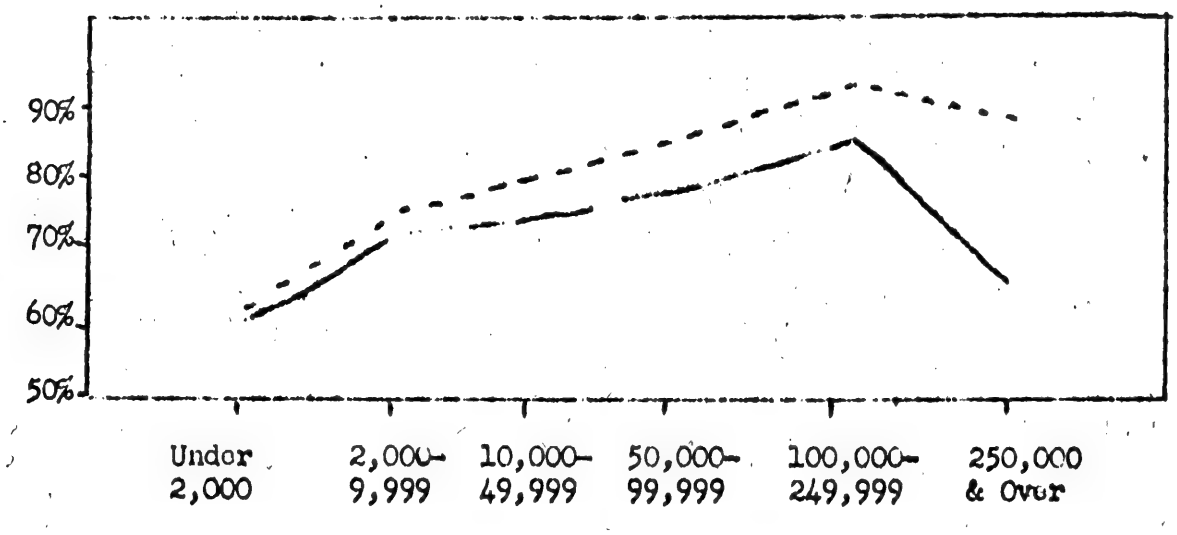
	Bavaria	Gross Hessen	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	678	511	315
Yes	27%	25%	32%
No	72	74	68
No opinion	1	1	*
	100	100	100

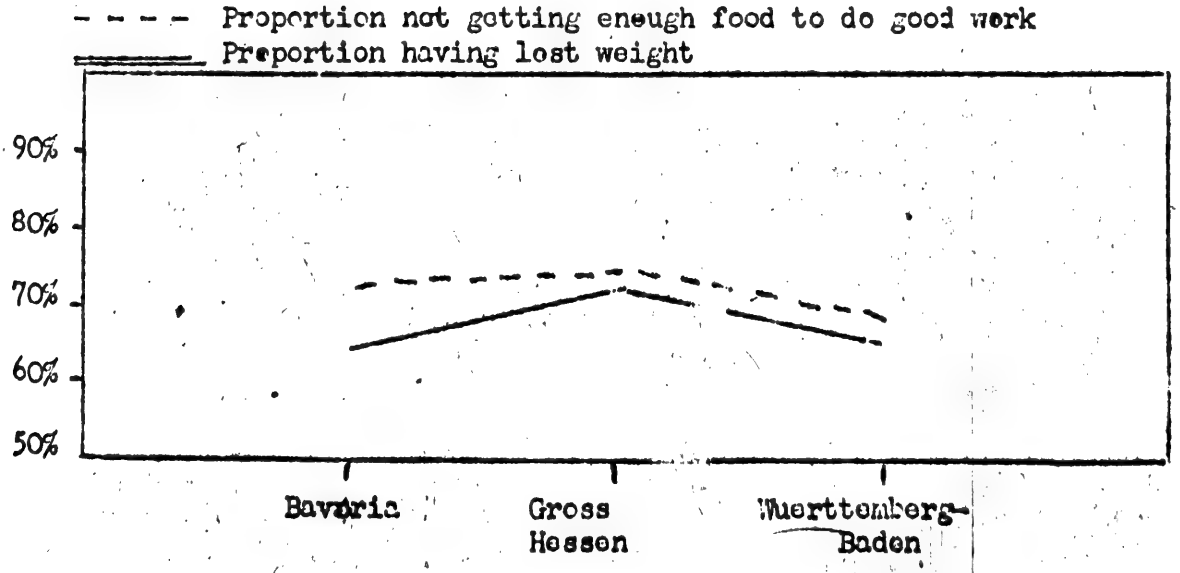
And this same situation is in effect when considering the tabulations by city size groups. Although the fact that fewer respondents in the largest cities said that they had lost weight, this was in part due to a larger proportion saying they did not know whether or not they had lost weight, but the same pattern follows in the following tabulation, i.e. a smaller proportion of residents in the largest cities say they do not get enough food to enable them to do good work than do residents in some smaller size communities.

* Less than 1%

	Under 2,000	2,000- 9,999	10,000- 49,999	50,000- 99,999	100,000- 249,999	250,000 and Over
Sample	662	185	196	444	231	312
Yes	38%	26%	20%	15%	8%	12%
No	61	74	79	85	91	87
No opinion	1	-	1	-	1	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100

It is evident that the pattern followed in the answers to these two questions by the various respondent groups is very similar. The following graphs serve to emphasize this similarity.





A large majority (7 in 10 people) had had no colds during the latter half of April and the first half of May. In the absence of direct evidence some speculation about the effect of the decrease in the food ration on 1 April may be indulged in when results of a previous survey are considered. Questioned in early April, 50% of the people interviewed said they had had at least one cold during the past winter. Balanced alongside the figure (30%) found in this survey it cannot be maintained that a great increase in reported colds was evident. Nor can it be said that the decrease in the food ration on 1 April introduced a situation which immediately affected the resistance to colds of the population.

"Did you catch a cold during the past month ?" and if so, "How often ?"

	AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	1504	194
Did not catch a cold	70%	74%
Caught a cold:		
Once	18	16
Twice	6	3
Three or more times	6	7
Total having caught a cold	30	26
	100	100

Within the Laender, respondents in Bavaria reported suffering fewer colds than those in Gross Hessen and Wuerttemberg-Baden. The earlier survey, however, reveals that more Bavarians (54%) suffered colds during the winter than did residents in either Gross Hessen (47%) or Wuerttemberg-Baden (42%). Why the Bavarians revealed a better health status, in respect to not having colds, in the late Spring is not clear. The interpretation is suggested that the Bavarian winter is more rigorous, while the Spring is more healthful; or that the food-health situation in the other two Laender was deteriorating; or that the response of the Bavarian health status to the fresh Spring vegetables was more widespread than in the other two Laender. The data, however, offer no support for anyone of these theories, nor is anyone denied.

	Bavaria	Gross Hessen	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	878	311	315
Did not catch a cold	74%	62%	67%
Caught a cold:			
Once	15	23	18
Twice	6	7	5
Three or more times	5	8	10
Total having caught a cold	26	38	33
	100	100	100

The incidence of colds according to city size groups does not seem to follow any fixed pattern. With the exception of the 100,000 to 250,000 group, the proportion having colds in the other city groups does not fluctuate enough to draw a conclusion that colds predominate in any certain size community.

	Under 2,000	2,000-9,999	10,000-49,999	50,000-99,999	100,000-249,999	250,000 and Over
Sample	662	185	196	444	231	312
Did not catch a cold	71%	70%	67%	71%	59%	74%
Caught a cold:						
Once	17	20	21	19	18	16
Twice	6	3	7	4	11	7
Three or more times	6	7	5	6	12	3
Total having caught a cold	29/100	30/100	33/100	29/100	41/100	26/100

The effects of these colds on the ability to work is more evident in the zone than in Berlin. This may be attributed in part to the necessity of Berliners to remain on the job in order to earn sufficient money for livelihood, whereas, this situation may be less important in the zone. More than four out of ten respondents in the zone with colds indicated that they had lost worktime, while one third of the Berliners with colds said that they had been unable to work because of a cold.

Other ailments, on the other hand, are more frequently reported among Berliners than among residents in the zone. Some of these can more readily be attributed to the food situation than can colds. In the zone, only 16% of the people interviewed complained of having been troubled by one or more ailments in the month preceding the interviewing, while 40% of the people interviewed in Berlin suffered some illness other than colds during this same period. Leading the list of ailments of Berliners was stomach trouble, general malnutrition, lack of strength, dizzyness, followed by heart disease, rheumatism and abscesses. In the zone stomach trouble, heart disease, rheumatism and general malnutrition were mentioned in that order.

VI. Prospective supplementary food sources.

Three questions were asked in an attempt to determine the amount of food which the German people may be expected to provide for themselves in addition to the authorized food ration. One of these questions dealt with home made preserves, the second with garden and the third with food expected from friends or relatives outside Germany.

Half of the people in the zone expect to make some preserves this summer, with 31% of the Berliners in a position to do so. The median average number of litres which people expect to preserve is 22 in the zone and less than 10 in Berlin. Considerably more people in smaller size communities are able to make preserves than are those in large cities, but the median average number of litres varies only little.

The reason given most frequently by people in the zone who are not able to make preserves is that they do not have the sugar (29%), while in Berlin, people say they don't have the fruit or vegetables. (33%) An equal number (9%) of Berliners and residents in the zone say they have no jars, bottles or cans. The number of Berliners who say they have no opportunity to preserve because of being bombed out and/or not having any of the materials far exceeds the number of those in the zone who gave these reasons.

Six out of ten people in the zone expect to have a garden, but only 24% in Berlin indicate they will have one. The median average size of these gardens is 85 and 286 sq.meters respectively. When the answers are tabulated separately by residents in different city size communities, it is found that as the size of the community increases, fewer people expect to have gardens, but those that do have larger ones. Fewer Bavarians have gardens than residents in the other two Laender, and their gardens are smaller. This is accounted for by the fact that people did not consider as gardens any fields which they as farmers have planted with foodstuffs.

Very few people (One out of ten) hope or expect to receive food parcels from friends or relatives outside Germany. The activities of the Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe, Inc. had at the time of this survey not transmitted any food parcels. CARE's first shipment of ten-in-one parcels totaling 35,000 packages arrived during the middle of last month. By that time a total of 80,000 parcels sent directly by persons in the U.S. to friends or relatives in Germany had also arrived.

Tables showing the results to the three questions just discussed follow immediately.

"Do you believe that you will (also) be able to make preserves this Summer ?"

	AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	1504	194
Yes	50%	31%
No	48	69
Don't know	2	—
	100	100

	Bavaria	Gross Hessen	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	878	311	315
Yes	46%	65%	49%
No	53	32	49
Don't know	1	3	2
	100	100	100

	Under 2,000	2,000-9,999	10,000-49,999	50,000-99,999	100,000-249,999	250,000 and Over
Sample	662	185	196	444	231	312
Yes	58%	60%	48%	43%	42%	35%
No	41	39	50	56	54	61
Don't know	1	1	2	1	4	4
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Reasons why preserves cannot be made:

	US ZONE	Berlin
Sample	1504	194
Don't have sugar	29%	5%
Don't have anything to preserve — no fruit or vegetables, no garden	12	33
Don't have bottles, jars, cans	9	9
No opportunity — bombed out, evacuee, etc.	3	11
Don't have materials (in general) don't have anything	2	12
No time	1	4
Other reasons	*	1
No reason given	2	4
	58	79

	Bavaria	Gross Hessen	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	878	311	315
Don't have sugar	30%	17%	41%
Don't have anything to preserve — no fruit or vegetables, no garden	14	9	8
Don't have bottles, jars, cans	9	8	8
No opportunity - bombed out, evacuee, etc.	3	4	2
Don't have materials (in general) don't have anything	4	*	-
No time	*	1	-
Other reasons	1	-	1
No reason given	3	1	1
	64	40	61

(Columns total more than number saying they would be unable to preserve, because some respondents gave more than one reason.)

* Less than 1%

	Under 2,000	2,000- 9,999	10,000- 49,999	50,000- 99,999	100,000- 249,999	250,000 and Over
Sample	662	185	196	444	231	312
Don't have sugar	27%	27%	32%	35%	36%	33%
Don't have anything to preserve — no fruit or vegetables, no garden	8	5	9	12	13	25
Don't have bottles, jars, cans	8	11	11	13	7	6
No opportunity — bombed out, evacuee, etc.	2	3	5	4	6	6
Don't have materials (in general) don't have anything	3	*	2	2	1	3
No time	-	-	-	2	*	1
Other reasons	*	-	1	1	2	2
No reason given	2/50	2/48	2/62	2/71	4/69	2/78

Number of litres which respondents indicate they will preserve:

	AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	1504	194
Ten litres or less	6%	14%
11 - 19 litres	2	1
20 - 24 "	4	2
25 - 29 "	2	1
30 - 49 "	4	2
50 - 74 "	2	-
75 litres or more	1	-
	21	20
Depends on sugar	15	*
Depends on equipment, jars, etc	1	-
Depends on crop, on how much fruit and vegetables I can get	9	9
As much as possible, can't say how much yet	7	3
Total giving qualified answers	25	11
Don't know how much	4	*
Total who expect to preserve	50	31
Median average number of litres	22	Less than 10

* Less than 1%

	Bavaria	Gross Hessen	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	878	311	315
Ten litres or less	7%	4%	3%
11 - 19 litres	4	1	1
20 - 24 "	5	4	2
25 - 29 "	2	3	1
30 - 49 "	3	5	4
50 - 74 "	2	3	2
75 litres or more	1	2	1
	24	22	14
Depends on sugar	10	23	20
Depends on equipment, jars etc.	1	1	1
Depends on crop, on how much fruit and vegetables I can get	6	10	12
As much as possible, can't say how much yet	5	14	7
Total giving qualified answers	18	37	32
Don't know how much	4	6	3
Total who expect to preserve	46	65	49
Median average number of litres	20	28	30

	Under 2,000	2,000- 9,999	10,000- 49,999	50,000- 99,999	100,000- 249,999	250,000 & Over
Sample	662	185	196	444	231	312
Ten litres or less	8%	4%	6%	3%	3%	6%
11 - 19 litres	3	3	2	1	1	1
20 - 24 "	4	5	5	1	4	2
25 - 29 "	2	2	2	3	2	2
30 - 49 "	5	3	1	3	2	2
50 - 74 "	1	4	1	3	1	1
75 litres or more	1	3	1	1	3	1
	24	24	18	15	16	15
Depends on sugar	19	15	17	15	17	6
Depends on equipment, jars etc.	1	1	*	1	*	*
Depends on crop, on how much fruit and vegetables I can get	8	11	11	11	8	5
As much as possible, can't say how much yet	6	8	4	4	4	7
Total giving qualified answers	29	31	26	26	24	16
Don't know how much	5	5	4	2	2	4
Total who expect to preserve	58	60	48	43	42	35
Median average number of litres	21	25	21	27	25	21

"Do you have a garden ?" and if so, "How large is it ?"

	AlZONE	Berlin
Sample	1504	194
Do not have a garden	40%	76%
Size of garden is:		
Ten square meters or smaller	5	2
11 - 20 sq.meters	6	*
21 - 59 "	14	2
60 - 79 "	4	2
80 - 99 "	2	1
100 - 199 "	10	2
200 - 399 "	9	7
400 - 799 "	5	5
800 sq meters or larger	4	3
size unspecified	1	-
Total having a garden	60	24
	100	100
Median average size of garden in sq. meters	85	286

	Bavaria	Gross Hessen	Wuerttemberg Baden
Sample	878	311	315
Do not have a garden	45%	32%	33%
Size of garden is:			
Ten square meters or smaller	5	5	5
11 - 20 sq. meters	8	5	5
21 - 59 "	18	6	12
60 - 79 "	4	4	3
80 - 99 "	2	2	1
100 - 199 "	9	10	12
200 - 399 "	4	16	14
400 - 799 "	3	10	6
800 sq meters or larger	2	4	9
Size unspecified	*	6	-
Total having a garden	55	68	67
	100	100	100
Median average size of garden in square meters	52	190	162

* Less than 1%

	Under 2,000	2,000-9,999	10,000-49,999	50,000-99,999	100,000-249,999	250,000 & Over
Sample	662	185	196	444	231	312
Do not have a garden	22%	29%	54%	54%	73%	72%
Size of garden is:						
Ten sq.meters or smaller	6	9	4	2	3	2
11 - 20 sq.m.	10	5	6	5	1	1
21 - 59 "	21	9	12	9	3	5
60 - 79 "	5	5	4	2	1	1
80 - 99 "	2	3	2	1	-	-
100 - 199 "	11	14	9	8	3	5
200 - 399 "	10	11	3	10	9	7
400 - 799 "	6	5	4	4	5	5
800 sq.meters or larger	5	5	1	4	2	2
Size unspecified	2	5	1	1	-	*
	78	71	46	46	27	28
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Median average size of garden in square meters	64	115	62	144	255	200

* Less than 1%

"Have you friends or relatives outside of Germany from whom you hope or expect to receive food packages in the future ?"

	AmZONE	Berlin	Bavaria	Gross Hessen	Wuerttemberg Baden
Sample	1504	194	878	311	315
Hope to receive	7%	8%	6%	5%	11%
Expect to receive	1	1	1	1	2
Already have received	*	*	*	*	-
Have no hopes of receiving	92	91	93	94	87
	100	100	100	100	100

	Under 2,000	2,000- 9,999	10,000- 49,999	50,000- 99,999	100,000- 249,999	250,000 and Over
Sample	662	185	196	444	231	312
Hope to receive	5%	7%	8%	11%	13%	7%
Expect to receive	1	2	1	1	2	3
Already have received	*	-	-	1	1	-
Have no hopes of receiving	94	91	91	87	84	90
	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Less than 1%

Surveys taken in the United States and Great Britain reveal some pertinent information about the attitudes of the citizens of these two countries toward further self-restrictions in order to help feed the rest of the world.

While the two questions are not directly comparable, they do reflect attitudes arising out of the distinctly different situations in the two countries.

An appreciable proportion of the British public (18%) is willing to suffer further food restrictions in order to aid an ex-enemy country; in the United States, with much more food available than in Britain, 49% are willing to give food to "starving" Germany.

The British Institute of Public Opinion asked the following question in May 1946:

"Would you approve or disapprove of further food restrictions in order to help ..."

	Approve	Disapprove	No Opinion
Ex-enemy countries	18%	77%	5%
Allied countries	43	51	6
India	47	43	10

The National Opinion Research Center in the United States asked the following question in March 1946:

"If the people in Germany are starving at the present time, do you think that the United States should sell them only what food they can pay for, or send them food as a gift if they can't pay, or not send them any food at all ?"

	Total Sample
Sell food	35%
Give food	49
Send no food	13
No opinion	3
	100

With donations from Americans, CARE has purchased approximately three million surplus ten-in-one packages for distribution. The desire of Americans to prevent starvation in Europe is expressed not only in opinion but also in cash donations and food parcels.

CONCLUSIONS

Many factors operate in determining whether a person is getting enough to eat, the principal one being his place of residence. Not only the size of the community, but also the particular Land in which the person lives has a bearing on his food supply. Berlin, again, offers a situation completely different from any other large city.

Bavaria, known as the bread basket of the zone, is on the whole, no better off than any other Land. Bavarians may very well be satisfied with their food ration since a greater proportion than in the other Laender are farmers, and might not, therefore, indicate sources of supplementary supply, which they take for granted. On very few questions do they lead residents in other zones in the amount of supplementary food obtained. There seems to be some conflicting evidence. Fewer Bavarians than those in the other Laender say they have lost weight or caught a cold. It is our belief, therefore, that Bavarians obtain as much food as other people through ordinary sources and do not consider it as supplementary.

The food situation in Berlin is worse than anywhere else in the zone. Although in most instances it seems that a greater proportion of Berliners than residents in the zone obtain supplementary food, they obtain it in such small quantities that the value is practically lost. Food obtained by working for the Americans affects only about one tenth of the Berlin population. The amount of weight lost per person in Berlin is almost twice that of residents in the zone. A greater proportion of Berliners than other people indicate that they do not get enough food to enable them to do good work, and the incidence of illness is more than twice as high in Berlin as elsewhere.

A comparison with the results of a survey taken by the British Institute of Public Opinion reveals that the food situation in Germany has grown constantly worse. The British Institute, in survey taken in the Fall of 1945 and Spring of 1946, found that 50% of the respondents did not obtain enough food to work effectively. Certainly, the 71% in Germany saying this cannot, therefore, be considered an inflated figure. (The results of both British surveys were the same.) In Germany the proportion saying that they are not getting enough food to work has increased from 61% to about seven in ten within two months.

It may be of interest to note that responses about food intake and satisfaction for two population groups — residents of cities 50,000 to 99,999 in addition to residents of villages with less than 2000 inhabitants — closely approximated the zonal average results. The analysis on which this statement is based proceeded by properly weighting the answers for the two groups in proportion to the populations they represented. This result, when compared with the zonal average result on the 13 most pertinent questions, showed only very slight variations.

The range of food intake and degree of satisfaction among cities of different size is much greater than among the three Laender, giving point to the fact previously mentioned that the size of the community in which the person lives is the predominant factor influencing the amount of food he is able to obtain.

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* The charts on the following two pages were constructed by taking a number of factors and comparing the zonal average percentage with each city size group percentage for each factor. The positive and negative differences were then added up, and the smaller subtracted from the larger. These sums were scaled in order so they should be expressed in equal terms. These scaled results were then plotted on the chart.

The factors which were considered are:

Satisfaction with present rations
Availability of substitutes for rationed items
Ability to go to country to obtain food
Distribution of special food rations
Efforts to obtain supplementary food
Ability to obtain supplementary food
Overall total obtaining supplementary food
Present stock of home made preserves and plans for preserving this summer
Plans for a garden
Obtaining enough food to work
Lack of colds
Not having lost any weight.

Food packages from the United States, via CARE or directly from friends or relatives, could, if distributed one to a family, provide supplementary food to at least one half of the families in Germany. This, plus food from gardens, from home made preserves, and from other legal or illegal sources should provide the Germans with appreciable supplementary food in amounts which are perhaps measurable. It should be remembered that while supplementary food is more largely distributed to some groups than to others, nearly all members of the population secure some food from some source.

It is our conclusion that if any change in the food ration is anticipated, careful analysis should be made of the differences among the three Laender and among the residents of different size communities. These are, in our opinion, the most important factors when considering food rationing.

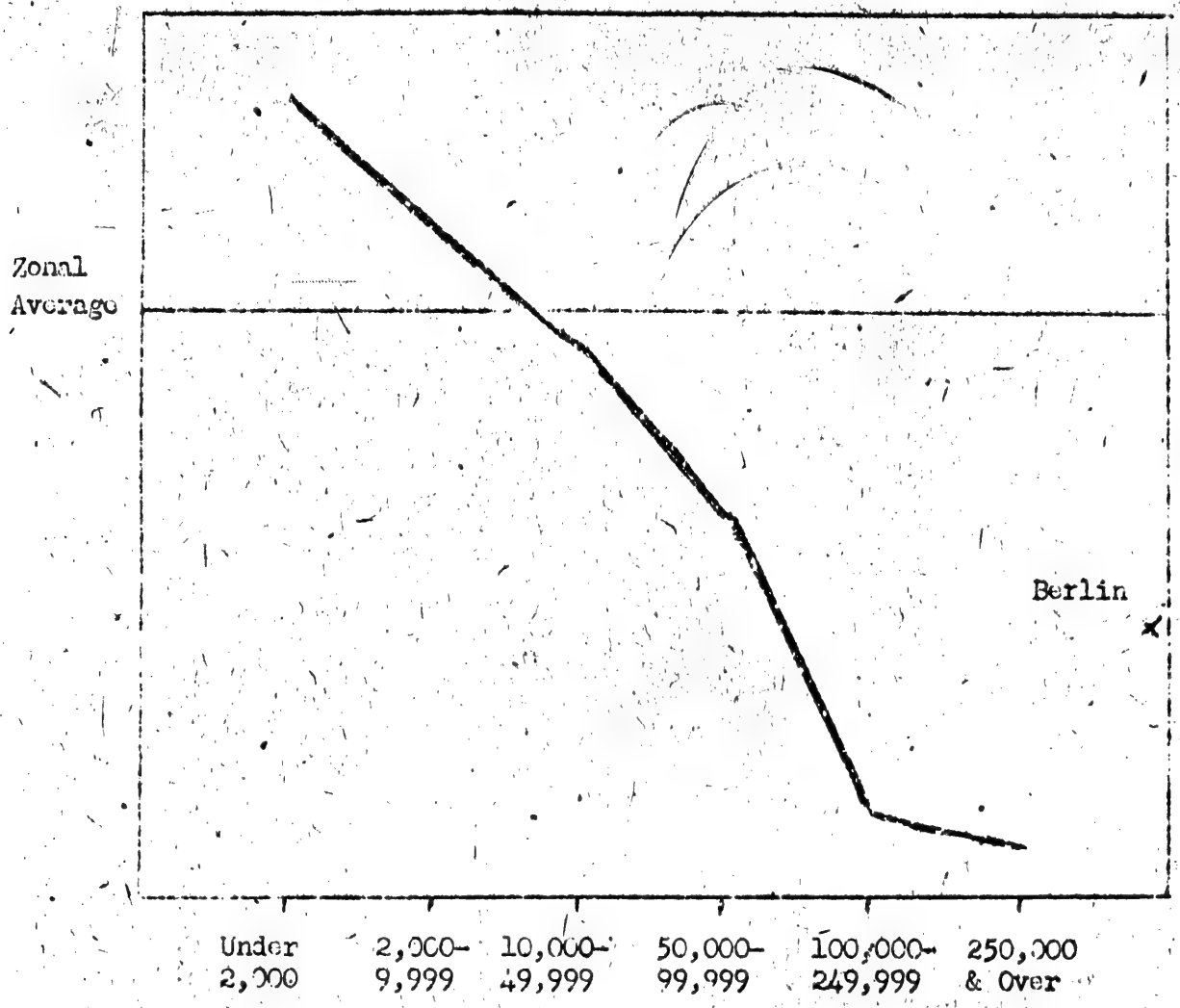
Variations revealed in this report indicate that discrepancies are greater among large and small communities than among the Laender. However, this variation operates to almost as great an extent among the different size communities within each Land. And although place of residence is the most important factor in determining whether a person is getting enough to eat, other factors must not be overlooked.

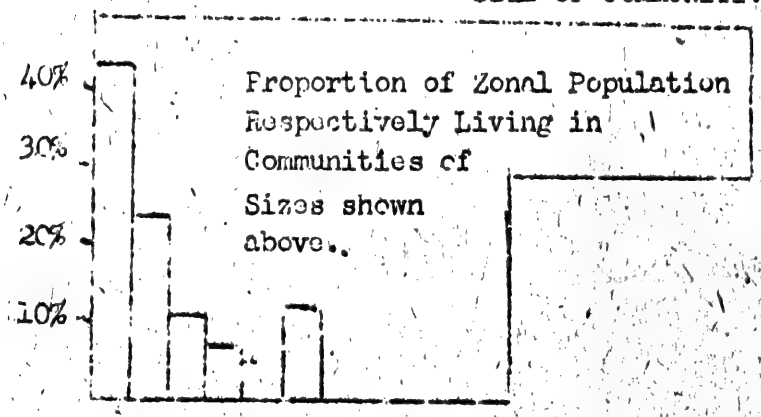
The following charts indicate the relative food intake and satisfaction with the food situation in communities of various size as well as in the three Laender. * It is evident that the larger size of the community, the smaller the food intake and the lower the degree of satisfaction with the food situation.

Bavaria, supposedly the food center of the American Zone, shows the lowest food intake and degree of satisfaction with the food situation. This may, in part, be explained by considering the human element in the situation. Bavarians, always the best fed, would naturally rebel more against the amount of food which they receive now under rationing than would residents in the other two Laender.

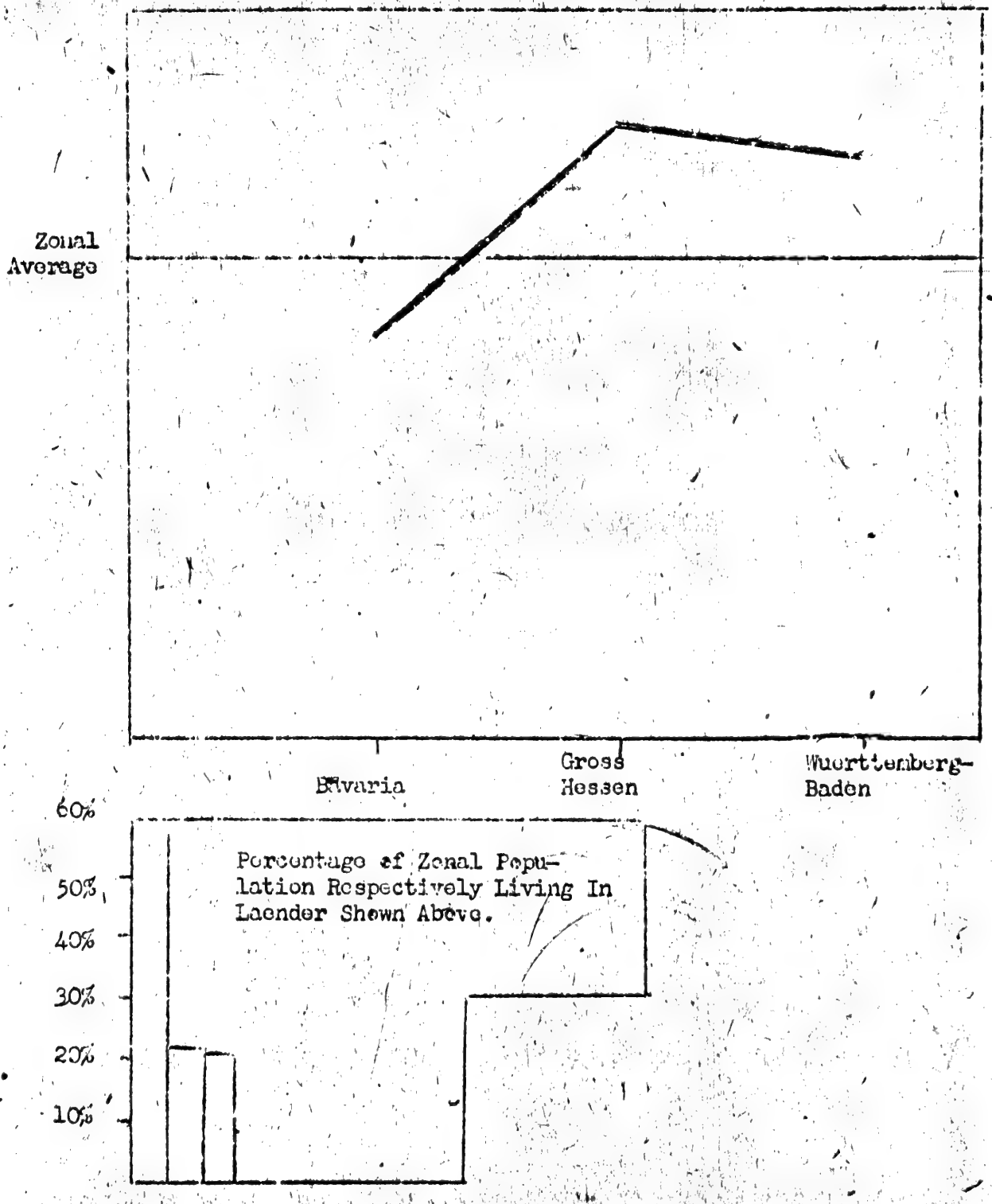
Berlin, on the other hand, now finds the food situation very grave. And Berliners must necessarily expend more effort to obtain supplementary food than do residents in the American Zone. However, they express a higher degree of satisfaction with the food they do manage to obtain. It is striking to observe the position of Berlin in relation to cities of 250,000 population or more on the basis of their relative food intake and satisfaction with the food situation.

RELATIVE FOOD INTAKE AND SATISFACTION WITH FOOD SITUATION IN COMMUNITIES OF VARIOUS SIZES.





RELATIVE FOOD INTAKE AND SATISFACTION WITH FOOD SITUATION IN THE THREE LAENDER



APPENDIX

"Do you know anybody who works for the Americans ?"
If respondent or member of family, "Do you (does he) receive a meal a day ?"

	ALZONE	Berlin
Sample	1504	194
Do not know anyone who works for the Americans	76%	61%
Respondent works for Americans and:		
Receives a meal	1	3
Does not receive a meal	*	1
	1	4
Member of family works for Americans and:		
Receives a meal	2	5
Does not receive a meal	*	1
	2	6
Acquaintance works for the Americans	13	20
Relative works for Americans	7	8
Friend works for Americans	2	2
Person undesigned	1	1
	102	102

* Less than 1%

(Columns total more than 100% because some respondents named more than one person.)

"Do you eat in a restaurant sometimes ? How often a week ?"

	Bavaria	Gross Hessen	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	878	311	315
Do not eat in restaurants	86%	95%	91%
Eat in restaurants:			
Less than one meal per week	*	1	*
One meal per week	5	1	3
Two to three meals per week	4	2	3
Four to five meals per week	2	*	1
Six meals per week	2	1	*
Seven meals per week	*	-	-
More than seven meals per week	*	-	*
Number of meals unspecified	1	-	2
	14/100	5/100	9/100
Median average number of meals per week	2-3	2-3	2-3

	Under 2,000	2,000-2,999	10,000-49,999	50,000-99,999	100,000-249,999	250,000 & Over
Sample	662	185	196	444	231	312
Do not eat in restaurants	92%	93%	90%	83%	84%	75%
Eat in restaurants:						
Less than one meal per week	*	1	-	-	-	1
One meal p."	3	4	2	3	4	6
2-3 meals "	2	1	3	5	4	9
4-5 " "	1	-	1	4	2	3
Six " "	1	1	2	2	2	5
Seven" "	*	-	*	1	2	*
More than 7 meals p.week	-	-	2	2	1	*
Number of meals unspecified	1	*	-	*	1	1
	8/100	7/100	10/100	17/100	16/100	25/100
Median average number of meals per week	2-3	1	3-4	4-5	2-3	2-3

* Less than 1%

	Under 2,000	2,000-9,999	10,000-49,999	50,000-99,999	100,000-249,999	250,000 & Over
Sample	662	185	196	444	231	312
What are you or other members of your family doing to obtain more food in addition to that received on the ration card ?						
Are satisfied, don't do anything, obtain extra rations, work on farm	41%	18%	17%	12%	20%	20%
Can't do anything, no time, opportunity, contacts, money or articles to trade	33	35	49	55	60	56
Obtain supplementary food through raising animals, gardening, working for it, from farms	26	47	34	33	20	24
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Are you or your family able to obtain any food in addition to the rationed food you buy at the store ?						
Obtain food	21%	29%	26%	19%	10%	12%
Do not obtain food	72	71	74	81	90	87
No answer	7	*	*	*	-	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Less than 1%

	Under 2,000	2,000 9,999	10,000- 49,999	50,000- 99,999	100,000- 249,999	250,000 & Over
Sample	562	185	196	444	231	312
Some people are able to get some additional food when they visit relatives or friends in the country areas. Are you or your family able to do this, and how often ?						
Do not go to the country	85%	78%	72%	75%	85%	83%
Go to the country:						
Weekly	3	4	5	3	*	1
2 or 3 times monthly	2	5	3	3	2	1
Monthly	3	7	6	7	4	4
Less than once a month	4	5	14	11	8	11
Interval unspecified	2	1	-	1	1	*
	14	22	28	25	15	17
No answer	1	-	-	*	-	-
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Were substitutes given last week for rationed items not available at the store ?						
Yes	11%	5%	16%	21%	3%	6%
No	69	81	72	57	89	87
Don't know	20	14	12	22	8	7
	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Less than 1%

	Under 2,000	2,000-9,999	10,000-49,999	50,000-99,999	100,000-249,999	250,000 & Over
Sample	662	185	196	444	231	312
In the last week were any special food rations distributed in the community in addition to the regular food ration for all Germans ?						
No special ration distributed	73%	65%	57%	54%	61%	76%
Special ration distributed	18	25	38	35	32	17
Don't know if food ration was distributed	9	10	5	11	7	7
	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Less than 1%

RESTRICTED

BASIC ATTITUDES EXPLORED BY THE GERMAN ATTITUDE SCALE

#19

19 August 1946
SURVEYS BRANCH
OFFICE OF DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION CONTROL
OMGUS (REAR) APO 757

ICD OPINION SURVEYS
OMGUS APO 742
Berlin Germany

RESTRICTED

INTRODUCTION

A questionnaire had been prepared by Dr. Krugman of Columbia University, at the behest of the War Department, designed to test the attitudes of prisoners of war. Tests were made on samples of prisoners at Halloran Hospital and at Camp Getty. The test was shown to distinguish sharply between the attitudes of selected "white" prisoners undergoing special training at Camp Getty and the run-of-the-mill prisoners found at Halloran Hospital.

This same questionnaire was given to a set of samples of populations in Germany. The samples were of the following: A. American Zone (1470 interviews); B. Berlin-American Sector (182 interviews); C. Youth aged 17 to 27 in Baden-Wuerttemberg (295 interviews); D. Political prisoners to be detained in camp (84 interviews); E. Political prisoners to be released from confinement (95 interviews); F. Marburg University students (214 interviews).

The questionnaire was administered by trained German personnel, regular interrogators for Surveys Section, Intelligence Branch, Information Control Division. In every instance the sample was selected at random ... samples A. and C. being first stratified on the basis of proportion of the population living within each Land, and within several categories of community size within each Land, and taking into account the religious distribution variant within the Land. Sample B was stratified by administrative district within the American Sector of Berlin. Names of individuals selected to answer the questionnaire were drawn for these three samples from the food ration cards within the areas defined. These names were the nth names in each ration card file selected. The last three samples of individuals were drawn at random (every nth name) from lists of names of the personnel incarcerated in a camp for political prisoners near Stuttgart and from a list representing the enrolled students at Marburg University.

The questionnaire contained 110 questions and was described as comprising eight sets of questions, each set probing into attitudes toward a generally defined area. The question within seven of these sets were said to be "paired", that is, two questions were stated in a positive and a negative form as counterparts. These "airs" were said to provide a test of consistency of reply.

The eighth set was composed of ten questions to which answers flattering to the occupation powers were possible. Replies to these questions were said to provide for an analysis of a test of the sincerity of the individuals answering the questionnaires. The questions comprising each of the sets were scrambled among all the other questions.

Each "question" was, in reality, a statement with which the respondents were asked to indicate agreement or disagreement. Following the 110 statements were a series of questions about the background characteristics of the individuals questioned. The answers to these questions were inspected by the supervisor administering the questionnaire to ensure completeness. At the same time he was instructed to glance through the answers given in the body of the questionnaire and to rectify omissions, by bringing these to the attention of the respondent.

In some cases, respondents were unable to take a stand for or against a statement. These responses were called "no opinion" replies, although there was no such answer to check on the questionnaire. They include failure or refusals to reply, written statements indicating no opinion, and qualifications of reply that did not fully accept one or another alternative offered. The size of this group varied markedly by the question asked -- from zero to about one-third of the population. The mean average "no opinion" for all 110 questions was about 9%.

As a first step in analysis of the results, the questions which were designed to test a particular complex attitude were examined as a group. The analysis proceeded along the lines developed by Guttmann, that is, a statistical test was applied to discover the scaling properties of each group of questions. It was possible to say, as a result of such an analysis, the degree of correlation which existed between the replies of a group of individuals to a set of questions. It could thus be determined whether or not the questions tested one attitude or diverse attitudes. The degree of interrelationship among the questions could be predicted with a probability statement. Of the 110 questions analysed in this manner, 51 were accepted as forming parts of scales of separate attitudes. It is the replies to these 51 statements which were used as the basis of the evidence presented below.

THE SCALES

Eleven scales were finally established. These tested attitudes in the areas:

1) Family, Women, Children
2) Ethics, Justice (Social Responsibility)
3) Anti-Semitism
4) Projection of Guilt
5) Future of Germany (Supervised Responsibility)
6) Flattery (?)
7) War-Militarism
8) Government-Democracy Authority: Necessity of Political Information and Interest.

9) Government-Democracy-Authority:
Independent Thinking as a Value
10) Government-Democracy-Authorority:
Fallible Leadership
11) Government-Democracy-Authority:
Independence and Rights of Individuals

On the average, about three in ten individuals in the US Zone replied in the democratic direction on all 11 scales. One third more of the population answered favorably on all but one question within each scale. Forty percent, then, proved to have, on the average, a confused democratic-undemocratic outlook or to be undemocratic in the main.*

The replies to each of the scales fell into patterns (see charts I, II and III). The first group shows a constantly increasing proportion giving more and more democratic replies until about three in four respondents answered all or all but one of the questions in a democratic fashion. The second group is composed of three scales for which the peak of the curve occurs not with the largest proportion accepting all the questions but more nearly at the third quartile of the curve. In the third group of three scales the peak of the curve occurs still earlier. Since the fundamental importance of the "Flattery (?)" scale is evident it will be considered primarily and its relationship to the other scales will be established.

* The high "democratic" proportion is probably in part an artifact of the situation — the scale questions did not include, unfortunately, a sufficient number of propositions inacceptable to large proportions of the populations. The overall-results, then, are perhaps less interesting than the relative scores of the various groups analysed below. Dr. Krugman wrote: "Normally, the attitude and truth scale would have been validated and standardized by the usual research methods. This was not possible in this instance ..." The difficulties anticipated by Dr. Krugman have been met in this analysis.

Chart I

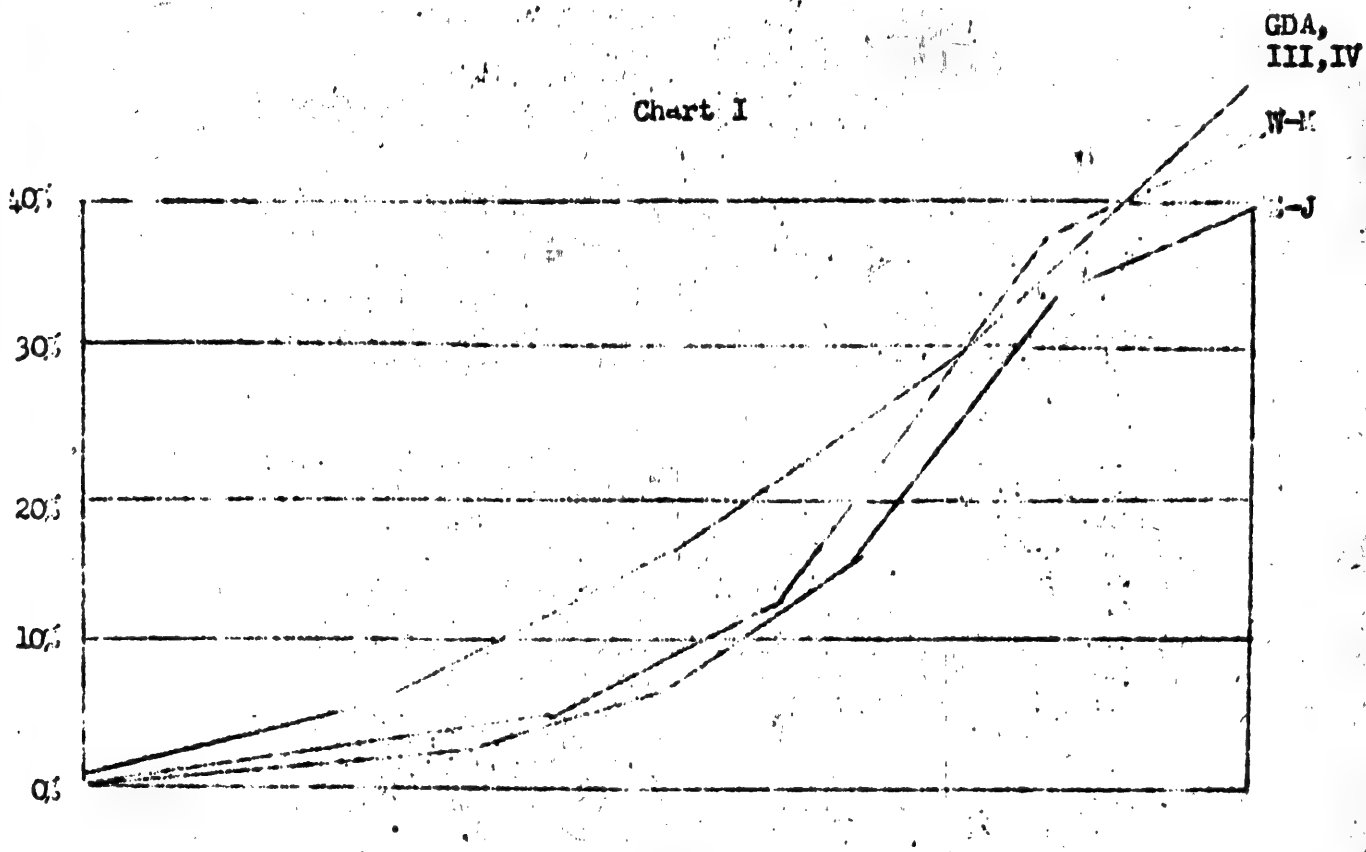
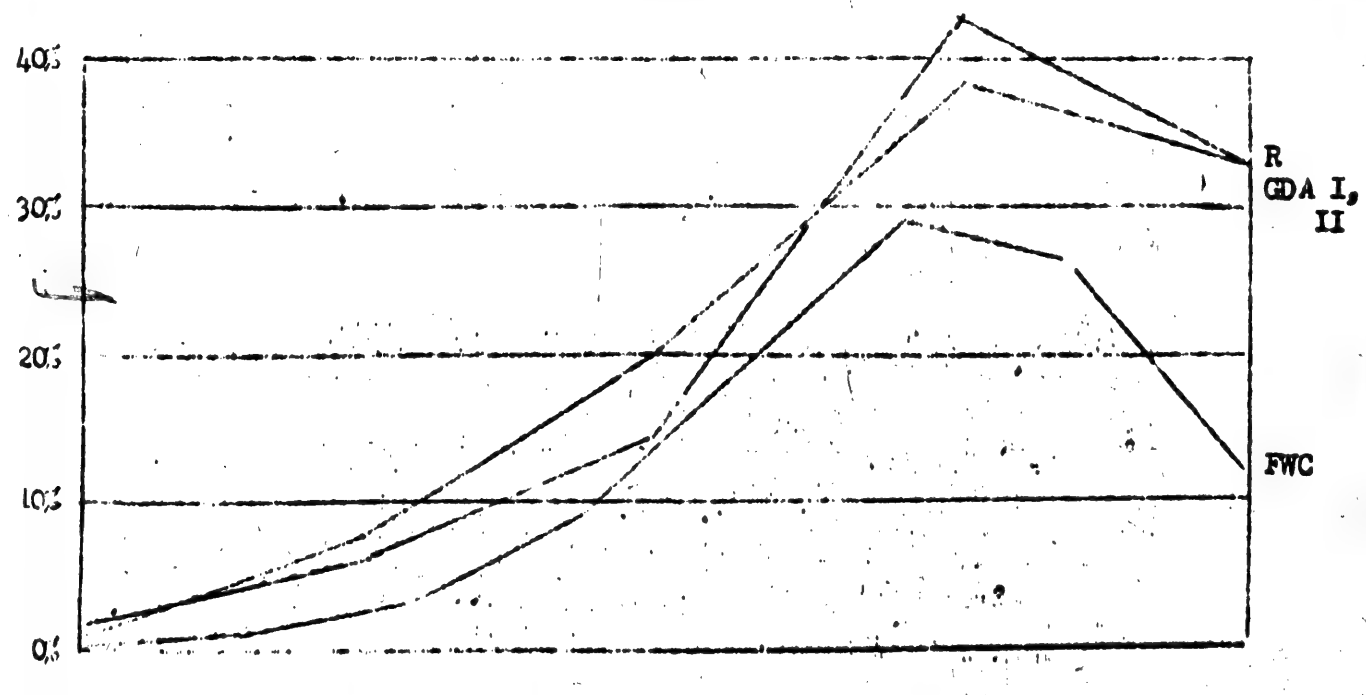
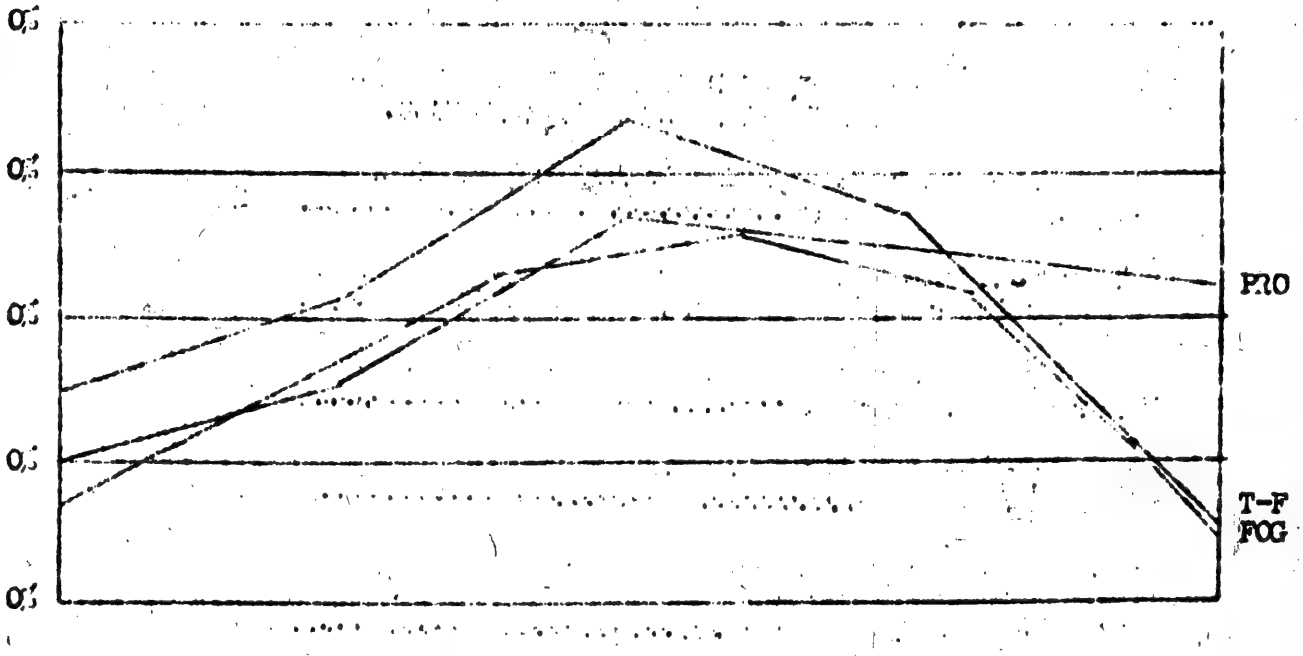


Chart II



GDA - Government, Democracy, Authority
I - Necessity of Political Information
II - Independent Thinking as a Value
III - Fallible Leadership
IV - Independence and Rights of Individuals
W-M - War, Militarism
E-J - Ethics, Justice
R - Anti-Semitism
FWC - Family, Women, Children

Chart III



PRO - Projection of Guilt
T-F - "Flattery (?)"
FOG - Future of Germany

THE RESULTS.

THE "FLATTERY (?)" SCALE.

Five questions were found to be rather highly correlated. Each of these "questions" was a statement which, reasonably, would be denied by any person who was unwilling to flatter the Allies or the Americans, or who was not suggestible, or who was forthright and frank, or who did not fear reprisals for an outspoken reply, or by one who was not politically compromised but who was critical of the occupation.

The five statements and the proportions disagreeing with each one in the sample of the American Zone population are shown in Table I.

TABLE I

STATEMENTS USED TO TEST SINCERITY AND PROPORTIONS DEMOCRATIC RESPONSES.

The air forces of the Allies bombed only military objectives in Germany	82
The Japanese killed by the atom bomb were criminals engaged in a conspiracy against the United States	58
Germany has no musical genius to compare with the American Deems Taylor	55
Allied soldiers have always acted correctly toward German civilians	42
Very few Germans have shown understanding or inclination toward democracy, as has been demonstrated during the last 50 years	22

All five statements	6
Four only	22
Three only	26
Two only	23
One only	16
None	7
	100

The hypothesis was stated by Dr. Krugman and his associates that the group which accepted, or did not deny, these statements tended to be insincere and untrustworthy. Among the "white" PsW specially screened for orientation courses at Camp Getty it was found that larger proportions could be called "trustworthy" than among the run-of-the-mill prisoners interviewed in Halloran Hospital. And it was also found that the more "trustworthy" PsW tended to hold more "democratic" attitudes as expressed on the other scales. In the introductory statements to this section it has been suggested that it is perhaps an oversimplification to describe attitudes on this scale as "trustworthy-untrustworthy".

Consistency of relationship between place on the "Flattery(?)" scale and place on the other scales is observable. However, this consistency is not always in the same direction, nor is it always entirely consistent.

Table II

"FLATTERY (?)" SCALE

		7%	16%	23%	26%	22%	6%
	Number of Democratic Replies	0	1	2	3	4	5
Anti-Semitism	0-2	29	28	22	20	29	18
	3,4	71	72	78	80	71	82
Projection of Guilt	0-2	51	46	54	50	64	63
	3,4	49	54	46	50	36	37
Future of Germany	0-2	58	64	64	67	78	87
	3,4	42	36	36	33	22	13
War, Militarism	0-3	39	30	23	14	14	7
	4,5	61	70	77	86	86	93
Family, Women, Children	0-5	71	71	67	54	56	45
	0,7	29	29	33	46	44	55
Government, Democracy, Authority: Necessity of Political Information	0-2	57	47	30	21	25	12
	3,4	43	53	70	79	75	88
Independent Thinking As a Value	0-2	42	32	29	26	23	19
	3,4	48	68	71	74	77	81
Fallible Leadership	0-2	56	39	23	12	11	3
	3,4	44	61	77	88	89	97
Independence and Rights of Individuals	0-2	48	36	28	18	14	9
	3,4	52	64	72	82	86	91
Ethics, Justice	0-4	34	34	25	23	30	19
	5,6	66	66	75	77	70	81

The less inclined a respondent was to flatter the Allies the more was he likely to uphold democratic rights (tested by the four scales, "Government, Democracy, Authority") and the more likely he was to stand against militaristic values. A slight correlation in the same direction was observed with the anti-semitism scale. However, consistently fewer "trustworthy" persons did not cherish the future Germany as an occupied or supervised country even with large responsibility alloted to the German people. And while the relationship between the progressively more "trustworthy" groups and the scale of attitudes toward the projection of guilt was not consistent, it can be said that more of the most "trustworthy" than of the less "trustworthy" placed the responsibility for

the war and the horrors of the war upon shoulders other than Germany's. Large proportions of each group also accepted traditional standards of ethics and justice, but somewhat larger proportions of the more frank spoke out for these standards than of the less open respondents. A high correlation was observable, too, with attitudes toward familial customs, with a majority of the most straightforward accepting our standards; while only about three in ten of the least straightforward did likewise.

It should be noted that one of the "Flattery" groups among the six score groups was inconsistent in half the instances (five in ten) of correlation between the "Flattery (?)" scale and the other ten scales, (Table II). This group was the one which denied all but one of the statements which all should reasonably have been denied. The statement which this group, on the average, accepted was the charge that few Germans have shown an understanding or inclination toward democracy in the last 50 years. This statement was more frequently accepted by the well-educated, the middle-aged (20-40 years), by men and by non-NSDAP members. (N.B.A few more former PGs than non-PGs hold that there were more than a few democrats in Germany. Could this fact have worried them?) Although the differences between the responses of these groups and other population groups were not large, it can be said that the implications of this question probably were not seen by some rather well-disposed groups. It must be assumed, then, that within this score group there can be found more of those who were open and straightforward in general, but not keenly alert or highly intelligent.

At this point, then, it should be noted that the more frank and outspoken group is characterized as holding the views, in general, that they were not responsible (nor were all Germans, therefore) for the holocaust and, indeed, that they are ready and capable of taking over the direction of Germany's affairs. In other words, "democratic" outlook as tested by the "trustworthiness" scale and correlated with other scales testing "democratic" outlook, is negatively correlated with the acceptance of responsibility for the war and acceptance of Allied supervision in the future. The definition of "trustworthiness", then, becomes more specific. Essentially the scale screens out those people who truthfully are critical of our activities and who are nationalistic opponents of Allied supervision of Germany. These people, infine, oppose the occupation.

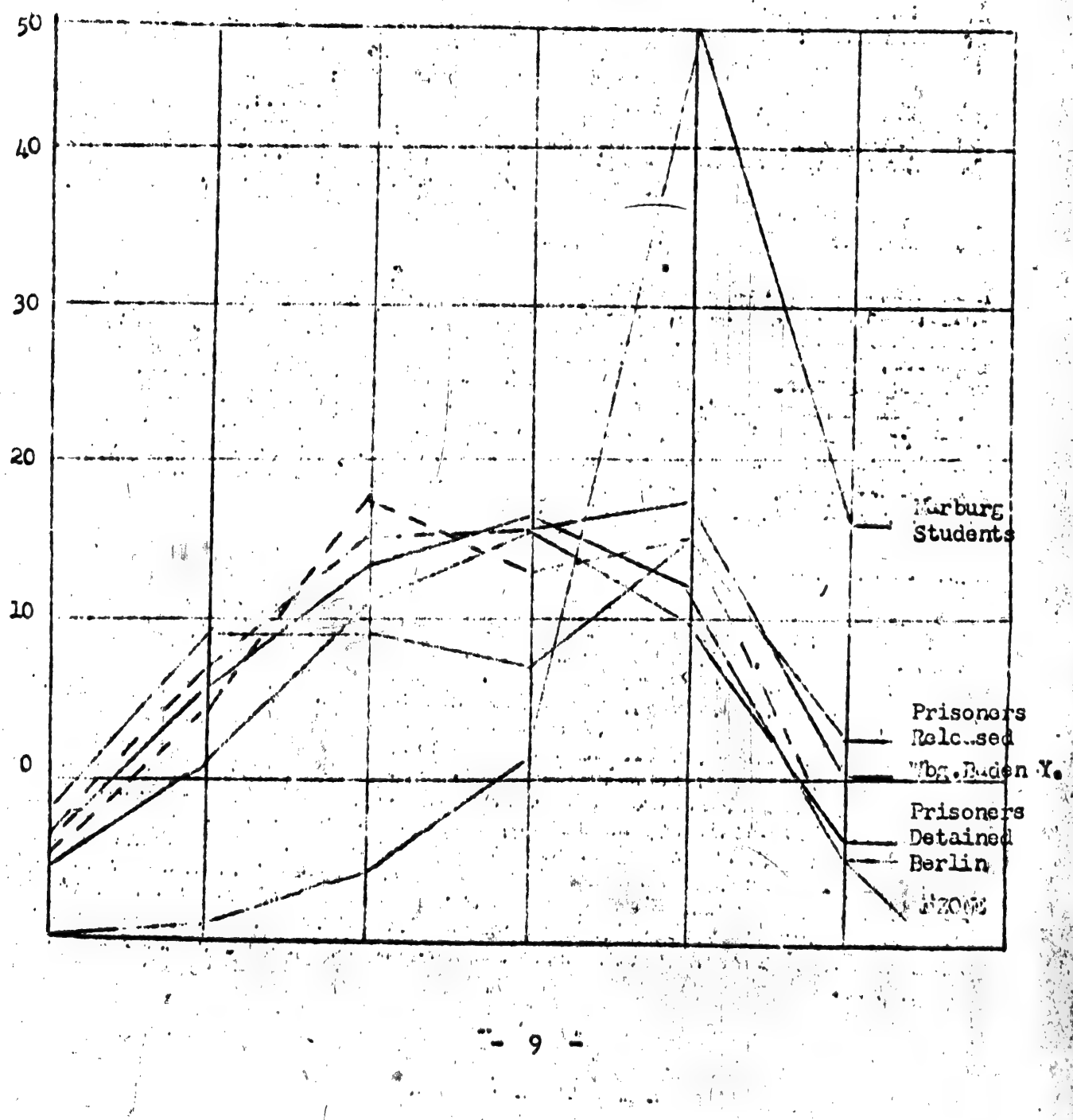
At the other end of the scale, too, there may be people who exceed the bounds of assumption of guilt and, madly gullible, assume that all that the Allies are suggested to have done is good and can be credited to them. They might be called "trustworthy" in the sense of blind acceptance of obedience. Finally, among this group are to be found, it can be assumed, some bootlickers whose "trustworthiness" is a function of a well-defined situation and is perhaps easily predictable on that basis. To expect, then, that the "Flattery(?)" scale provides a test for loyalty seems to drive too

hard at what is actually accomplished by the test. What does seem to be achieved is a test of frankness of expression, a test of critical ability, a test of sophistication, a test of suggestibility, a test of broadness of outlook or frame of reference. However, some of these complexes of the scale are clarified upon examination of the distribution of various population groups along the scale.

Among the various populations sampled (considering for the moment the American Zone as one population) great and marked variation is observed between the replies of the Marburg students and the replies of any other group (see Chart IV). Over one-fourth (27%) of the students answered all five questions in a critical manner and nearly six in ten more (57%) failed to be blunt about only one statement. The nearest approximation to this score was found among the youth (17 to 27 years old) in Baden-Wuerttemberg where nearly two-fifths (38% as opposed to 84% among the Marburg students) responded to all five or four of the five statements in the unflattering direction. And the released political prisoners made practically as good a record (37%).

Chart IV.

"Flattery (?)" Scale.



The population of the merican Zone (28%) and the detained political prisoners (27%) were indistinguishable as to their expressions on these propositions.*

Within the American Zone other population groups were examined. Above and below average scores of some of these groups are shown in the table below.

TABLE III.

SOME GROUP PROPORTIONS IN REPLY TO THE "LOTTERY (?)" SCALE.

(Average Score; 28% answered Four of the Five or All Five Statements in the Democratic Direction.)

Above Average Scores		Below Average Scores	
47%	Occupation: Professional	17	Party Preference: KPD
43	Party Preference: LDP	17	Home: East Prussia
41	Non-PG, Family member was	18	Widowed
39	Soldier, non-P/	19	Home: Baden
37	Education: 12 or more years	20	Income weekly: 1-19 RM
39	Angestellter (Lower white collar)	18	Unemployed
		21	Residence: Baden-Wuerttemberg
36	Size of Town: 5 to 10,000	21	Home: Wuerttemberg
36	Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Munich	21	Age: 70 or older
36	Catholic, irregular church goer	21	Occupation: laborer
37	Age: 20 to 29		
36	Income: 70 to 99 RM weekly		

This abbreviated table again demonstrates one of the facets of this scale: sophistication (Professional workers vs. laborers); sullen bitterness among the widowed; broad frame of reference among the city dwellers; trained and organized thinking among the better educated; criticism by those secure from but affected by denazification (non-PG but family member was); respect for treatment by Allies (soldier non-P/); alertness (young people 20 to 29 years old); concealed resentment (evacuated East Prussians); apathy among the unemployed, the poor and the laborers; evasiveness among the followers of the KPD in spite of their admission of preference for that party.

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*This remarkable situation — that the American Zone population answered similarly to political prisoners detained in a compound — needs a further statement. The political prisoners in this compound had just been screened for release or detention. Those who were about to be released were told so, those to be detained were embittered at the selection. In addition, the day before the test these men were shocked by the shooting of one of their company by a Polish guard in what reports indicated was an unjustifiable situation. The death of this individual had induced a hunger strike as an expression of protest against such treatment. The detainees, highly intelligent executive-type National-socialists, were ready to object as a body against American administration of the camp. I must be maintained either that hunger, tiredness, sullenness, and positive resentment clouded and colored the thinking of these well-educated upper- and upper-middle class leaders or that the general population of the Zone is not much unintelligent and evasive as resentful and embittered.

In summary, then, it can be said that this scale seems to hold together somewhat disparate elements of disposition but that the most cohesive characteristic seems to be that of criticism. This criticism probably stems from different motivations and has different directions and its expression does not largely develop in any sizeable group among the population. Where it is sharpened by intellectual ability, organized thinking, sophistication, broadened outlook, the alertness of youth, security of economic status, resentment of the occupation, nationalistic feeling, and self-confidence -- that is, among the students of Marburg University it becomes an expressed characteristic of nearly all the members of the group. On the other hand, among those groups where apathy, sullenness, confusion, and lack of confidence are important characteristics, the proportion answering these questions in an acceptable direction is appreciably below that of the general population. But the general population, too, is found to exhibit characteristics and to hold dispositions not dissimilar from those held by the average hopeless and embittered political prisoner still held in camp.

ANTI-SEMITISM

Four statements were found to be highly correlated in testing attitudes toward Jews. One of the statements was, indeed, a converse form of anti-semitism in that it offered the opportunity for the respondents to exhibit nationalistic pride. That such pride is related to anti-semitism is not surprising but it is important to recognize that it is intimately related.

Table IV

STATEMENTS USED TO TEST ANTI-SEMITISM AND PROPORTIONS OF "DEMOCRATIC" RESPONSES.

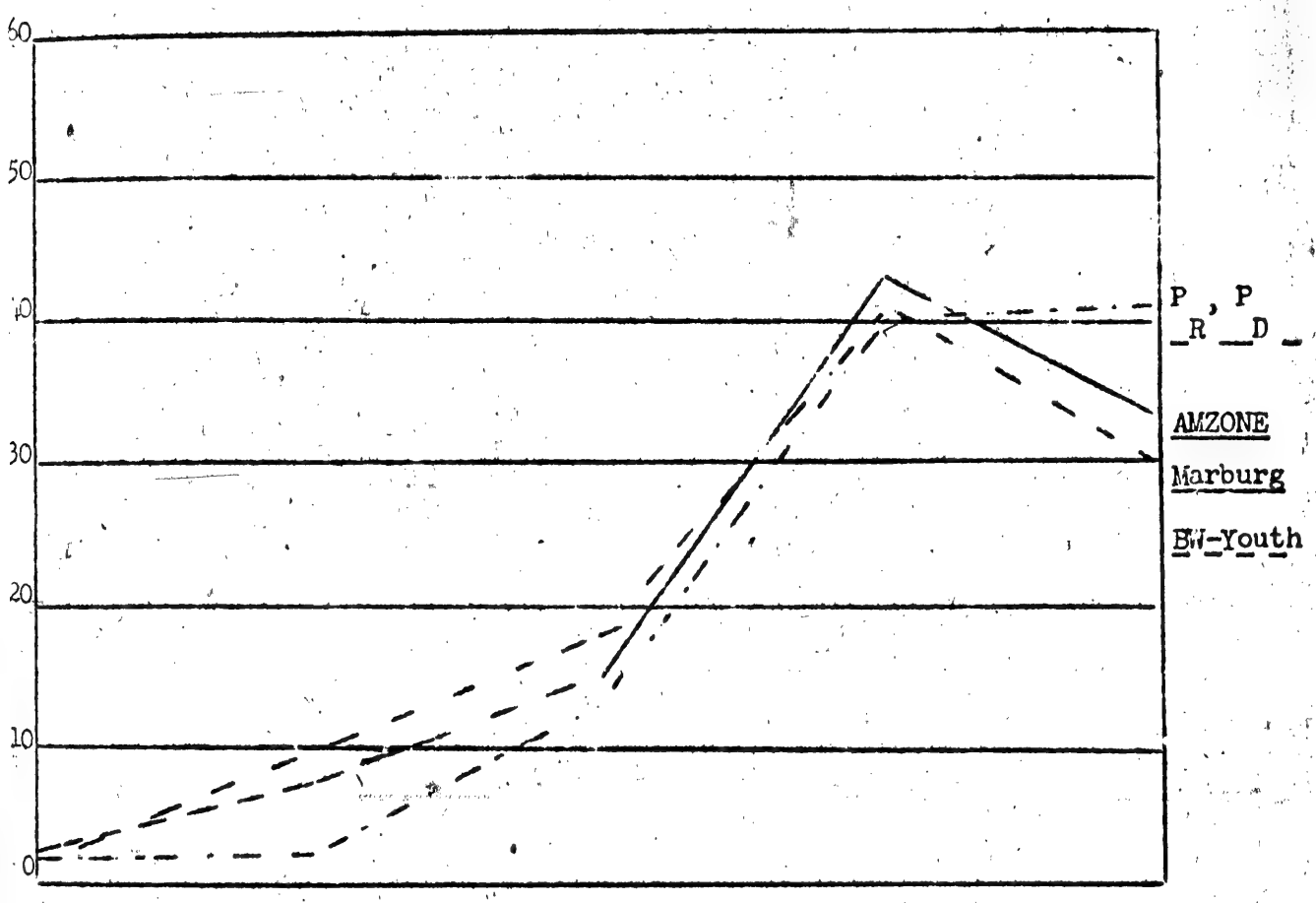
	%
A musical composition can be beautiful in spite of the racial background of the composer	91
A true German should be judged and condemned if he marries a non-aryan woman	85
Jews deserve to have the same rights as members of the Nordic race	85
Germans are generally known as the best workers	39

*** *** ***

Democratic replies on all four statements	33
Democratic replies on only three statements	43
Democratic replies on only two statements	15
Democratic replies on only one statement	7
Democratic replies on none of the statements	2
	100%

Chart V

Anti-Semitism Scale



From these data it must be maintained that a clear majority of the German public holds some appreciable degree of ethnocentrism, and that about one-third of the public must be said to be not obviously tainted with an anti-semitic disposition. Among the special sample groups, the released political prisoners formed the only group among whom at least as many replied in the democratic direction to all four questions as did so to only three (Chart V). Whereas the political detainees seemed slightly less anti-semitic than did the general population, the Marburg students scarcely varied from the average German in their reactions to this test. However, the youth in Baden-Wuerttemberg did show decidedly more frequently anti-semitic traces than were shown by members of the other groups.

Other population groups examined within the population of the American Zone; revealed some informative differences. Whereas residents of Baden-Wuerttemberg and of Bavaria scarcely differed at all in their attitudes toward Jews, Hessians more

frequently maintained the nationalist proposition that German workers are better than any other. This pride may well stem from the characteristically higher development of industrialization found in this area of American-occupied Germany. Anti-semitism, too, is known to be strong historically among Hessian farmers. Small towns (under 10,000) contained larger proportions of anti-semites than did cities, and farmers reported a greater proportion of such undemocratic people than any other group examined. Among other occupational groups, the greater the specialization of work the fewer anti-semitic members were found. Between the unemployed or the laborers and those classified as professional workers a difference of 20% in proportion of democratic replies could be observed. Families with the lowest wages were also ill-disposed toward Jews more frequently than were families with higher incomes. Politically apathetic respondents, who could not name a party which they preferred, more frequently uphold the anti-semitic side, as did the more poorly educated within the population and the women. On the other hand, relatives of former members of the NSDAP, as well as people under 30 years old, and the very old (over 70) also upheld the Hitlerite line of attack on the Jews.

Anti-semitism, thus, was expressed by somewhat distinct population groups — by the alert but heavily indoctrinated young who grew up with National Socialist propaganda, by the unintelligent or unthinking who undoubtedly vented their stereotypical thinking in their replies, by the poor who stood to gain from expropriation when they had nothing to lose, by the farmers who probably channellized, some dislike of city-folk in dislike of the Jews, and, of course, by the frustrated relatives of former Party members.

Table V.

SOME GROUP PROPORTIONS IN REPLY TO ANTI-SEMITISM SCALE.

Above and below average scores of some of those groups are shown in the table below.
Average score: 33% answered all four of the statements in a democratic direction.

Above Average Scores		Below Average Scores	
52%	Education: 12 or more years	22	Occupation: Farmer
46	Occupation: Professional	22	Status: Widowed
46	Occupation: Business	22	Home: Gross Hessen
45	Residence: Largest cities	24	Party Preference: None
45	Status: Soldier, not a P.W.	24	Occupation: Laborer
44	Men		
43	Residence: 10,000 to 100,000		

SCALE: WAR MILITARISM.

Five statements were found to be sufficiently interrelated so that they could be thought to test attitudes within a similar area. Each statement generally evoked a democratic response on the part of a large majority of the population. However, less than half the people responded in this direction to all five statements, and at least one-fifth of the general population held that democracy weakens a nation. It can be said that the German people largely dislike the consequences of war but an important minority is not yet ready to speak for democracy when it is a question of values other than military. Indeed, it can also be said that democracy, as represented by the United States, is regarded as a strong military form of government.

Table VI.

STATEMENTS USED TO TEST ATTITUDES TOWARD WAR AND MILITARISM.

	% "Democratic replies"
Only by war can the human spirit be glorified	95
Fear is natural, and those people showing fear when faced with a dangerous situation should be treated with understanding	94
A civilian is a lower person than a member of the Army	89
The strength of a nation is weakened by democracy	83
The greatest strength of American democracy is not based on its military power	55

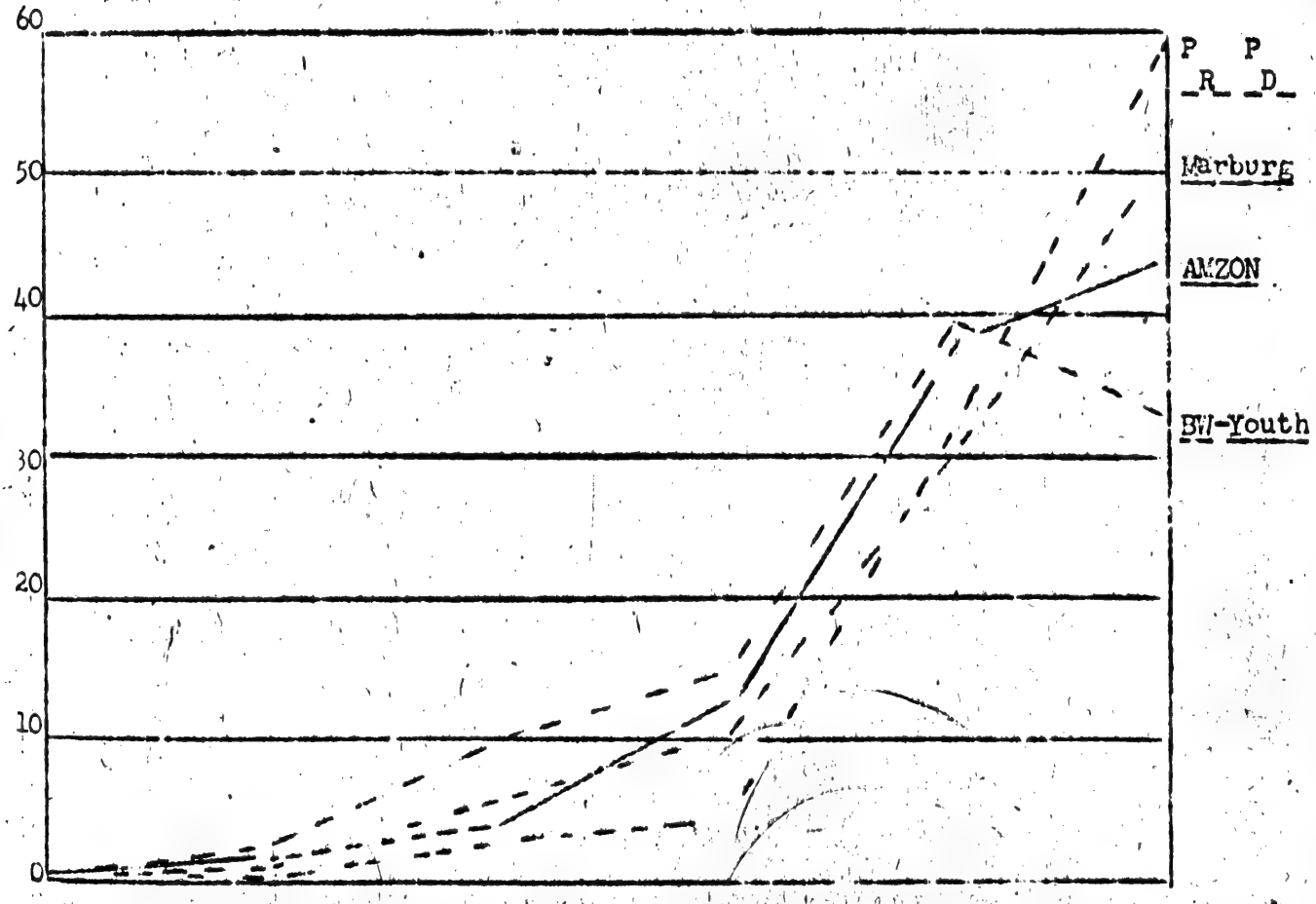
All five statements	43
Four only	38
Three only	13
Two only	4 plus
One only	1 plus
None	less than 1/2 of 1%
	100%

Since the two most critical questions in this scale both dealt with "democracy", or an evaluation of democracy, it must be remembered that the discussion of the "Flattery (?)" scale showed that the more truthful a person was (that is, the less frequently he flattered the Allies) the more frequently did he maintain that a nation is not weakened by democracy and that the greatest strength of a democracy is not its military might. (Less than half as many (30%) who flattered the Allies on all five questions testing truth of response, as flattered us on none of the questions (64%) accepted the

democratic response on these questions evaluating war and militarism.) If it is assumed that the "Flattery(?)" scale tests truth of response the situation must be even more variant than that discovered. If, on the other hand, (and this seems to be the more reasonable situation) the "Flattery(?)" scale tests an attitude toward world affairs, and a dispositional frame of reference, this situation is clearly shown in the results just discussed.

Wide variations in the distributional curve along this scale were found among the replies of the separate sample groups (Chart VI). The most militaristic lot were the youth of Wuerttemberg-Baden, the least were the political prisoners. Those prisoners who were slated for release were somewhat less war-minded than were those who were to be retained. The disparity between the answers of the Marburg students and the youth throughout Land Baden-Wuerttemberg was very marked. Evidently the superior educational status of the former counted heavily in turning them against placing any high value upon war or the glories of war.

Chart VI.
War, Militarism Scale



Within the Zonal population some wide differences between distinct groups can be observed in regard to their attitudes toward war and militarism. Those areas which have suffered the effects of war and bombing, particularly, were less inclined to accept militaristic values. Thus Hessians more than Bavarians hold democratic dispositions on this scale, and residents of the large cities, such as Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Munich, differed largely from residents of small communities under 2,000 in population. The greatest frequency of militaristc attitudes was found among farmers.

On the other hand, more soldiers who had not been taken prisoner (presumable these can be said to include many Volkssturm -- older amateur soldiers) were non-militaristic than were former prisoners of war. And more widows, who had suffered the deprivation of their husbands as breadwinners and companions, were disposed to glorify war and war-making than were married people. In fact, women in general seemed to admire militaristic values more frequently than did men. Youth, too, could not be said to have given up the values of militarism in as large proportions as older people. Especially those youth who are less than 20 years old, but also the middle aged below 50, more frequently than older people, want along with the suggested justifications for making war.

A high degree of correlation between educational attainment and anti-militarism was found. The more years of schooling people had the more likely they were to stand against the use of military power. Whereas little, but still a positive, difference, could be remarked between those who had attended school for seven years and those who had had eight years of training, the group with a greatly increased anti-militaristic outlook was that which had gone through 12 or more years training. The same direction of difference occured among income groups. Here the population seemed to divide into the group with more than average (about 35 RM per family per week) income and those with less than the average. Higher income, of course, is highly correlated with better educational status.

In regard to NSDAP affiliation, former PG's proved to be inclined to accept less frequently a militaristic ideology. But the group which had not belonged to the Party, but who had had family members who belonged, stood on the other side of the issue.

The characteristics of the groups with separate political party affiliations are interesting and undoubtedly important. Sharply different in orientation were two groups: those who preferred the Communist party and those who liked "none" of the parties. Both these segments of the population uphold militarism to a greater degree than any other party group. It can be suspected that it is difficult to hold a revolutionary ideology and at the same time oppose the use of force. The group with no party preference includes the apathetic and unthinking, naturally, but also those who stand bitterly against the results of the loss of National Socialism and who react negatively to the insinuation of a multi-party system within Germany. Above and below average scores of some population groups are shown in the table below.

Table VII.

SOME GROUP PROPORTIONS IN REPLY TO WAR, MILITARISM SCALE.

Average Score: 43% Answered All Five Statements in a Democratic Direction.

Above Average		Below Average	
69%	Occupation: Professional	22%	Occupation: Farmer
63	Education: 12 or more years	27	Age: Under 20 years
61	Status: Soldier, non PW	27	Income: 1-19 RM per week
59	Occupation: Unemployed	30	Party Preference: None
58	Income: 50-69 RM per week	31	Party Preference: KPD
54	Income: 100 or more RM per week	31	Home: Silesia
54	Income: 41-49 RM per week	35	Age: 70 or older
54	Age: 50-59	35	Women
53	Status: Former PG	35	Income: 30-35 RM per week

The Ethics and Justice (Social Responsibility) Scale.

This scale shows the German public in a better light, but within it serious exceptions need to be made to a first favorable impression. For, while nearly everybody questioned agreed that "right is better founded on justice than on might", specific implementations of such a moral credo are not so widely upheld. Table VIII below shows the statements whose interrelationship was upheld by analysis alone with the proportions of "democratic" replies to these statements.

Table VIII.

STATEMENTS USED TO TEST ETHICS AND JUSTICE (SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY) ATTITUDES AND PROPORTIONS OF DEMOCRATIC RESPONSES.

	%
Right is better founded on justice than on might	96
Every German leader who ordered the murdering of civilians or prisoners or who took part in such actions should stand trial as a criminal	94
A man should join that political party which most nearly represents his own persuasion	91
It was wrong to force foreigners to work in German factories	86
During the war it was justified to force foreigners to work in German factories	76
Because Germany was not responsible for the war, German leaders should not be put on trial as war criminals	56

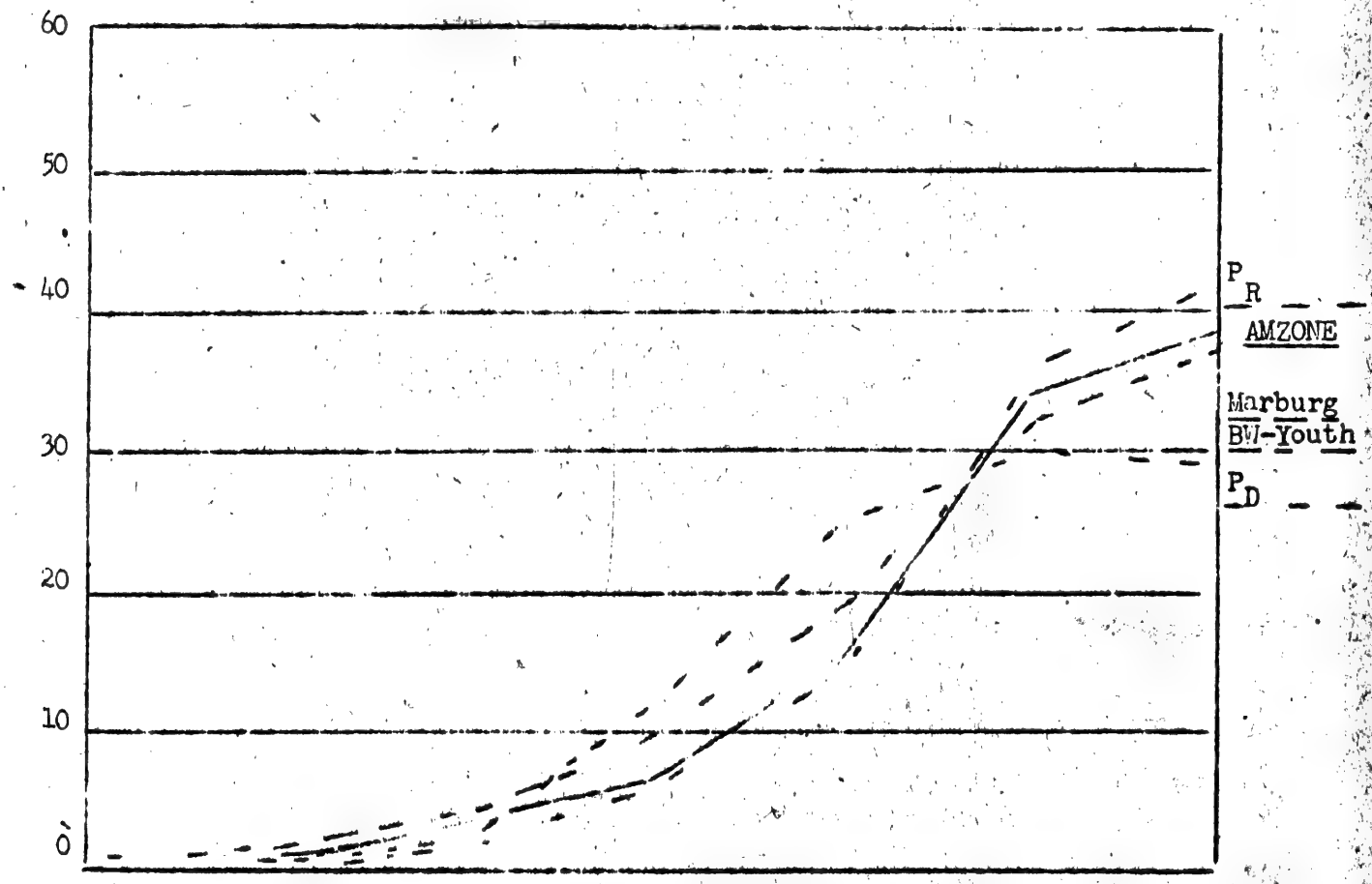
*** *** ***

All six statements	39
Five only	34
Four only	16
Three only	7
Two only	3
One only	1
None at all	Less than ½ of 1%
	100%

Among the populations separately sampled differences in attitudes between the released and detained political prisoners can be remarked while the responses of Berliners were much more acceptable than those of all the others (Chart VII). The interpretation is offered that the detained political prisoners were, in effect, asked to charge themselves with continued detention and, perhaps, more serious punishment. The prisoners about to be released, on the other hand, were in a position to say that punishment was deserved since the expiation of their crimes had been accomplished.

The more stringent adherance to moral principles on the part of the Berlin population sampled probably reveals some contempt for the leadership furnished by the Nazi regime and a distrust of authoritarian leadership in general. In addition, however, it should be recognized that a greater political awareness on the part of this large city population means as well a greater acceptance of political responsibility on their part.

Chart VII.
Ethics, Justice
Scale.



Such a factor is also revealed in the separate dispositions of the groups within the American Zone population which were examined. For instance, among those who expressed a preference for a political party only the LDP supporters gave fewer than the average democratic responses to all six questions. And among the SPD and CDU followers nearly half (45% and 46% respectively) replies democratically to all six questions. But only one third (33%) of those who liked none of the parties now licensed in Germany answered similarly.

Like differences appeared between the more poorly educated and the better educated, those with below average and those with above average incomes, the residents of small towns and the residents of large communities, between women and men. In each of the second instances more than average proportions held responses tending toward a democratic disposition. Practically half the people polled in Social Democratic Gross Hessen spoke in a democratic vein to all six questions, too.

However, those whose income derived from business sources (independent businessmen and their dependents) returned a much smaller proportion of democratic responses (37%) than their high educational and income status would lead one to expect. It seems likely that their rather intimate relations with factory production led them to justify, more frequently than other groups, the manner of use of displaced workers. They, too, have historically been political opportunists in Germany. In direct contrast, the families depending upon professional employment, or on the income of officials and higher white collar workers, were in a majority for a democratic disposition to all six propositions.

The younger half of the population (those under 40) were less frequently well oriented toward these statements than were the older members of the population. Those soldiers, too, who had not been taken prisoner -- the older, less well-trained men -- stood in larger proportions than the young former PsW on the democratic side. Far below the average score recorded on this scale were also found the Windows. (See table below.)

Table IX.

SOME GROUP PROPORTIONS IN REPLY TO ETHICS, JUSTICE SCALE

Average Score: 39% Answered all six questions in a Democratic Direction.

Above Average		Below Average	
57%	Income: 100 RM or more per week	27%	Occupation: Unemployed
55	Occupation: Official and higher white collar	28	Home: East Prussia
53	Residence: Berlin	29	Income: 1-19 RM per week
52	Occupation: Professional	31	Status: Widowed
50	Income: 41-49 RM per week		
50	Residence: 100,000-250,000		
48	Home: Gross Hessen		

SCALE: FAMILY, WOMEN, CHILDREN.

The concurrence of attitudes toward seven statements were found to make this scale dependent upon a larger set of responses than any other scale. However, three of the seven questions scarcely discriminated among portions of the population since nearly everyone accepted them. The distribution of the population in the American Zone was skewed along this curve toward the democratic side. None in any of the sample groups was found who did not regard at least one statement democratically. On the other hand, all seven statements were so viewed by only about one in ten people, and only one-fourth more of the people in the Zone reacted democratically to six of the seven.

Table X.

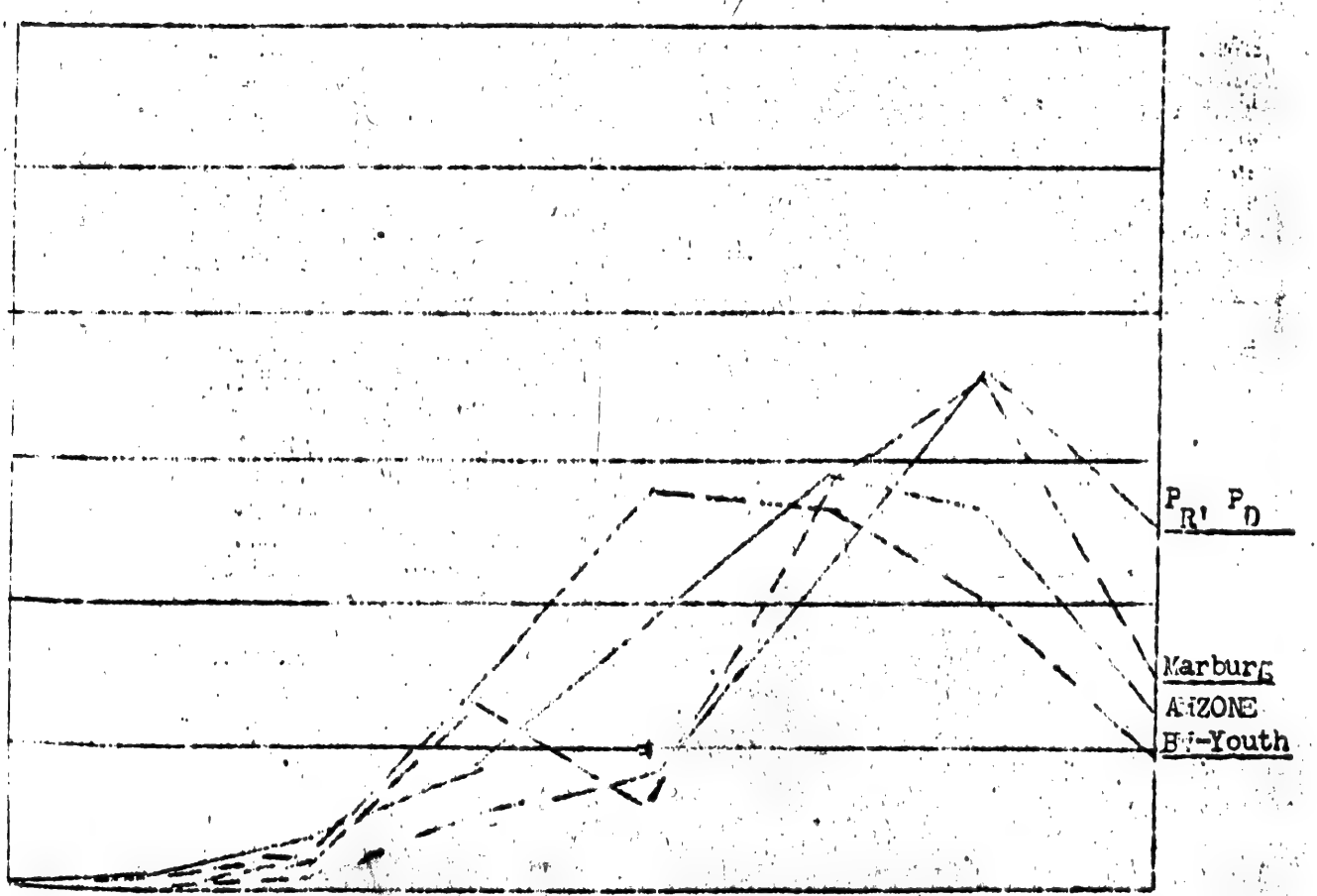
STATEMENTS USED TO TEST ATTITUDES TOWARD FAMILY, WOMEN, CHILDREN AND PROPORTIONS DEMOCRATIC RESPONSES.

Obedience to the father should be based on love and understanding rather than on tyranny	96
In a family a girl should have the same rights as a boy	93
Children need tenderness and affection from both mother and father	92
According to their abilities women should be allowed to have the same positions as men	73
Women should not be allowed to enter the professions (doctor, lawyer, or engineer)	62
In a family a boy is more important than a girl	54
Only men are able to govern a nation	34

All seven	12
Six only	27
Five only	29
Four only	19
Three only	9
Two only	3
One only	1
None	1
	100%

Among the groups that were particularly sampled some marked differences were discovered — differences that provide an insight into the divergent structure of the German population (Chart VIII). Both groups of political prisoners, for example, bespoke their higher than average educational status and broader outlook by returning the largest proportions of democratic answers of any of the sample groups. But it is among the youth of Germany that one might expect to find more serious evidence of Nationalsocialist indoctrination. And such expectations were borne out, but with reservation. The Baden-Wuerttemberg youth were, without doubt, more often undemocratic than any of the other five groups. On the other hand, the Marburg youth could not be said to be more poorly orientated, and may even have been better disposed, than the general population of the American Zone. One might conclude, then, that certain types of youth in Germany did not accept without question the anthropocentrism of the Nazis, while the general body of youth were influenced by such propaganda. But such a conclusion is not upheld within the Zonal population. Here one finds more frequently democratic reactions to these questions among the very young (under 20 years old)

Chart VIII.
Family, Women, Children
Scale.



than among those 20 to 40 and more frequent democratic responses among those 20 to 40 years old than among those still older. The inference is suggested that factors other than age mainly determine the attitudes reported.

One such factor is found in place of residence. Hessians outstandingly favor the democratic side of the questions (54% answered six or seven statements in that direction), while residents of the other two Laender both reported lower than average proportions in these two categories. Towns under 5,000 and particularly towns under 2,000 seemed to contain larger proportions of people following the Nazi ideology than was true of larger communities. It must be maintained, then, that wherever traditional values and standards are followed without an opportunity for doubt to be cast upon their usefulness or importance they are more broadly accepted by the general populations.

Pointing up the finding in Bavaria, it must be observed that followers of the chief Bavarian political party, the Christian Socialist Union, tended to uphold democratic dispositions toward family, women and children less frequently than did followers of other parties. The replies given by these people, indeed, were nearly the same, percentage-wise, as those given by followers of "no" political party. Evidently, the form within which familial relations are cast is related not only to the social setting but also to the formal rituals acceptable in the sphere of politics.

Some occupational groupings cast further light upon the complex of interrelationships under discussion. Professional workers, more than any other, accepted our family patternings. But independent businessmen, farmers and the unemployed held much more firmly to the teachings of the Nationalsocialist state. It is apparent, then, that not only are some people moved to accept Nazi ideology but that others found a reflection of their primary outlook on these matters expressed by Nazi ideology. For it can be assumed that traditional Prussian thinking was not brought to Germany by Hitler.

Finally, it should be remarked that the more observant and better educated individuals in the American Zone differed widely from the least well educated group (those with seven or fewer years of schooling). These latter can be said to be the group with great restrictions upon their frame or reference. In this connection it must be remarked that the men who answered this questionnaire did not appreciably differ from the women on these propositions. Women, then, although more poorly educated, undoubtedly went along with the attitudes of the social group within which they found themselves, just as did the men. And the thinking of each group was determined to a large degree by the group's physical location and by the opportunity for observation of standards being practiced which differed from those traditionally observed within the community. (See Table XI)

Table XI.

SOCIAL GROUP PROPORTIONS IN REPLY TO FAMILY, WOMEN, CHILDREN SCALE.

Average score: 39% Answered Six of Seven, or all Seven Statements in the Democratic Direction.

Above Average		Below Average	
56%	Home: Gross Hessen	16%	Home: East Prussia
54	Residence: Gross Hessen	28	Occupation: Farmer
54	Occupation: Professional	29	Status: Widowed
51	Party Preference: KPD	29	Education: 7 years or less
47	Home: Silesia	30	Home: Baden
47	Age: Under 20	30	Party Preference: None
47	Party Preference: SPD	30	Occupation: Unemployed

SCALE: GOVERNMENT, DEMOCRACY, AUTHORITY.

A somewhat heterogeneous group of questions was originally used to probe into the many phases of attitudes within this field. Through analysis it was determined that distinct patterns were separated but that the probing into each such facet was barely adequate. The overall zonal picture of two of the scales shown here was scarcely distinguishable one from the other, and the same was true of the other two scales. However, the inner consistency of attitudes along each scale proved to be of high enough order so that it can be said that each of the four scales does search out separate, although correlated, attitudes. The curve of distribution of the zonal population over the two pairs of scales was distingly different, however. One curve was heavily skewed toward "democratic" responses, the other, while also skewed on this side filtered out, in the end, a smaller set of democratic people.

Separate subclassifications have been made of each of the four scales. These subsidiary titles, the statements they represent, and the proportions of replies are shown below.

Table XII.

STATEMENTS USED TO TEST ATTITUDES TOWARD GOVERNMENT, DEMOCRACY, AUTHORITY AND PROPORTIONS DEMOCRATIC RESPONSES.

I. Necessity of Political Information and Percent Democratic Responses.

Hitler and his government were criminals and misled the German people	91
It is the duty of a citizen to inform himself about his government and to take his part in the responsibility for its measures	81
The Communists and the Social Democrats should be suppressed	75
As long as the government takes care of all our essential needs we should not interest ourselves in politics	51

All four statements	34
Three only	38
Two only	20
One only	7
None	1
	100%

II. Independent Thinking as a Value and Percent Democratic Responses.

Most people learn independent thinking through a good education	94
Books criticising the actions of a government should be published	83
Freedom of political parties creates disunity within a nation	63
The mass of the people are stupid and are not able to have their own opinion	52

All four statements	32
Three only	39
Two only	19
One only	9
None	1
	100%

III. Fallible Leadership.

	%
In a good government, discussions of proposed legislation should not be limited	87
Sometimes it is necessary to make suggestions or to criticise official politics, , even of a superior	86
Children are the property of the State	80
The mass of the German people profited most from National Socialism	68

All four statements	48
Three only	30
Two only	16
One only	5
None	1
	100%

IV. Independence and Rights of Individuals.

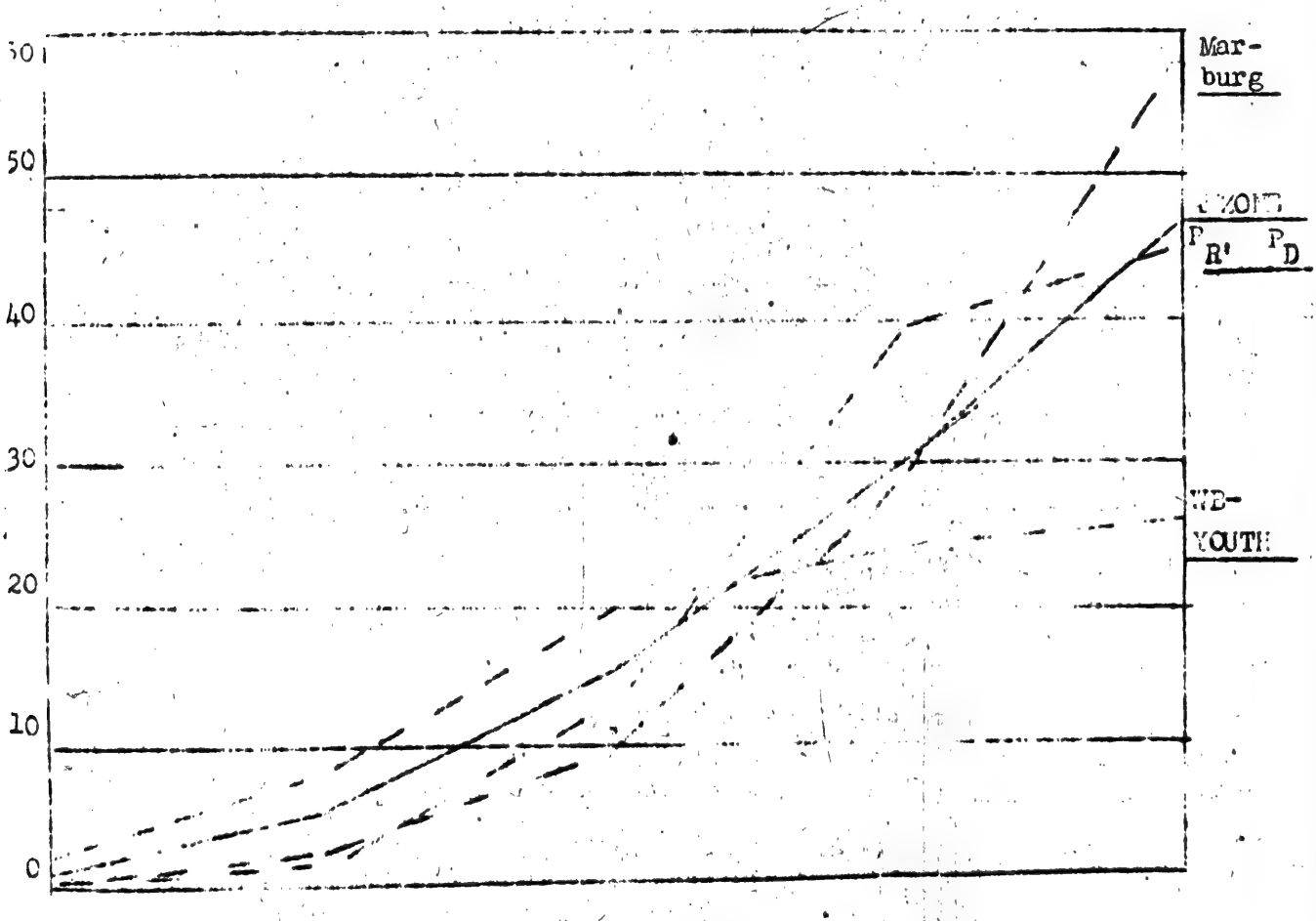
	%
The right of the worker to join a free trade union should be acknowledged	95
An education encouraging people to have their own opinion endangers the security of a State	81
The most important thing in education of a child is to develop his individual personality — children should be individuals and not educated only for the State	80
The publication of no book that criticises a Government or recommends any changes in Government should be permitted	62

All four statements	46
Three only	31
Two only	16
One only	6
None	1
	100%

Group differences within the two scales shown in Chart IX were fairly consistent. Within both scales, the Marburg students exhibited the most democratic attitudes of any of the sampled groups. Their replies were, in fact, distinctly different from those given by the youth of Baden-Wuerttemberg. Both groups of political prisoners, on the other hand, reacted similarly to the two sets of questions. More than the average for the Zone, the prisoners held to the independence and rights of the individual, while they were not so ready to criticise political leadership as were people generally. Certainly such a finding does not outrage the suggestion that prisoners generally would insist upon individual freedom and that leaders would not as often question the value of leadership as would non-leaders.

Chart IX.
Government, Democracy, Authority Scale

III. Fallible Leadership
IV. Independence and Rights of Individuals.



Other population groups exhibited the patterns previously observed in felt attitudes toward democratic orientation. Hessians, large city residents, professional and higher white collar workers, the well-educated, men, the middle and better salaried families -- all these upheld in larger than average proportions the importance to them of individual rights and the distrust with which leadership must be viewed.

Among political preference groups, however, particular regard should be given to the responses of LDP and KPD followers. Solid majorities of the LDP supporters spoke up for individual rights and for the fallibility of leadership. Communist supporters, on the other hand, tended to follow the pattern of the unthinking who held no party preference. In view of the political maturity of the Communist group it cannot be assumed that their replies stemmed from the same type of apathy that could be said to represent the non-party people. Rather it might be interpreted that Communists indicated their willingness to subordinate the individual to the interests of the state and, indeed, to the desires of the leadership group within the state.

Sample group differences on the other pair of scales shown in Chart X differed from those portrayed in the previous.

Chart X.
Government, Democracy, Authority Scale.
I. Necessity of Political Information. II. Independent Thinking

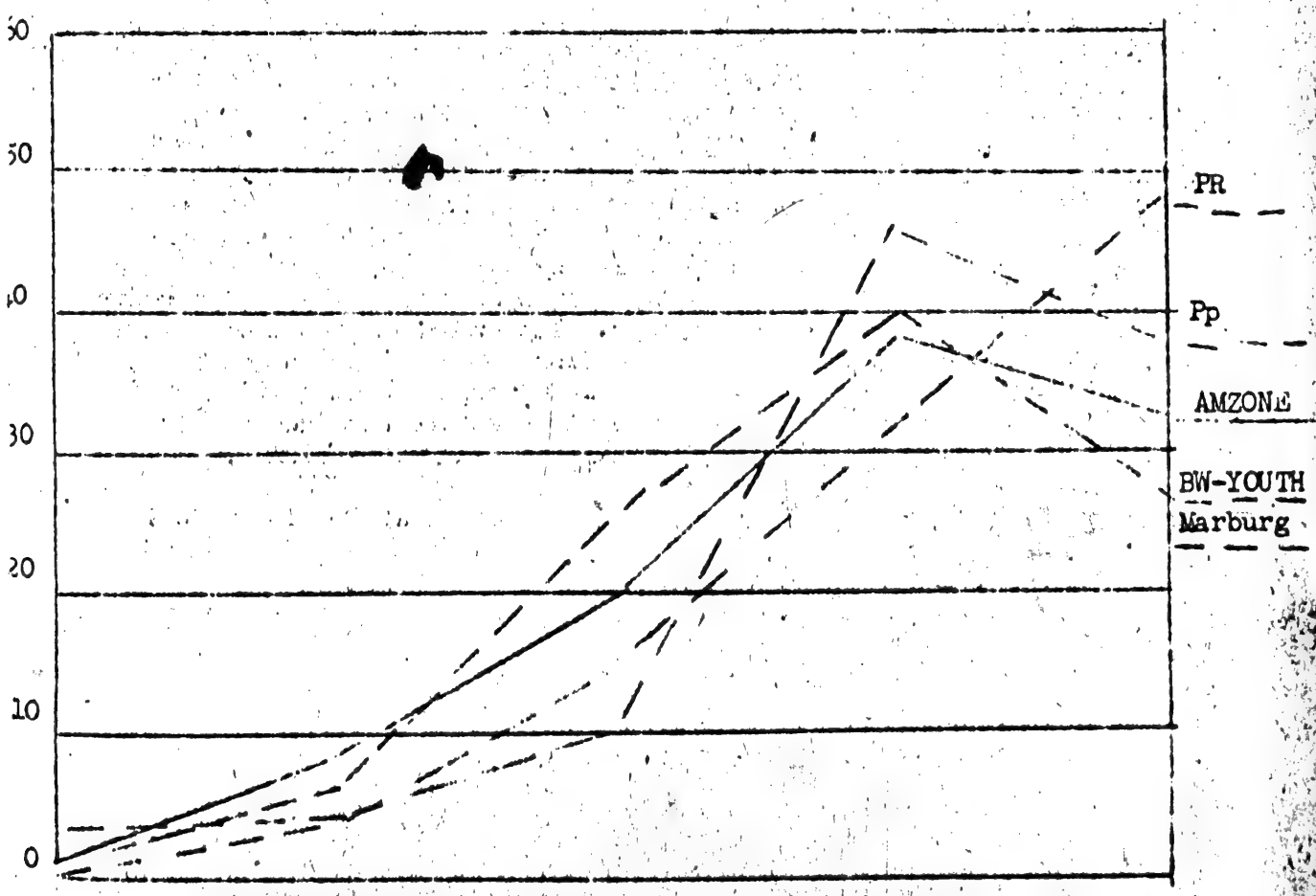


Chart. It is indeed somewhat surprising to find the Marburg students expressing as little interest in the gathering of information about political matters by each citizen as is expressed by the youth in Baden-Wuerttemberg. Most favorable attitudes toward critical observation of governmental affairs and toward the fostering of such criticism were exhibited by the released political prisoners. Both groups of prisoners held to the value of critical dispositions more frequently than did the average German citizen.

While most groups reacted as observed on the previous set of scales, two sets of populations — religious groups and political preference groups -- merit special attention. Among the former, regular church-attenders somewhat less frequently than irregular attenders recognized the need to acquire political information. But it was the regular Catholics, particularly, who failed to speak-up as often as did others to this end. In regard to the value of independent thinking, however, the reverse situation revealed itself; the irregular church attenders tended to be less favorably disposed than were the regular Catholics and Protestants toward this judgment.

The same reversal could be noted among followers of the KPD and the LDP. The former tended in larger than average proportions to uphold the acquisition of information while fewer than average LDP supporters tended to speak to this same end. But in regard to the scale testing attitudes toward the value of independent thinking, the Communists reacted with much more shyness toward this traditional democratic disposition in contradistinction to the reactions of the LDP followers.

In sum, then, it is apparent that verbal stimuli relative to individualism -- the independence and rights of individuals -- seem to be highly respected by the German public. That such values were often verbally approved by the National Socialists has presumably aided in predisposing Germans to place acceptance value upon such ideology. (E.g. Hitler urged in Mein Kampf that the "importance of the Person" distinguishes Nazi philosophy from other foreign philosophies. He could say that this "...therefore makes the individual the pillar of the entire edifice.") Leaders and the hallowed values of leadership were at the same time propagandized by the Nazis. But the German people today seem not to approve of uncritical acceptance of leadership as they seem to have done under Hitler. The eventful past year within which they saw the failure of their leaders, the accusation and documentation of charges against these men at Nuernberg, the imposition of an occupation force upon the governmental structure has undoubtedly induced some reexamination of their thinking along these lines.

But, although the German public seems to propose that the individual must be respected, and particularly respected when he is critical of leadership, they have not placed as

high a value upon the necessity of acquiring information about political affairs or the necessity of critical thinking about government. Appreciable minorities were shown to be very badly oriented in these directions, and a large majority of the whole population within the American Zone did not present a democratic response to all of only four simple questions probing critically into dispositions in these directions. It might be upheld, then, that insofar as the occupation powers set themselves beyond criticism, it cannot be expected that a people inured to such a stand by their own government will be moved to appreciate the values of criticism.

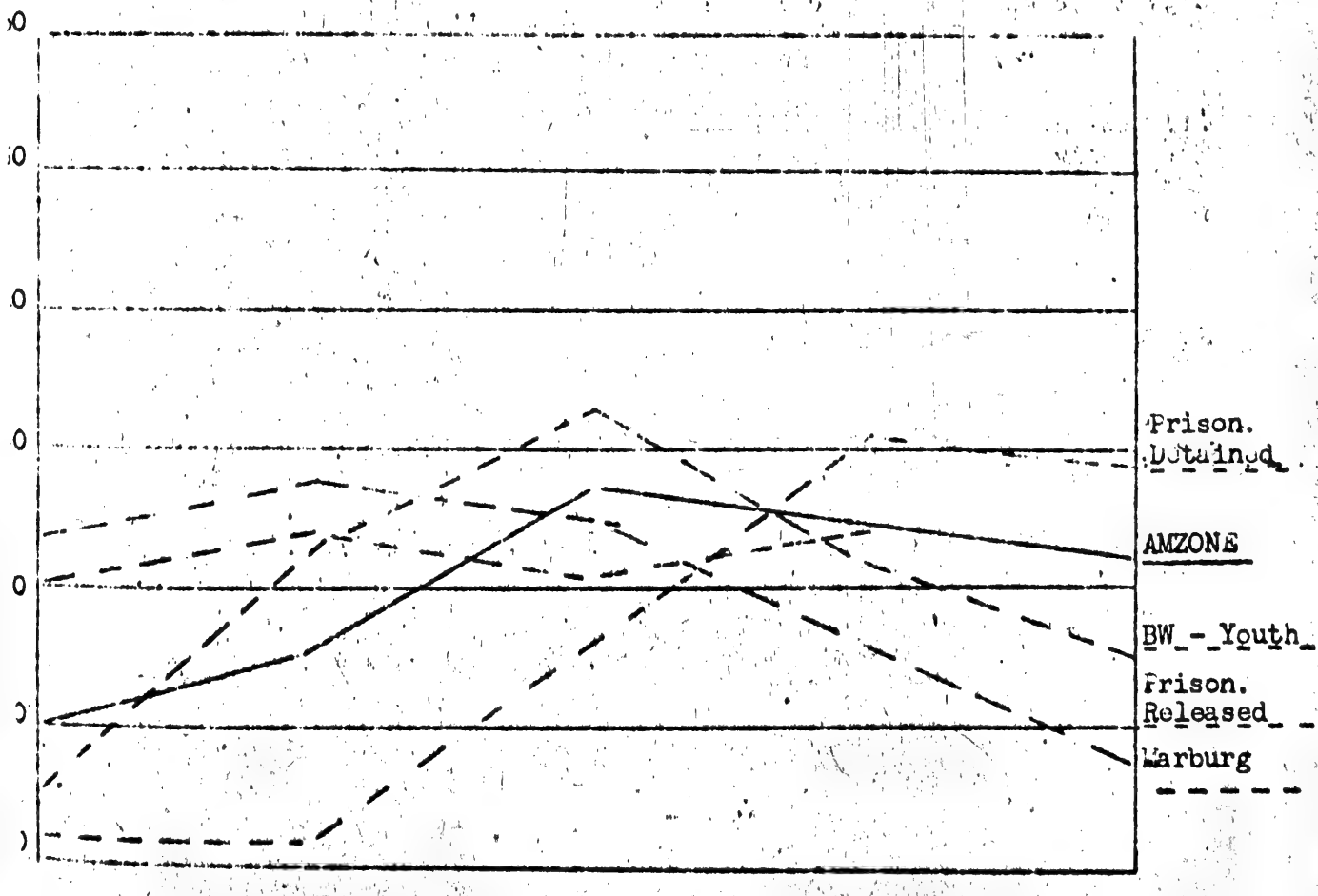
SCALE: PROJECTION OF GUILT.

Chart III described the distribution of the American Zone population on the proposition of the ascription of guilt to shoulders other than their own. Practically a two-valued population was depicted -- an appreciable minority seemed ready to accept fully the guilt for German misdeeds, while nearly an equal minority in no way was willing to do so. As a result, the population, judged in comparison to its response to other attitude scales, can be characterized as appreciably more "undemocratic" in this area of opinion.

Outstanding differences were observed among the populations separately sampled. (See Chart XI.) The released political prisoners were

Chart XI.

Projection of Guilt Scale.



much more ready to deny the guilt of the German people but, rather, put the blame more frequently on outside factors. Very much alike in response were the Marburg students. But among the students the situation was even more exaggerated. Less than one in ten (8%) refused on each of the four questions to place blame upon others for the misdeeds of the war, while almost one-fourth (23%) seized each of the four opportunities to do so. The youth in Baden-Wuerttemberg, contrariwise, was largely ready to accept two propositions -- that Germany's attempt to rule others brought her misfortune, and that Germans killed and tortured millions -- but still held to the Versailles Treaty as basically responsible for this war and to the "lack of understanding of Germany" abroad as inducing difficulties for the German people. The four questions, and the proportions of democratic responses are shown in Table XIII below.

Table XIII.

ATTITUDES TOWARD PROJECTION OF GUILT AND PROPORTION DEMOCRATIC RESPONSES.

	%
Germany's attempt to rule other countries is the main cause of her misfortune	80
Investigations showed that the Germans killed and tortured millions of helpless Europeans	68
The Versailles Treaty was the cause of the second World War because it was too hard on Germany	52
Because other nations do not understand Germany, diplomatic relations are often strained	34

*** *** ***

All four statements	22
Three only	25
Two only	27
One only	16
None	10
	100%

One of the major forces within German society which has discussed at length the problem of individual guilt for the war and the atrocities committed during the war has been the Church. It has been constantly evident that variant orientations toward this problem have been held by the two major church bodies. Some of the repercussions of such a difference have been explored in previous surveys. (See especially: Attitudes Toward the Church and Religion as Political Factors in German Life, Surveys Branch, ODIC, June 7, 1946.) In view, then, of the history of the problem it is not surprising to report that Catholics, and particularly Catholics who irregularly attend church, were less frequently disposed toward the projection of guilt than were Protestants.

In Catholic Bavaria, however, less frequent acceptance of the democratic approach to this problem was apparent than in the other two Laender. It must be assumed that the accounting for this situation arises out of the dispositions of the larger proportion of poorly-disposed farmers and small-town residents within that Land as well as the strong regional pride which lends itself to a withdrawal from an acceptance of what is accountable to Germans.

Exhibiting again the results of the interrogations of the Marburg and Baden-Wuerttemberg youth (particularly among youths 18 and 19 years old was this refusal to accept guilt remarked) it was found that among people over 50 there was less frequent inclination to cast blame upon others for the miseries of Europe than among younger people. It could be said, of course, that recognition has by now been given to the lack of involvement of these youth in the crimes of Nazism. However, the statements used to discriminate attitudes along the scale under consideration here go beyond refusal to accept guilt and extend into the realm of projection upon others or upon other situations the responsibility which rightly should be assumed by German society.

Many more women than men held to the nationalism assumption of German righteousness. This distinction particularly sharpened when the responses of the widowed are observed. Only half as many widowed as men failed to lay any responsibility, suggested by the four questions, upon others.

Readiness to accept responsibility for the actions of government was remarkably disparate within occupational status groups. Among white collar groups the higher the status the more readiness was discovered to accept responsibility. Among manual workers a similar correlation was discovered, with the skilled workers as frequently accepting the responsibility as did the professional workers. About as many fewer laborers, as lower white collar workers, went along with the "democratic" approach to the problem.

Political parties, as well as religious societies, have had much to say about "collective responsibility". Far more than the average for the general public were SPD and KPD followers willing to accept responsibility. More frequently did the right wing groups (particularly the LDP supporters) put off the guilt upon someone else. But least willing to stand for a part of the responsibility were those who had no party preference.

In fine, many Germans indicated that they felt that Germany had gone too far in attempting to rectify the "wrongs" imposed upon her after the last war. They seemed to believe that Germany had presented her case but other nations failed to understand the grievances she had suffered. It is apparent, then, that at the time of this survey there was appreciation among only a minority of Germans of the degree of responsibility which these citizens must bear for the deeds done in their name. They were ready to admit that Germany started an aggressive war, and prosecuted this war atrociously, but solid minority blocs still maintained that the forces which drove them to these acts were grevious.

Table XIV.

SOME GROUP PROPORTIONS IN REPLY TO PROJECTION SCALE.

Average Score: 22% Answered All Four Statements In A Democratic Direction.

Above Average		Below Average	
34%	Occupation: Skilled Worker	9%	Party Preference: LDP
32	Income: 100 or more RM per week	12	Income: 1-19 RM per week
31	Party Preference: KPD	12	Status: Widowed
30	Age: 50 to 59	12	Age: Under 20
30	Residence: Largest Cities	15	Residence: 2,000 to 5,000
		15	Occupation: Unemployed
		15	Income: 20-29 RM per week

SCALE: FUTURE OF GERMANY (SUPERVISED RESPONSIBILITY).

The most negative set of responses recorded on any scale were given to this group of four questions. Within the American Zone only one in twenty persons answered in the "democratic" direction on all four questions, while one in seven answered "undemocratically" to all four. One in three persons went along half way and spoke in the approved direction to two of the four statements. Nearly six times as many of the Marburg students (23%) answered unfavorably to all four questions as did the Baden-Wuerttemberg youth (4%). The statements and the proportions responding democratically are shown in Table XV.

Table XV.

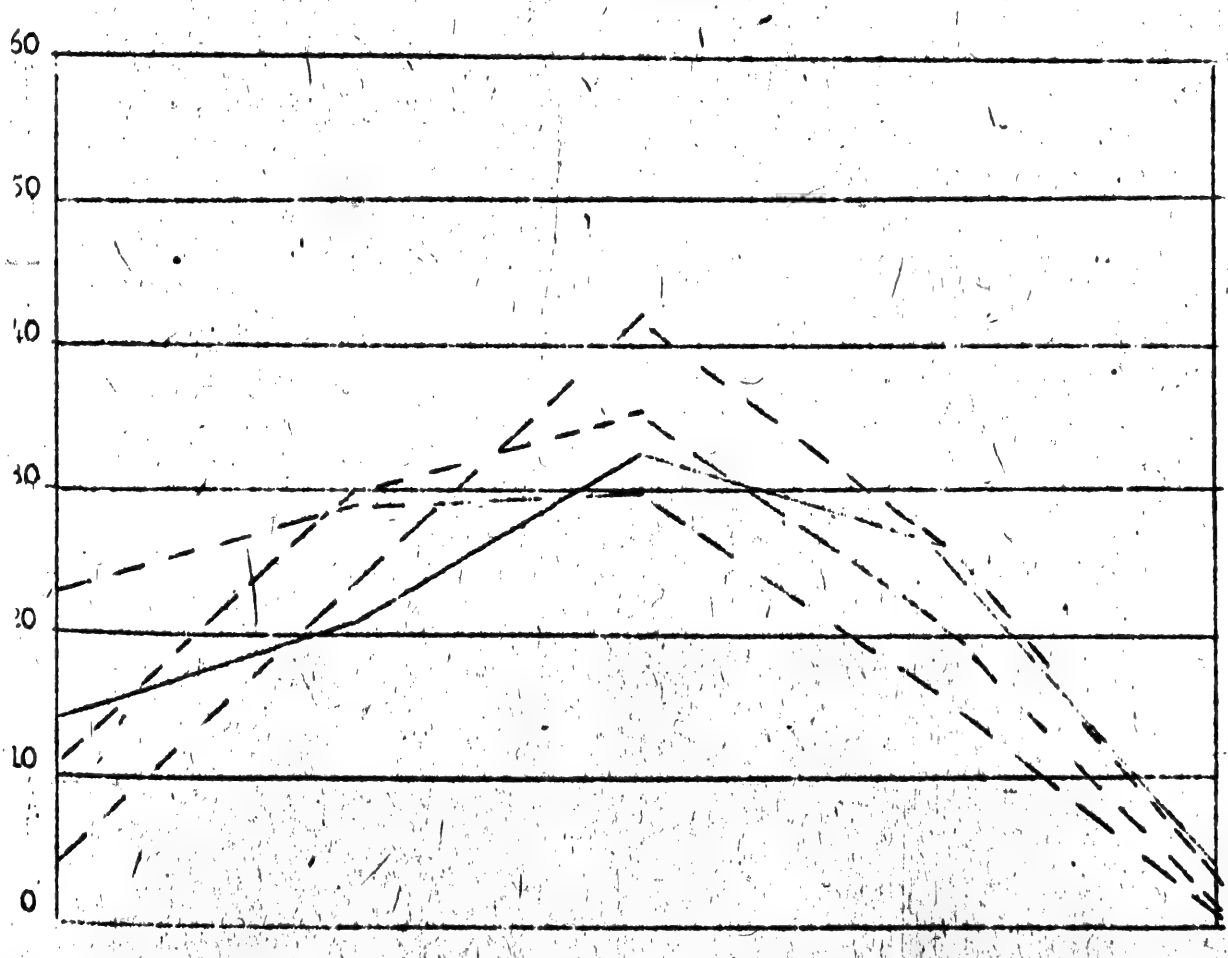
STATEMENTS USED TO TEST ATTITUDES TOWARD FUTURE OF GERMANY AND PROPORTIONS DEMOCRATIC RESPONSES.

	%
Responsibility for the reconstruction of Germany should be placed in the hands of the German people under the supervision of the Allies	75
Germany should be occupied for many years, until the German people are able to form a democratic government..	69
Germans should be allowed to take care of reconstruction without interference from the Allied occupation forces	35
America should work at the reconstruction of Germany before she falls prey to Communism	10

*** *** ***

All four statements	5
Three only	27
Two only	33
One only	24
None	11
	100%

Chart XII.
Future of Germany Scale.



It is primarily apparent that few Germans were willing to negate the supposed threat of Russian encroachment. Followers of the Communist party, however, replied to the ultimate question in radically different fashion. In contradistinction to an average of 5% who answered all four questions democratically, and compared with a high of 9% of any other group (the best educated, residents of medium sized towns, and those with upper middle family incomes) a large minority (33%) of the Communists went along with all four statements.

Supporters of the SPD, too, more frequently approved three or four propositions than did supporters of the right wing parties or those who held no party preference. And similar variations are observable between city-size groups and between men and women, where it is known that residents of the larger cities, as well as the men, stand more frequently on the political left than do residents of smaller cities and women.

On the other hand, residents of Gross Hessen not only seemed to fear Russian pressure, but also seemed to be more frequently irked at the suggestion of supervised responsibility in reconstruction. "Interference" of the occupation forces is probably more real to the more sophisticated Hessians. Certainly in industrialized areas such as Gross Hessen it has been easier to see obstacles during the period when factories and their proposed output have been checked and reviewed.

The position of Catholics, as opposed to Protestants, on this scale may well be another reflection of this situation. Since most Bavarians are Catholic, and Bavarian production is more largely from the fields than is the production of the other Laender, it may be assumed that this same accounting partially explains the larger proportion of Catholics who accept supervised responsibility. It is interesting that Catholics who irregularly go to Church (and who tend to be more liberal politically) also tended to deny more frequently than other religious groups the imputation of Russian aggression.

Among occupation groups the same order of responses as was discovered in relation to the "Projection" scale was found here. Among office and white collar workers, the more specialized the work the more "democratic" reactions were exhibited. Similarly, from skilled craftsmen to laborers fewer and fewer democratic responses were found. It should be remembered, however, that cross-currents of motivation were undoubtedly present. Not only were factory workers depressed at the delay in reopening factories, but they were also somewhat more democratically inclined as trade union members and supporters of left-wing parties. (See Report Surveys Section: GERMAN ATTITUDES TOWARD TRADE UNIONS, 27 June 1946). At the same time, the older a person was the more willing he was to go along with the Allied conception of supervised responsibility. The amount of formal education, however, was not particularly important in determining such opinions. Thus it can be presumed with a measure of likeli-hood that people who were inclined to accept democratic principles were also inclined to desire freedom of choice and responsibility even more than those who were irked at the thought of subordinating themselves to the guidance of their "former" enemies.

It can be concluded, then, that Germany in the future is viewed by the general population with fear (possible Russian encroachment), with distaste (enemy occupation), with confusion (lack of comprehension of Allied policies), with annoyance (desire to have Germans administer German problems), with shyness (recognition of inability to assume authority). Out of such a welter of unfavorable impulses the populations sampled have responded most unhappily to probes into their acceptance of a state of responsibility under Allied supervision. (See table below.)

TABLE XVI

SOME GROUP PROPORTIONS IN REPLY TO FUTURE OF GERMANY SCALE

Average Scale: 32% answered three or all four statements in a democratic direction.

Above Average		Below Average	
59%	Party Preference: KPD	17%	Home: East Prussia
48	Residence: 10,000 - 100,000	19	Party Preference: None
47	Occupation: Professional	21	Status: Widowed
41	Income: 100 or more RM per week		
41	Religion: Irregular Catholic		

SUMMARY OF GROUP DIFFERENCES

Throughout the remarks above relative to differences in responses of various groups within the population of the American Zone, it was evident that "undemocratic" responses were commonly given on a succession of scales by some groups, while other groups exhibited time and again more than average proportions of "democratic" responses. The list below presents the names of the population categories which, on most scales, were consistently pro- or undemocratic.

Usually Prodemocratic	Usually Undemocratic
Hessians	Residents of towns under 10,000
Residents of cities over 100,000	Less than 7 years schooling
More than 12 years schooling	Family member other than respondent was a PG
Between 50 and 59 years old	Less than 20 years old
Men	Women
Married	Widowed
SPD supporters	No party preference
Professional workers	Farmers
Income (family, RM, weekly): 70 - 99	Income: Less than 20 RM
Political prisoners	Youth in Wuerttemberg-Baden
Marburg youth	

It must be recognized, of course, that to some extent the differences which appear are differences which are effected by the test itself. The more alert, the more intelligent, the more sophisticated naturally can be expected to have scored more "democratic" answers than the dull and unsophisophisticated simply because their comprehension is of a higher level. Still the fact remains that where the choice arose between a great variety of responses it was that element of the population, which reason would suggest to be more desirable, which actually proved itself to be somewhat better orientated toward democratic conceptions.

CONCLUSIONS.

The conclusions reached from the primary study of the prisoners of war in the United States bear quotation here. Dr. Krugman and his colleagues wrote: "If this study is any indication, the typical German, when faced with generalizations about democracy, will profess democratic and ethical ideals. However, when faced with specific situations with regard to the family, the authority of the father, the place of women and children, the Nazis, the German government, other governments or countries, and the like, reveal themselves to be anti-democratic. When given two aspects of a situation, they contradict themselves, when checked by truth items, they turn out to be untruthful. They profess great love for Americans and democracy in general, and pretend to believe everything the Americans do is right. They are strongly nationalistic, believe in the virtues of war and militarism, believe that Germany had nothing to do with starting the war, that other nations are at fault for Germany's plight, and that Germany should be left alone politically to work out her own salvation, but should be helped in material ways to restore her position among the nations of the world."

This stricture upon the political and social orientation of the German people was a suggested interpolation, it must be remembered, from evidence gathered among prisoners of war in 1945. Today, under totally different conditions the same test among the general population of the American Zone does not lead to quite as harsh a judgment. And the reasons why the interpolation is not wholly justified have become apparent -- young men, living in a closed system of National Socialist ideology, did not dare to cut off the nationalist roots which tied them to their Fatherland. In the data presented in this report such young men have been shown to be some of the sharpest critics of our way of life. When these young and alert people are amalgamated within the entire social structure of the society, the society is found to be much more solidly disposed toward non-Nazi values than are the very young. Indeed, among the most poorly oriented are those who have not yet reached their twentieth year. On the other hand, among those young people, those presently being trained for leadership capacities in the Universities

are among the groups best disposed toward our value systems. Whereas such desireable groups do not outweigh the less desireable elements the former seem to be consistently drawn from the leadership elements -- those elements which are in a position to assume leadership and are in themselves capable of doing so.

The broad structure which is untutored, narrow in outlook, apathetic or confused, remains a problem for the occupying powers as well as for the new leaders of Germany. Their weight is too great to be supported as yet by German democratic forces without outside help. Having denied ourselves the blindness of isolation, the seductive ease of colonial administration, the opportunities for the collection of reparations and monetary rewards for blood expenditures, and having set ourselves the task of finding the way toward the reconstruction a peaceful Germany in a peaceful world, we must not fail to recognize the extent of the problem ahead. The thought may constantly recur that "propaganda" in the Goebbels manner would in the end revitalize and reorient the dispositions of those narrow minds which are binding many Germans today to the world of the past. But a more positive future lies ahead only through the continued expansion of the frontiers of the German mind. The present leadership corps and the coming generation of German leaders will be overly eager to assume, with complete sincerity, responsibility for the nation's welfare. Our problem is to balance cooly their weight against the weight of the more poorly disposed women, the farmers, the small town residents, the poorly educated and the young. Until such time when the latter can be said to be ready to assume the duties of members of a democratic society wisdom dictates that we dare not desert the minority democratic elements within the German society.

APPENDIX I.

TABULAR RESULTS OF ALL QUESTIONS ASKED

In the tables below the following numerical designations indicate the separate groups sampled:

1. U.S. Zone and American Sector, Berlin ..... 1470 cases
2. American Sector, Berlin ..... 182 cases
3. Youth, 17-27, Wuerttemberg-Baden ..... 295 cases
4. Marburg University Students ..... 214 cases
5. Released Political Prisoners ..... 95 cases
6. Detained Political Prisoners ..... 84 cases

1. In a family a boy is more important than a girl.

	% Yes	%No	% No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
1.	40	54	6	4.	21	73	6
2.	50	49	1	5.	20	75	5
3.	53	45	2	6.	22	71	7

2. The "right" is better based on justice than on power.

1.	96	3	1	4.	99	1	-
2.	98	2	-	5.	95	5	-
3.	96	2	2	6.	95	5	-

3. The word of the father has to be an inflexible law in the family.

1.	73	25	2	4.	31	65	4
2.	80	20	-	5.	53	45	2
3.	80	19	1	6.	36	56	8

4. It is a sign of weakness if a father shows his affection for his children.

1.	37	61	2	4.	9	90	1
2.	42	56	2	5.	16	84	-
3.	41	58	1	6.	11	89	-

5. Jews should not have the same rights as those belonging to the Aryan race.

1.	33	62	5	4.	21	73	6
2.	25	73	2	5.	27	71	2
3.	32	63	5	6.	29	65	6

6. Men and women should be allowed to marry without making any distinctions between the races.

1.	68	29	3	4.	51	47	2
2.	80	20	-	5.	75	24	1
3.	52	47	1	6.	63	37	-

	%Yes	%No	% No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
7. In general, Germans are acknowledged as being the cleverest workers in the world.							
1.	54	39	7	4.	54	44	2
2.	63	34	3	5.	49	47	4
3.	62	33	5	6.	38	45	17
8. In a good Government, there should be discussions of legislation.							
1.	87	6	7	4.	90	8	2
2.	92	6	2	5.	94	6	-
3.	85	10	5	6.	87	13	-
9. Criticism of the government is not allowed.							
1.	35	55	10	4.	20	77	3
2.	34	63	3	5.	51	48	1
3	36	57	7	6.	38	54	8
10. Women should be encouraged to participate in government.							
1.	53	44	3	4.	37	62	1
2.	65	35	-	5.	66	34	-
3.	40	59	1	6.	77	21	2
11. The air forces of the Allies only bombed military objectives in Germany.							
1.	12	82	6	4.	3	97	-
2.	18	82	-	5.	18	76	6
3.	14	84	2	6.	15	80	5
12. The German people are responsible for the war and therefore have to receive the punishment for the crimes committed by them.							
1.	30	62	8	4.	15	78	7
2.	50	47	3	5.	23	71	6
3.	39	55	6	6.	18	74	8
13. A civilian is an unworthy (lower) person compared to a member of the army.							
1.	9	89	2	4.	1	99	-
2.	19	79	2	5.	8	92	-
3.	19	79	2	6.	5	95	-
14. The right of the worker to join a free Trade Union should be acknowledged.							
1.	95	5	-	4.	90	7	3
2.	90	7	3	5.	97	2	1
3.	89	7	4	6.	90	6	4

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
15. Only by war can the human spirit be glorified.							
1.	2	95	3	4.	1	98	1
2.	7	91	2	5.	2	98	-
3.	8	89	3	6.	4	94	2
16. It would have been much better for the Allies to have had a war with Russia instead of with Germany.							
1.	20	48	32	4.	77	16	7
2.	32	63	5	5.	40	43	17
3.	43	45	12	6.	39	34	27
17. The horrors commited by the Germans are an invention of the propaganda of our enemies.							
1.	12	70	18	4.	27	53	20
2.	18	76	6	5.	18	57	25
3.	18	68	14	6.	14	52	34
18. The strength of a nation is weakened by Democracy.							
1.	8	83	9	4.	14	80	6
2.	8	86	6	5.	6	92	2
3.	16	79	5	6.	7	89	4
19. The international bankers and communists belong to different races and countries.							
1.	80	6	14	4.	88	6	6
2.	84	9	7	5.	90	4	6
3.	78	13	9	6.	80	7	13
20. Austria is an independent unit and should be an independent state.							
1.	69	21	10	4.	25	71	4
2.	78	19	3	5.	68	29	3
3.	67	26	7	6.	51	41	8
21. The German people were the victims of a conspiracy by other nations.							
1.	19	77	14	4.	24	66	10
2.	29	68	3	5.	27	65	8
3.	34	59	7	6.	27	53	20
22. All Americans are very much interested in the well-being of the German people.							
1.	52	39	9	4.	16	77	7
2.	73	25	2	5.	66	26	8
3.	51	44	5	6.	54	27	19
23. Negros are members of an unworthy (lower) race.							
1.	30	59	11	4.	43	52	5
2.	28	67	5	5.	34	62	4
3.	37	56	7	6.	24	63	13

	Yes	No	No opinion		Yes	No	No opinion
24. Children are the property of the State.							
1.	17	80	3	4.	12	85	3
2.	26	74	-	5.	15	84	1
3.	28	70	2	6.	17	76	7
25. To save the German people it was necessary to treat them very harshly and to put many to death.							
1.	27	62	11	4.	29	60	11
2.	39	58	3	5.	12	81	7
3.	36	58	6	6.	27	62	11
26. An education encouraging people to have their own opinion is dangerous to the security of a State.							
1.	13	81	6	4.	4	95	1
2.	21	76	3	5.	3	96	1
3.	21	75	4	6.	6	94	-
27. The experience of enduring bombing and shell-fire steels a man's character.							
1.	26	67	7	4.	40	50	10
2.	32	65	3	5.	14	82	4
3.	38	59	3	6.	19	70	11
28. Germany should be occupied for many years, until the German people are able to form a democratic government.							
1.	69	23	8	4.	41	55	4
2.	79	19	2	5.	48	46	6
3.	69	27	4	6.	54	40	6
29. It is possible that musical composition can be wonderful in spite of the descent (race) of the composer.							
1.	91	5	4	4.	98	1	1
2.	95	2	3	5.	95	5	-
3.	87	12	1	6.	91	5	4
30. In all probability foreign nations and races are enemies; therefore, one should be prepared at all times to attack them first.							
1.	10	82	8	4.	17	78	5
2.	15	83	2	5.	5	94	1
3.	19	78	3	6.	4	95	1
31. Germany should be allowed to have an army in order to be able to defend herself against aggression from other European nations.							
1.	44	47	9	4.	79	17	4
2.	41	58	1	5.	54	36	10
3.	54	42	4	6.	54	34	12

	Yes	No	No opinion		Yes	No	No opinion
32. According to their capacities women should be allowed to have the same position as men.							
1.	73	25	2	4.	79	20	1
2.	88	11	1	5.	80	20	-
3.	68	31	1	6.	85	14	1
33. Jews have always demonstrated that they are cleverer than Germans.							
1.	38	50	12	4.	21	73	6
2.	48	48	4	5.	55	29	16
3.	32	59	9	6.	48	31	21
34. The publication of no book that criticises a government or recommends any changes in Government should be permitted.							
1.	29	62	9	4.	11	86	3
2.	35	62	3	5.	27	68	5
3.	36	59	5	6.	25	68	7
35. Hitler and his government were criminals and misled the German people.							
1.	91	5	4	4.	79	15	6
2.	95	4	1	5.	70	19	11
3.	85	11	4	6.	57	24	19
36. National Socialism permitted cartels and monopolies which made millions - such as the Krupp industries.							
1.	83	5	12	4.	80	8	12
2.	89	6	5	5.	70	12	18
3.	82	8	10	6.	67	8	25
37. It is not necessary that children obey rules as strictly as adults.							
1.	55	42	3	4.	37	58	5
2.	46	54	-	5.	42	55	3
3.	49	49	2	6.	48	48	4
38. The Versailles Treaty was the source of the Second World War because it was too hard on Germany.							
1.	32	52	16	4.	62	31	7
2.	40	53	7	5.	39	53	8
3.	46	45	9	6.	42	44	14
39. Ambition for personal fame does not show that a person has a good character.							
1.	52	43	5	4.	49	46	5
2.	55	43	2	5.	64	34	2
3.	50	47	3	6.	50	43	7

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
40. As long as the government takes care of all our essential needs we should not interest ourselves in politics.							
1.	44	51	5	4.	15	82	3
2.	52	48	-	5.	40	60	-
3.	39	59	2	6.	25	69	6
41. A man who shows no heroism or courage is unworthy (he is a lower person).							
1.	7	91	2	4.	7	92	1
2.	12	88	-	5.	2	98	-
3.	16	83	1	6.	5	94	1
42. A man fearing to confront a difficult situation should be severely punished.							
1.	18	76	6	4.	15	81	4
2.	28	71	1	5.	14	85	1
3.	32	65	3	6.	13	85	2
43. Because other nations do not understand Germany, diplomatic relations are often strained.							
1.	53	34	13	4.	83	15	2
2.	49	47	4	5.	76	20	4
3.	56	38	6	6.	72	21	7
44. Very few Germans have shown understanding or inclination toward democracy, as has been demonstrated during the last 50 years.							
1.	63	22	15	4.	73	17	10
2.	73	21	6	5.	58	37	5
3.	64	28	8	6.	64	30	6
45. The education of children should not be based on military principles.							
1.	60	38	2	4.	62	36	2
2.	67	33	-	5.	62	38	-
3.	54	46	-	6.	59	39	2
46. It was very wrong to force foreign workers to work in German factories.							
1.	86	9	5	4.	68	28	4
2.	90	8	2	5.	92	6	2
3.	81	16	3	6.	75	15	10
47. All those who ordered the murdering of civilians, or who participated in the murders should be made to stand trial.							
1.	94	2	4	4.	94	3	2
	97	2	1	5.	97	3	-
	95	3	2	6.	94	4	2

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
48. The Communists and the Social-Democrats should be suppressed.							
1.	15	75	10	4.	37	54	9
2.	13	85	2	5.	11	82	7
3.	26	64	10	6.	6	83	11
49. The mass of the people are stupid and are not able to have their own opinion.							
1.	42	52	6	4.	63	32	5
2.	49	50	1	5.	32	67	1
3.	41	56	3	6.	32	65	3
50. It is very good for a nation to have several parties.							
1.	77	18	5	4.	90	7	3
2.	74	25	1	5.	91	8	1
3.	60	35	5	6.	94	5	1
51. Democracy is a good form of government because it can develop a superior (stronger) armed force.							
1.	38	44	18	4.	45	39	16
2.	52	41	7	5.	54	34	12
3.	24	67	9	6.	39	41	20
52. It is advisable for a man to join the party that is in power at the moment in order to secure the well-being of his family.							
1.	20	74	6	4.	8	88	4
2.	29	69	2	5.	17	82	1
3.	21	74	5	6.	10	88	2
53. In the distribution of American food, the American Occupation Zone should top the list.							
1.	60	33	17	4.	48	47	5
2.	69	31	-	5.	41	53	6
	65	32	3	6.	34	60	46
54. Americans should work for the reconstruction of Germany before she falls prey to Communism.							
1.	82	10	8	4.	93	5	2
2.	82	16	2	5.	91	5	4
3.	83	10	7	6.	93	6	1
55. A German should never criticise an American.							
1.	48	43	9	4.	27	60	11
2.	53	44	3	5.	64	25	11
3.	46	49	5	6.	48	39	13
56. Only a government with a dictator is able to create a strong nation.							
1.	18	75	7	4.	25	82	3
2.	33	65	2	5.	5	93	2
3.	30	65	5	6.	8	91	1

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
57. Nothing can justify Germany's starting the second World War.							
1.	47	38	15	4.	31	61	8
2.	50	48	2	5.	54	32	14
3.	38	52	10	6.	32	48	20
58. Investigations showed that the Germans killed and tortured millions of helpless Europeans.							
1.	68	13	19	4.	59	28	13
2.	78	18	4	5.	46	27	27
3.	65	23	12	6.	38	30	32
59. Children should blindly obey the laws and orders established for adults.							
1.	54	42	4	4.	43	53	4
2.	60	39	1	5.	33	65	2
3.	56	40	4	6.	23	67	10
60. The German people should not be made responsible for the mistakes of their leaders and should not have to pay the price of war.							
1.	53	41	6	4.	71	26	3
2.	59	40	1	5.	54	43	3
3.	61	36	3	6.	63	25	12
61. That Russian Bolshevism is dangerous was an invention of Nazi propaganda.							
1.	29	58	13	4.	3	94	3
2.	45	52	3	5.	19	65	16
3.	21	70	9	6.	8	78	14
62. The mass of the German people profited from National Socialism.							
1.	27	68	5	4.	31	63	6
2.	42	55	3	5.	46	53	1
3.	38	57	5	6.	51	45	4
63. It was the aim of Hitler and his government to improve the situation of the German people.							
1.	37	54	9	4.	58	35	7
2.	33	66	1	5.	81	11	8
3.	49	43	8	6.	90	6	4
64. It is a sign of weakness in a people's character to instigate a war.							
1.	59	27	14	4.	58	32	10
2.	65	32	3	5.	66	23	11
3.	53	38	9	6.	53	30	17

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion

65. Books criticising the actions of a government should be published.

1.	83	11	6	4.	94	5	1
2.	84	13	3	5.	95	5	-
3.	81	14	5	6.	95	4	1

66. The Americans should put all Germans with NS idea into KZ especially built for them.

1.	28	63	9	4.	8	87	5
2.	41	57	2	5.	9	84	7
3.	27	66	7	6.	11	84	5

67. Free Trade Unions would be the source of too much friction between management and labor and should not be allowed.

1.	25	64	11	4.	17	77	6
2.	30	66	4	5.	17	82	1
3.	31	61	8	6.	24	68	8

68. Women should not be allowed to enter the professions (doctor, lawyer, or engineer).

1.	35	62	3	4.	18	81	1
2.	31	69	-	5.	24	75	1
3.	39	58	3	6.	27	69	4

69. The Allies are absolutely justified in not allowing Germany to have an army.

1.	47	26	27	4.	29	77	4
2.	61	23	16	5.	38	38	24
3.	48	36	16	6.	32	27	41

70. A soldier has no claim to any special respect.

1.	49	43	8	4.	31	64	5
2.	54	43	3	5.	45	52	3
3.	41	55	4	6.	48	42	10

71. Our nation cannot assume that other nations will attack her if we are on terms with these nations.

1.	64	29	7	4.	60	35	5
2.	70	29	1	5.	75	24	1
3.	63	34	3	6.	78	20	2

72. The music of Jewish composers is unworthy (no good).

1.	8	84	8	4.	4	91	5
2.	7	91	2	5.	3	92	5
3.	15	78	7	6.	5	88	7

73. Only men are able to govern a nation.

1.	63	34	3	4.	68	21	1
2.	60	40	-	5.	46	53	1
3.	68	32	-	6.	44	48	8

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
74. The Germans should be allowed to take care of the reconstruction without interference from the Allied occupation forces.							
1.	59	35	6	4.	73	25	2
2.	60	39	1	5.	58	38	4
3.	64	33	3	6.	64	29	7
75. A man does not improve his character through bombing or shelling an unfortified village.							
1.	59	36	5	4.	74	23	3
2.	71	27	2	5.	72	26	2
3.	56	42	2	6.	56	37	7
76. Sometimes it is necessary to make suggestions or criticise official policies even to a superior.							
1.	86	7	7	4.	95	3	2
2.	89	8	3	5.	96	1	3
3.	84	10	6	6.	89	6	5
77. There cannot be a better government than that in the U.S.							
1.	45	34	21	4.	22	69	9
2.	60	34	6	5.	57	21	22
3.	44	41	15	6.	52	27	21
78. Seeking self-glorification by self-mortification is praiseworthy.							
1.	10	78	12	4.	5	91	4
2.	15	81	4	5.	3	91	6
3.	16	79	5	6.	2	90	8
79. The best citizens of a country are those who, through their education, think first of themselves.							
1.	13	83	4	4.	10	88	2
2.	22	77	1	5.	12	86	2
3.	18	82	-	6.	12	84	4
80. Citizens should not be allowed to criticise an administration because that is the duty of the governers.							
1.	28	67	5	4.	6	91	3
2.	34	66	-	5.	20	78	2
3.	29	66	5	6.	17	75	8
81. Extermination of the Jews and poles and other non-aryans was not necessary for the security of Germans.							
1.	59	37	4	4.	74	24	2
2.	85	15	-	5.	68	28	4
3.	55	43	2	6.	50	44	6

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
82. In a family a girl should have the same rights as a boy.							
1.	93	5	2	4.	95	5	-
2.	95	5	-	5.	93	6	1
3.	91	9	-	6.	99	1	-
83. It is the duty of a citizen to inform himself about his government and to take his part in the responsibility for its measures.							
1.	81	11	8	4.	88	8	4
2.	84	13	3	5.	85	11	4
3.	83	14	3	6.	87	8	5
84. In spite of the fact that a man may never have done an heroic deed, he can still be highly esteemed by his friends and neighbors.							
1.	95	4	1	4.	97	1	2
2.	97	3	-	5.	99	1	-
3.	94	4	2	6.	100	-	-
85. If a pure German marries a non-aryan wife he should be condemned.							
1.	10	85	5	4.	15	81	4
2.	6	93	1	5.	2	93	5
3.	21	77	2	6.	6	89	5
86. It has been scientifically established that there is no such thing as a superior people or a master race.							
1.	67	19	14	4.	62	31	7
2.	72	23	5	5.	75	13	12
3.	64	28	8	6.	67	21	12
87. The most important thing in educating a child is to develop his individual personality (they should be individuals and not educated only for the State).							
1.	80	13	7	4.	92	5	3
2.	81	17	2	5.	93	5	2
3.	75	17	18	6.	80	15	5
88. Allied soldiers have always acted correctly toward German civilians.							
1.	51	42	7	4.	6	92	2
2.	47	50	3	5.	46	40	14
3.	42	56	2	6.	34	53	13
89. Fear is natural, and those people showing their fear when faced with a dangerous situation should be treated with understanding.							
1.	94	4	2	4.	92	8	-
2.	99	1	-	5.	99	1	-
3.	93	6	1	6.	97	2	1

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
90. The other European countries had no intention of attacking Germany; they had to defend themselves against the German attack.							
1.	67	15	18	4.	32	62	6
2.	76	15	9	5.	42	35	23
3.	54	34	12	6.	39	34	27
91. Germany's attempt to rule other countries is the main cause of her misfortune.							
1.	80	12	8	4.	55	41	4
2.	89	9	2	5.	59	34	7
3.	77	19	4	6.	55	31	14
92. Territories such as Danzig, Sudetenland and Austria should be part of Germany proper.							
1	52	36	12	4	86	11	3
2.	58	38	4	5.	59	35	6
3.	60	31	9	6.	67	24	9
93. A nation's rights are determined by that nation's power.							
1.	30	58	12	4.	60	33	7
2.	36	61	3	5.	19	74	7
3.	48	46	6	6.	29	65	6
94. The weakness of most Western European Schools is based on the lack of military discipline.							
1.	13	66	21	4.	14	72	14
2.	18	76	6	5.	3	89	8
3.	18	71	11	6.	5	87	8
95. This war was caused by a conspiracy between the International Bankers and the Communists.							
1.	18	62	20	4.	28	65	7
2.	21	71	8	5.	18	65	17
3.	21	65	14	6.	10	60	30
96. During the war it was justified to have foreigners work as slave labor in German factories.							
1.	19	76	5	4.	39	54	7
2.	15	82	3	5.	14	82	4
3.	28	68	4	6.	27	61	12
97. Negros have the same abilities as other races.							
1.	57	28	15	4.	26	65	9
2.	74	20	6	5.	51	36	13
3.	56	38	6	6.	41	36	23
98. Children need tenderness and affection from both mother and father.							
1.	92	7	1	4.	93	7	-
2.	95	4	1	5.	91	6	3
3.	82	17	1	6.	92	4	4

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
99. The Japanese killed by the atom bomb were criminals engaged in a conspiracy against the U.S.							
1.	18	58	24	4.	5	90	5
2.	38	52	10	5.	8	63	29
3.	15	71	14	6.	13	56	31
100. Germany was not responsible for the war and German leaders should not be held as war criminals.							
1.	32	56	12	4.	23	67	10
2.	29	69	2	5.	33	52	15
3.	31	59	10	6.	38	39	23
101. Obedience to the father should be based on love and understanding and not on absolute power (tyranny).							
1.	96	2	2	4.	97	1	2
2.	97	3	-	5.	100	-	-
3.	95	4	1	6.	96	4	-
102. It is important that all democratic elements in Germany be given freedom in political affairs (action).							
1.	79	12	9	4.	85	10	5
2.	86	12	2	5.	91	6	3
3.	71	20	9	6.	85	11	4
103. Jews should have the same rights as members of the Aryan Race.							
1.	85	10	5	4.	81	14	5
2.	90	9	1	5.	93	3	4
3.	81	14	5	6.	85	10	5
104. Freedom of political parties creates disunity within a nation.							
1.	28	63	9	4.	26	68	6
2.	38	58	4	5.	14	83	3
3.	48	46	6	6.	10	79	11
105. Most people learn independent thinking through a suitable (good) education.							
1.	94	4	2	4.	84	14	2
2.	98	2	-	5.	96	4	-
3.	93	6	1	6.	93	5	2
106. The greatest strength of the American Democracy is not based on its military power.							
1.	55	28	17	4.	64	29	7
2.	65	26	9	5.	76	18	6
3.	47	41	12	6.	66	23	11

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
107. A man should join the political party which suits him best (likes best).							
1.	91	5	4	4.	99	--	1
2.	91	8	1	5.	92	5	3
3.	91	7	2	6.	98	1	1
108. The responsibility for the reconstruction of Germany should be placed in the hands of the German people under the supervision of the Allies.							
1.	75	19	6	4.	71	23	6
2.	86	13	1	5.	85	14	1
3.	76	22	2	6.	81	13	6
109. The countries who gave the Allies the most help, and who suffered most, should receive surplus food stuffs first.							
1.	74	17	9	4.	61	31	8
2.	77	21	2	5.	70	21	9
3.	65	32	3	6.	70	20	10
110. Germany has no musical genius to compare with the American Deems Taylor.							
1.	16	55	29	4.	5	88	7
2.	18	60	22	5.	16	50	34
3.	16	54	30	6.	12	41	47

APPENDIX II

PROPORTIONS OF EACH SAMPLE GROUP RESPONDING TO SCALE STATEMENTS

"Flattery(?)" Scale

Sample Group	Percent Replying Democratically to Number of Questions Indicated					
	0	1	2	3	4	5
Marburg Students	-	1	4	11	57	27
Wuerttemberg-Baden Youth	4	11	21	26	28	10
Prisoners Released	8	19	19	17	25	12
Prisoners Detained	6	17	25	25	20	7
Berlin	5.5	14	27	23	25	5.5
American Zone	7	16	23	26	22	6

Future of Germany Scale

Marburg Students	23	29	30	17	1
Wuerttemberg-Baden Youth	4	24	42	27	3
Prisoners Released	11	29	33	24	3
Prisoners Detained	11	30	38	20	1
Berlin	5	19	36	33	7
American Zone	14	21	33	27	5

Family, Women, Children Scale

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Marburg Students	-	2	13	6	29	35	15
Wuerttemberg-Baden Youth	1	2	13	28	27	20	9
Prisoners Released	1	1	5	10	18	38	27
Prisoners Detained	1	-	6	6	27	35	25
Berlin	-	-	4	20	30	30	16
American Zone	1	3	9	19	29	27	12

Ethics, Justice: Social Responsibility Scale

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Marburg Students	-	1	3	10	19	29	38
Wuerttemberg-Baden Youth	-	-	3	8	18	35	36
Prisoners Released	-	-	2	6	14	36	42
Prisoners Detained	1	1	2	12	25	30	29
Berlin	-	-	2	4	11	30	53
American Zone	-	1	3	7	16	34	39

War, Militarism Scale

	0	1	2	3	4	5
Marburg Students	-	1	6	11	31	51
Wuerttemberg-Baden Youth	-	3	10	15	39	33
Prisoners Released	-	-	1	5	31	63
Prisoners Detained	1	-	4	4	34	57
Berlin	-	2	6	10	36	46
American Zone	-	2	4	13	38	43

Anti-Semitism Scale

	0	1	2	3	4
Marburg Students	1	9	12	42	36
Wuerttemberg-Baden Youth	2	10	22	41	25
Prisoners Released	-	3	9	43	45
Prisoners Detained	2	2	16	41	39
Berlin	-	2	14	52	32
American Zone	2	7	15	43	33

Government, Democracy, Authority Scale

I. Necessity of Political Information.

	0	1	2	3	4
Marburg Students	1	8	27	41	23
Wuerttemberg-Baden Youth	1	6	29	43	21
Prisoners Released	-	3	8	32	57
Prisoners Detained	1	2	5	48	44
Berlin	-	7	24	39	30
American Zone	1	7	20	38	34

II. Independent Thinking as a Value.

Marburg Students	1	10	16	36	37
Wuerttemberg-Baden Youth	1	4	29	38	28
Prisoners Released	1	5	23	32	39
Prisoners Detained	4	5	15	41	32
Berlin	1	3	17	41	38
American Zone	1	9	19	39	32

III. Fallible Leadership

Marburg Students	-	2	14	35	49
Wuerttemberg-Baden Youth	3	11	22	28	36
Prisoners Released	-	-	13	48	39
Prisoners Detained	1	4	20	43	32
Berlin	1	4	20	38	37
American Zone	1	5	16	30	48

IV. Independence and Rights of Individuals

	0	1	2	3	4
Marburg Students	-	2	6	23	69
Wuerttemberg-Baden Youth	2	6	19	40	33
Prisoners-Released	-	-	6	36	58
Prisoners-Detained	-	4	14	30	52
Berlin	-	5	19	35	41
American Zone	1	6	16	31	46

Projection Scale

	0	1	2	3	4
Marburg Students	23	28	25	16	8
Wuerttemberg-Baden Youth	5	23	33	23	16
Prisoners-Released	20	24	21	25	10
Prisoners-Detained	2	2	16	41	39
Berlin	6	13	20	30	31
American Zone	10	16	27	25	22

R E S T R I C T E D

PRELIMINARY STUDY OF MOTION PICTURE ATTENDANCE AND ATTITUDES

Report # 20

27 August 1946
Surveys Branch
Office of the Director of Information Control
OMGUS (Rear) APO 757

R E S T R I C T E D

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

The preliminary study contained herein includes zonal tabulations of the results found on a series of surveys *, on motion picture attendance and attitudes toward the films, conducted by the Surveys Branch of the Office of the Director of Information Control.

At the time these studies were being conducted, Berlin had not been included in the sample; therefore, all tabulations represent opinion in the American Zone only.

Several questions have appeared in more than one survey, and wherever this is the case, trend tabulations are shown.

A supplementary report on motion picture attendance and attitudes, to appear in the near future, will include breakdown tabulations by various population groups and their place of residence -- both by city size group and Land.

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* The dates of these surveys are:

19 November 1945
1 December 1945
21 January 1946
31 January 1946
21 February 1946

H I G H L I G H T S

1. Attendance at movies has shown a constant decline from a high of 45% of the respondents saying they attend movies to 23% in a period of four months.

2. The majority of movie goers had been to the movies from one to five times in the nine months from the beginning of the occupation until February this year. Most of them walk to the movies.

3. The principal reasons given for not attending movies are:

   (1) No movie in town

   (2) No time

   (3) No interest

4. The reaction to American films is that they are "all right". More than nine out of ten movie-goers and 55% of the non-movie-goers indicated that they would like to see an old German film again.

5. The reasons for wanting to see an old German film again are:

   (1) Prefer German tone, makes more sense, more beautiful, more personal

   (2) Because of the language, dislike subtitles

6. Less than two out of ten respondents have seen the newsreel, "Die Welt im Film". Most of those who have seen it say it is "Good, all right, interesting." It brings them a picture of the outside world.

7. A heavy majority (nearly three quarters) of movie-goers say they <u>would</u> go to the movies if they knew ahead of time that a concentration camp film would be shown.

8. But, only one out of ten people interviewd in Bavaria went to see the concentration camp film which was shown during the week of 25 - 31 January. This was, in fact, <u>less than one-third</u> of the movie-goers in that Land.

9. Of those people who have seen the KZ film, a majority believe it to be honest and have learned something from it which they did not know before.

10. Of the American films seen by Germans --

    MADAME CURIE was liked BEST

    TODESMUEHLEN was liked LEAST

11. The old <u>German</u> film which respondents would most like to see again is --

    DIE GOLDENE STADT

T H E F I N D I N G S

Motion picture attendance

Four separate surveys made between November 1945 and February 1946 have failed to find that a majority of the German people attend motion pictures. On only one survey (21 January 1946) has the proportion of the respondents saying they go to the movies risen to more than one third of the people interviewed.

"Do you go to the movies?" *

	American Zone:			
	Nov. 1945	Jan. 1946	Jan. 1946	Feb. 1946
Sample	331	964	993	985
Yes	29%(43)	45%	30%	23%(23)
No	38 (57)	55	70	75 (77)
No theatre here	33	-	-	-
No answer	-	-	-	2
	100	100	100	100

One possible explanation for this decline in attendance at movies, and the comparatively small proportion of the population attending movies even at the peak, is that after the war the German people still considered themselves as movie-goers. As the interval of time since the end of the war increased, fewer people actually attended movies. One reason for this may possibly be the calibre of the films shown, especially when considering the large majority desiring to see an old German film again. Another explanation may be the small number of theatres in operation. The showing of "Todesmuehlen" may have affected attendance at movies, insofar as many more people indicated that they would go to see this film than actually have seen it.

The situation today may well be different. With more motion picture houses open, with authorized German films again being shown, and with transportation more available the attendance at movies may be considerably higher than indicated. The supplementary survey will study current attendance at movies and reactions to films.

The earlier January survey divided respondents into two groups -- radio-listeners and non-listeners. Tabulating the answers of these groups separately reveals that a majority of the people who listen to the radio are also movie-goers, while only one third of the people who do not listen to the radio attend the movies.

---

* In the February survey, this question read, "Do you ever go to the movies?"

	Radio Listeners	Non-Listeners
Sample	538	426
Attend movies	55%	32%
Do not attend movies	45	68
	100	100

How often do people attend the movies and how do they get there

The February 1946 survey asked two questions relating to the interval of attendance at motion pictures and the means of getting them. The results show that over the nine-month span, most of the respondents, who had been to the movies at all, had gone five times or less often. As for getting there, most of them walked.

"About how often have you been to the movies since the beginning of the occupation?"

	AMZON
Sample	985
One to five times	17%
Six to nine times	2
10 - 12 times	1
13 - 19 times	*
20 or more times	1
No answer	2
Total who go to the movies	23

"How do you get to the movies? Do you go by foot or do you ride on the streatcar, a bicycle or in an auto?"

	AMZON
Sample	985
On foot	16%
Streatcar	3
Bicycle	2
Auto	*
Train	2
Total who go to the movies	23

* Less than 1%

Reasons why people do not go to the movies

This same survey attempted to find out why people do not attend the movies. An open "free answer' type question revealed 'No movie in town' as the single reason mentioned most often. When motion picture attendance is cross tabulated by whether or not there is a theatre in the respondent's town, the importance of this fact on attendance is clearly shown. A sizeable minority (33%) said they had no time or no interest in going. It must be assumed that people find time for entertainment when the entertainment is intriguing. In spite of movies being available, then, many did not go because they were not attracted.

Reasons why respondents do not go to the movies:

	AMZON
Sample	985
No movie in town	26%
No time, too busy, "other things to worry about'	20
No interest	13
Too tired, too old, too sick	7
Too expensive, can't get tickets	4
Religious reasons	1
No answer	4
Total who do not go to the movies	75

	Theatre in Town	No Theatre * in Town
Sample	326	655
Attend movies	46%	11%
Do not attend movies	53	86
No answer	1	3
	100	100

Although Europeans are not particularly known as "travelers", it is more likely that the lack of transportation (as indicated previously, most people walk to the movies) rather than the fact that there is no movie in the person's own town is partially the cause for low attendance.

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* Two third of the people interviewed in this survey said that there was no motion picture theatre in their town. The Monthly Progress and Operations Report of the Office of the Director of Information Control (12 July 1946) indicates 622 cinemas open in the American Zone. That number includes cinemas in Berlin.
The number of licensed movie theatres in the zone as of the dates of these surveys was:

	Number of Theatres
November 1945	280
December 1945	340
January 1946	348
February 1946	410

Reactions to the films shown

Reactions to the films show slightly more than half saying unqualifiedly that they are good. A considerable proportion (30%) gave answers ranging from "All right" to "Awful".

"How do you like the pictures which were shown?"

	AMZON
Sample	985
Very good	3%
Good	9
Good, but have language difficulty	1
Good, but too old	*
All right, nothing wrong with them	1
Not much, expected worse, German films better	2
Didn't like them, no sense to them, propaganda, too sentimental	3
Awful	1
No answer	3
Total who go to the movies	23

Preference for old German films

Perhaps a better index of the reactions to the films can be found, in a negative manner, through the reasons given by respondents for wanting to see an "old German film" again. More than six out of ten people interviewed indicated that they would like to see such a picture again.

"Would you like to see an old German movie again?"

	AMZON	Movie-goers	Non-movie-goers
Sample	985	224	740
Yes	63%	94%	55%
No	28	6	34
No answer	9	*	11
	100	100	100

* Less than 1%

Indirectly the reasons for wanting to see an old German movie are in many respects reasons for disliking the present American films. This conclusion is self-evident in the tabulation which follows.

Reasons for wanting to see an old German film:

	AMZON
Sample	985
Prefer German tone, makes more sense, more beautiful, mor personal	28%
Because of the language, dislike subtitles	14%
Prefer German themes	4
Less propaganda than in American films, don't like American movies, prefer German	4
Know the actors	2
But, don't want to see propaganda films from Hitler's time	2
For diversion	1
Like the music better	1
Other reasons	1
No reason given	6
Total who would like to see an old German film again	63

The reasons given for not wanting to see old German films represent, for the most part, the opinions of non-movie-goers. This is evident when considering the individual reasons as well as the fact that 34% of those who do not attend movies indicated disinterest in old German films, whereas among movie-goers only 6% said they would not care to see an old German film again.

It is clearly evident that the reasons for not wanting to see an old German film in no way represent any evaluation of these films, nor do they direct any criticism toward them. They are, for the main part, the same reasons that might have been given by these respondents for not attending movies at all.

Reasons why respondents do not want to see an old German film again:

	AMZON
Sample	985
Not interested	15%
Too old, too ill -- never go to the movies	3
Have no time	2
Have too many personal troubles -- not interested in movies	2
Never went to the movies in peacetime -- don't go now	1
Have no money	1
No opportunity	1
Religious reasons	*
Don't want to see any more propaganda	*
Would rather see American films	*
Other reasons	2
Total who do not want to see an old German movie again	28

Shown in the appendix to this report are lists of American films which respondents indicate having liked most and least, and a list of old German films which they would like to see again.

Reactions to the newsreel, "Die Welt im Film"

Further criticism of American Films is found in the respondents' reactions toward the newsreel, "Die Welt im Film" (The World in Film). Among movie-goers, about eight out of ten people say they have seen one. In general, the newsreel is "acceptable". The principal thing mentioned about it was that it brought in news from the outside.

* Add to 1%

"How do you like the newsreel, 'Die Welt im Film?"

	AMZON
Sample	985
Excellent	*%
Very good	5
Good, all right, interesting	11
Fair, nothing special, some good, some bad	2
Not good	*
	18
Never saw one, don't remember	2
No answer	3
Total who go to the movies	23

"What do you like about it?"

	AMZON
Sample	985
News from the outside, from the world, picture of the world	10%
Objective, realistic, true to life, impartial	2
Variety	2
Sports	1
Life in the United States	1
Other favorable answers	1
Like nothing about it	*
No answer	1
	18

* Less than 1%

Further evidence supporting the conclusion that lack of transportation is, at least partially, responsible for the low movie attendance is found in the fact that a majority of the people who do not go to the movies indicate that it is difficult for them to get there. Only one in five respondents who do not attend movies said that it would be easy to get to the movies.

"Is it easy for you to get to the movies?"

	AMZON
Sample	985
Yes	15%
No	53
No answer	7
Total who do not go to the movies	75

Attendance at and reactions to the concentration camp (KZ) film, "Mills of Death" (Todesmuehlen).

During the week of 25 - 31 January the concentration camp film, "Todesmuehlen", was shown in Bavarian theatres. * The second January survey, interviewing on which began immediately after the week during which the KZ film was shown, found that only 12% of the people interviewed in Bavaria had seen the movie. At the same time it was found that 19% of all Bavarians interviewed (or 70% of the Bavarian movie-goers who had not seen the KZ film) said they would not be deterred from going to the movies if they knew ahead of time that a concentration camp film was to be shown (see page 16). Eight percent of the Bavarians indicated that they would not go to the movies if they knew in advance that a KZ picture was to be shown or said they didn't know whether or not they would go. The remaining 61% of the Bavarians were non-movie-goers.

In some instances the KZ film was shown with no advance notice to the public. In other instances, advance publicity was given to the showing. In some few cases, even, attendance at the film was involuntary. But, the proportion having seen the film is smaller when compared with the proportions of people who attend movies, or those who said they would go to the movies if they knew in advance that the KZ film was to be shown. It would seem that the latter figure was especially subject to considerable bias.

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* Since that time, the KZ film has been shown in theatres in Gross Hessen and Wuerttemberg-Baden, but no attempt has been made to show it in all theatres simultaneously as was done in Bavaria.

In two surveys, both preceding the showing of the KZ film in Bavaria, people throughout the zone were asked if they would attend a movie if they knew in advance that a KZ film was to be shown. The majority of the movie-going respondents, in both surveys, said they would.

"Would you go to the movies if you knew ahead of time that a concentration camp film was to be shown?"

	American Zone: Nov. 1945		American Zone: Jan. 1946	
Sample	331		964	
Yes	21%	(74)	33%	(74)
No	8	(26)	12	(26)
Total who go to the movies	29		45	

Reasons why respondents would not go to the movies if they knew ahead of time that a concentration camp film was to be shown:

	American Zone: Jan. 1946
Sample	964
Too gruesome	8%
No time, no interest	2
No movie theatre here	1
Know all about it	*
No answer	1
Total who would not go to see a KZ film	12

It is interesting to note that 1% of the respondents give as their reason for not seeing a KZ film the fact that there is no movie theatre in their town. Yet, these people are movie-goers and go to some other town to see other films.

This same survey reveals an interesting comparison between reactions of radio listeners and non-listeners. Whereas, many more radio listeners than non-listeners attend movies, actually just as many non-listeners as listeners indicated that they would go to the movies if they knew in advance that a concentration camp film was to be shown.

* Less than 1%

American Zone:

	Radio Listeners	Non-Listeners
Sample	538	426
Would go see a KZ film	40% (73)	24% (75)
Would not go see a KZ film	15 (27)	8 (25)
Total who go to the movies	55	32

Bavarian reaction to the KZ film

Immediately after the KZ film was shown in Bavaria, a questionnaire (31 January 1946) was designed to test reactions to the film. This survey found nearly four in ten (39%) Bavarian respondents were movie-goers compared with the 30% average attendance throughout the zone (page 3).

"Do you go to the movies?"

	Bavaria: Jan. 1946
Sample	501
Yes	39%
No	61
	100

"Did you see the KZ film which was shown during the week of 25 - 31 January?"

	Bavaria: Jan. 1946
Sample	501
Yes	12% (31)
No	27 (69)
Total who go to the movies	39

Of the people who saw the film, a clear majority believe that it is an honest presentation. Less than one percent of the respondents disagreed.

"Do you think the (concentration camp) film is a true and exact account of conditions in concentration camps?"

	Bavaria: Jan. 1946
Sample	501
Yes	11%
No	*
Don't know	1
Total who have seen the KZ film	12

Although the proportion of respondents who have seen the film is small, the picture would seem to have served, at least in part, its intended purpose. Most of the people believe the film to be honest, and most of the respondents indicate that they have learned something from it which they did not know before. However, one out of four respondents say they learned nothing from the film, and as indicated above, some do not believe the film to be true. Regardless of how small these proportions are, the fact that there are still in Germany some people who cannot be convinced that war atrocities were committed is the important point.

"Did you learn anything from the (concentration camp) film which you had not known before?"

	Bavaria: Jan. 1946
Sample	501
Yes	9%
No	3
No answer	*
Total who have seen the KZ film	12

* Less than 1%

"What did you learn?

	Bavaria: Jan. 1946
Sample	501
Atrocities, torture	8%
Gas chambers	*
The experiments which were carried out with KZ guinea pigs	*
Extent of the atrocities	*
The brutal behavior of the Germans, that we were beasts	*
Didn't know anything before (or didn't really believe it), everything is new to me	2
	11

* Add to 1% -- Column totals more than 9%, the number saying they learned something from seeing the KZ film, because some respondents indicate having learned more than one thing.

The excuses offered for not having seen the KZ film are, on the whole, rather lame. These respondents were all movie-goers, and at least half the reasons given for not having seen the concentration camp film should also prevent them from attending other movies.

Reasons why respondents did not see the KZ film:

	Bavaria: Jan 1946
Sample	501
No time, bad health	10%
No movie theatre here or too far away	6
Can't get tickets, too hard to get	3
Hasn't been shown here	2
Too gruesome, don't like horrors	2
No opportunity, out of town	2
Not interested in such things	1
Can't afford it	*
Didn't know film was being shown	*
No answer	1
Total who did not see the KZ film	27

* Less than 1%

That group of Bavarians who did not see the KZ film were asked if they would go to the movies if they knew in advance that a concentration camp film was to be shown. The majority said they would. (These tabulations should not be confused with seemingly similar ones on page 11. The latter were asked on different surveys and are based on total movie-goers).

"Would you go to the movies if you knew ahead of time that a concentration camp film was to be shown?"

	Bavaria: Jan 1946	
Sample	501	
Yes	19%	(70)
No	5	(20)
Don't know	1	(3)
No answer	2	(7)
Total who did not see the KZ film	27	

A comparison between the above tabulation and those on page 11 based on total movie-goers reveals that only a negligibly smaller proportion of Bavarians who have not seen the KZ film than all residents in the zone would go to the movies even if they knew ahead of time that a concentration camp film was to be shown.

The pattern followed in the reasons (table follows) for not seeing the KZ film, given by Bavarians who have not seen the film, and who say they would not go to see it, is very similar to that followed in the reasons of movie-goers in the zone for not going to the movies if they knew in advance that a KZ film was to be shown. (See table on page 11).

Reasons for not seeing the KZ film given by Bavarians who have not seen it and who say they would not go to the movies if they knew in advance that a KZ film was to be shown:

	Bavaria: Jan 1946
Sample	501
Too gruesome, have seen enough horrors	3%
Don't need to see any more propaganda, hate Nazis enough already	1
No interest	*
No time, bad health	*
No answer	1
Total who have not seen the KZ film and would not go to see it	5

* Less than 1%

A P P E N D I X

American films liked best

"Which picture did you like best? Why?"

Picture	Typical comments	Number of Mentions
Madame Curie	Depicted the life of a personality, biographic	32
Sieben junge Herzen (Seven Sweethearts)	Light and gay	27
Dr. Ehrlich's Magic Bullet	Scientific film	17
Die ewige Eva (It started with Eve)	Diversion, something to laugh at	14
Der junge Tom Edison (Young Tom Edison)	Had a historical background	11
Und das Leben geht weiter (A Human Comedy)	Resembles a German film	7
Die fuenf jungen Helden (The Sullivans)	Very familiar, German style	6
Du warst nie berueckender (You were never lovelier)	Alive, musical	5
Goldrausch (Gold Rush)	Very funny, makes one forget the hardships	5
Meine Frau die Hexe (I Married a Witch)	Strange entertainment film	2
Im Schatten des Zweifels (Shadow of a Doubt)	Exciting and adventurous	2

(Continued)

Picture	Typical comments	Number of Mentions
Sprechstunden der Liebe (Appointment for Love)	Very entertaining	2
Adam hat vier Soehne (Adam Had Four Sons)	Entertaining	1
Christl	Mountains were impressive, the church's influence over people's political ideas was interesting	1
Was morgen geschah (It Happened Tomorrow)	Exciting	1
Das grosse Los (Christmas in July)	One forgets his worries	1
War films	I like them	1

American films liked least

"Which picture did you like least? Why?"

Picture	Typical comments	Number of Mentions
Todesmuehlen (Mills of Death)	It is a terrible film	13
Goldrausch (Gold Rush)	Makes you tired, no sense	12
Urlaub vom Himmel (Here comes Mr. Jordan)	Senseless	6
Teufelsbauer (All that Money can Buy)	We Germans don't understand that, no sense	5
Sieben junge Herzen (Seven Sweethearts)	No sense	5
Du warst nie berueckender (You Were never lovelier)	No sense, very light	5
Corvette 225	It reminds me too much of the war	4
Tom, Dick, and Harry	No sense to it	4
Das grosse Los (Christmas in July)	Don't understand English	4
Die Spur des Falken (Maltese Falcon)	Too excessive	3
Der junge Edison (Young Tom Edison)	Don't understand English	3
Die ewige Eva (It started with Eve)	Nothing special	3
Madame Curie	Not interested in science	2

Picture	Typical comments	Number of Mentions
Tulpenfest (Tulip Festival)	Big nonsense	1
It Happened Tomorrow	Couldn't hold interest	1
Im Schatten des Zweifels (Shadow of a Doubt)	No comment	1
Dr. Ehrlich's Magic Bullet	Too serious	1

Popular German films:

"Which of the old German films would you especially like to see again?"

Picture	Number of Mentions	Picture	Number of Mentions
Die goldene Stadt	53	Eine kleine Nachtmusik	4
Immensee	50	Land des Laechelns	4
Der weisse Traum	29	Rosen in Tyrol	4
Robert Koch	20	Jugend	4
Die Frau meiner Traeume	15	Verwehte Spuren	4
Opfergang	13	Schrammeln	4
Wiener Blut	11	Der Meineidbauer	4
Traeumerei (Schumann)	10	Muenchhausen	4
Operette	9	Ohm Krueger	3
Bismarck	8	Befreite Haende	3
Opernball	8	Wunschkonzert	3
Heimat	8	Damals	3
Das Schweigen im Walde	8	Friedrich der Grosse	3
Geyer Wally	8	Musik in Salzburg	3
Frauen sind doch bessere Diplomaten	7	Diesel	3
Tanz mit dem Kaiser	6	Truxa	3
Unsterbliches Herz	6	Maskerade	3
Bad auf der Tenne	6	Romanze in Moll	3
Indisches Grabmal	6	Der weisse Tod	3
Mutterliebe	5	Reitet fuer Deutschland	3
Wen die Goetter lieben	5	Annelie	3
Ich klage an	5	Germanin	3
Altes Herz wird wieder jung	5	Die weisse Schwester	2
Postmeister	4	Blaufuchs	2

(Continued)

Picture	Number of Mentions	Picture	Number of Mentions
Schwedische Nachtigall	2	Friedemann Bach	1
Wetterleuchten um Barbara	2	Liebe, Tod und Teufel	1
Der verkaufte Grossvater	2	Der alte und der junge Koenig	1
Meine Schwester und ich	2	Am Abend nach der Oper	1
Der Klosterjaeger	2	Hab mich lieb	1
Vergiss mein nicht	2	Der blaue Engel	1
Schlussaccord	2	Ich liebe Dich	1
Der laufende Berg	2	Capriolen	1
Ein Leben lang	2	Paradies der Jung-gesellen	1
Unsterblicher Walzer	2	Mutter	1
Walzerserenade	2	Ave Maria	1
Rembrandt	2	Die englische Heirat	1
Hochzeitshotel	2	Nora	1
Lache Bajazzo	2	Ramona	1
Kleiner Grenzverkehr	2	Der Majoratsherr	1
Der verlorene Sohn	2	Neunte Symphonie	1
Stern von Rio	2	Zu neuen Ufern	1
Die grosse Freiheit	2	Prinzessin Sissi	1
Spiel im Sommerwind	2	Peterle	1
Schloss Hubertus	2	Vier Frauen um Verdi	1
Schicksal	2	Urlaub auf Ehrenwort	1
1A in Oberbayern	2	Krach im Hinterhaus	1
Zigeunerbaron	2	Das Maedchen von Fanoe	1
Sieben Jahre Glueck	1	Gasparone	1
Kaiser von Kalifornien	1	Das Herz einer Koenigin	1
Die Schneekoenigin	1	Frauen sind keine Engel	1
Reise nach Tilsit	1	Walzertraum	1
Peer Gynt	1	Der letzte Walzer	1

(Continued)

Picture	Number of Mentions	Picture	Number of Mentions
Der grosse Koenig	1	Torelli	1
Die grosse Liebe	1	Gewitter im Mai	1
Andreas Schlueter	1	Kennwort: Machin	1
Herrin der Welt	1	Abschiedswalzer	1
Paracelsus	1	Berge in Flammen	1
Manon	1	Der grosse Schatten	1
Karin	1	Tarantella	1
Weisse Sklaven	1	Waldrausch	1
Schiller	1	Meine vier Jungen	1
Ein Lied geht um die Welt	1	Der unendliche Weg	1
Kampf um die Scholle	1	Hochzeit auf Baerenhof	1
Erbhofbauer	1	Faust	1
Zwei in einer grossen Stadt	1	Angelika	1
Puppenspiel	1	Verraeter	1
Pharao	1	Zwei Herzen im Dreivierteltakt	1
Anne Boleyn	1	Ich hab' mein Herz in Heidelberg verloren	1
Philharmonie	1	Gewissenswurm	1
Der Jaeger vom Fall	1	La Habanera	1
In Flagranti	1	Acht Maedels im Boot	1
Konzert in Tirol	1	Metropolis	1
Das Maedchen in Weiss	1	Tunnels	1
Maria Stuart	1	Ferien vom Ich	1
Lucrezia Borgia	1	Das Deutsche Herz	1
Donna Juana	1	Links der Isar, rechts der Spree	1
Drei Junggesellen	1	Sophienlund	1
Dr. Caligari	1	Reise in die Vergangenheit	1
Geiger von Florenz	1	Liebe Augustin	1

(Continued)

Picture	Number of Mentions	Picture	Number of Mentions
Waldeinsamkeit	1	Krach um Jolanthe	1
Wasser fuer Canitoga	1	Ich glaube nie mehr an eine Frau	1
Die Foersterchristl	1	Die Wirtin zum weissen Roessl	1
Jugendliebe	1		

General	Number of Mentions
Culture films, nature, science	25
Musical and art films, about composers, etc.	20
Viennese films	15
Bavarian films	11
Historical films	8
German films	7
Ganghofer films	5
Luis Trenker films	3
Charlie Chaplin films	3
Emil Jannings' films	2
Marika Roekk films	2
Harry Piel films	1
Greta Garbo films	1

Theatre attendance and preferred plays

Although the survey of 1 December 1945 did not include any questions on motion pictures, two questions were asked about anticipated theatre attendance and types of plays which respondents would like to see. The results are shown below for the reader's interest.

"Will you go to the theatre when they open again?"

	AMZON
Sample	414
Yes	70%
No	29
Don't know	1
	100

"What kind of plays would you like to see?"

	AMZON
Sample	414
Musical comedy, operetta, opera	40%
Comedies	13
Historical plays	10
Classical plays	8
Modern plays, serious plays, plays about current problems	6
Folk plays, old plays, the tried and true	5
Other types of plays	6
Don't know	1
	89

(Column totals more than those planning to attend the theatre because some respondents gave more than one answer.)

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
Declassified

ATTITUDES TOWARD LICENSED NEWSPAPERS IN SOME AMERICAN-OCCUPIED AREAS

(An Introductory Report Showing Zonal and Land Analysis.)

25 September 1946

SURVEYS BRANCH
OFFICE OF DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION CONTROL
OMGGUS (Rear) APO 757

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
Declassified

INTRODUCTION

Public attitudes toward 33 American-licensed newspapers in Germany were examined through scientific surveys. Careful samples of the residents of the cities in which these newspapers are published were interviewed by trained and supervised German interrogators. In each community about 250 adults, 18 years old or older, were visited in their homes and asked a series of questions about their local newspaper and about their attitudes toward newspapers in general. In all, 8029 persons were interviewed.

Most of the questions asked were designed to be asked only of newspaper readers. "Readers" were defined as those people who had seen a newspaper within the two weeks preceding the interviewing. A period spanning the last three weeks of June was covered in this fashion. Within the total sample, 90,7% (7532 people) were called "readers", and 71.8% of all those interviewed maintained that they read papers regularly.

This study was designed to present evidence regarding public evaluation of the licensed press. The type of criticism of the new German press which can be met in some quarters of the general population does not merit, of course, weight in any policy decision regarding the newspapers. However, the interpretive analysis in this study, and in a more detailed report to follow, concerns itself with presenting only the degree of incidence of such considerations, and relies upon evidence differently founded for its recommendations.

Results.

The Zonal Picture -- 1) Non-Readers

Only slight, probably random, variations were observed among the proportions of non-readers found in the three Laender. However, other group differences revealed deviations of interest.

Although interviewing was carried out withing the confines of cities where the licensed papers appeared, some farmers were interviewed who were residents of these communities in outlying districts. In Bavaria, nearly three in ten (29%) of the members of this occupational class said they did not read the paper. In Wuerttemberg-Baden 12% of the farmers acknowledged not reading papers. Laborers and the semi-skilled expressed greater disinterest in newspapers than did members of other occupational groups.

The more education a person had the more likely he was to read newspapers. In Bavaria, 27% of those with less than 7 years schooling said they did not read papers, and 15% of this group in Wuerttemberg-Baden were similarly disposed. On the

other hand, only 4% of those with 12 or more years schooling failed to read papers in these two Laender. The most important proportional difference in newspaper reading occured between those with 8 years or less schooling and those with 9 or more years education. Whereas only about 5% of the latter did not read papers, nearly three times as large a proportion of the former did not do so.

The differences in reading habits of men and women approximated those of the two broad educational groups. Very few men did not read papers, while about three times as many women admitted not doing so.

People able to name a political party which they preferred among those presently formed were more likely to read papers than were those who could not choose a party. But just as many (about one-fifth) of those who answered that they like "no" party, as those who held "could not choose" also did not read papers.

An unusual curve of distribution can be seen in the responses of people when they are ordered by age groups. Most infrequent readership is maintained by the very young (under 20) and by the very old (over 70). But this statement is necessarily qualified by the observation that in Gross Hessen it is only the very old who did not read papers in as large proportions as the average. Hessians under 20 years of age claimed to read papers as frequently as did their fathers and mothers. While only 6% of the youth did not read papers in this Land, 38% of the old people over 70 also did not read papers. In Bavaria 23% of the youth and 25% of the old; in Wuerttemberg-Baden 12% of the youth and 16% of the old, held similar habits.

Readership of Newspapers by Land

% Non-Readers of Each Characteristic Group Within the Laender Is Shown

Party Preference	Wuerttemberg-Baden	Bavaria	Gross Hessen
SPD	4	6	7
KPD	8	9	10
LDP	-	4	1
CDU	7	5	4
CSU	5	9	+
None	16	19	20
Can't choose	15	22	9

+ Too few cases

	Wuerttemberg-Baden	Bavaria	Gross Hessen
Occupation			
Housewife	13	12	12
Professional	5	4	-
Business	5	4	3
White Collar Officials	3	3	3
Craftsman	4	7	3
Clerical	7	6	5
Skilled	8	9	5
Semi-skilled	4	13	10
Laborer	16	11	15
Farm	12	29	+
NSDAP Membership			
PG	3	5	5
Family member PG	11	9	7
Neither	9	11	10
Education			
Less than 7 years	15	27	+
7 years	10	13	+
8 years	16	9	11
8 to 11 years	3	6	4
12 years or more	4	4	1
Good Idea - Bad Idea			
Bad idea	6	8	6
Good idea, badly carried out	7	7	5
No opinion	21	24	16
Sex			
Men	2	6	3
Women	14	13	11
Age			
Under 20	12	23	6
20 - 29	13	10	9
30 - 39	7	7	7
40 - 49	7	7	7
50 - 59	4	9	9
60 - 69	7	14	9
70 or more	16	25	38
Religion			
Catholic	11	11	7
Protestant	7	9	9
Other	2	5	5

+ Too few cases

-- 2) How well is the paper liked?

All readers were asked : "What do you think of the newspaper being published in this community -- is it very good, fair or bad?" The gross average of those interviewed in the Zone was 49% answering that the community paper was either "very good" or "good". The most striking feature of the results were those of the various Laender. In Bavaria replies of those saying they liked the paper in their community ranged between 83% and 31% -- showing very large differences of response among the various populations. And the average proportion offering this much approval was 55%. In Wuerttemberg-Baden within a narrower range (54% to 44%) the average general approval response was 49%. However, in Gross Hessen the range of response in the separate cities was between 49% and 23%, while the average approval was only 34%.

It is indicated that least satisfaction is felt or expressed in the Gross Hessen communities with their newspapers. Various interpretations are offered: The population is known to be a more critical population than that in the other two Laender and could therefore be exemplifying a superior critical faculty. Hessians may have higher standards for newspaper publication developed by superior newspapers during and before the Nazi regime (e.g. the Frankfurter Zeitung). Local color by phrase, verbiage, or allusion, may be more easily achieved in the other two Laender. Or, finally, it is also indicated that popular dissatisfaction may indeed represent poor journalism. However, closer inspection of the separate papers is needed to support any of these interpretations.

-- 3) Justified Approval-Disapproval of Paper

a) Too strict control?

One charge that is sometimes heard may be immediately disposed of as a general justification for dislike of the licensed papers. It has been suggested that those Germans, who express disapproval of the German press, may feel that the newspapers now licensed are strictly controlled and subject to censorship, and are, in fact, permitted to print only the American point of view. The evidence drawn from the opinion survey does not support this hypothesis.

The general population was asked: "What in your estimate are the main difficulties limiting the activity of the newspapers at the present time?" Some respondents (about one in five) said "Censorship; strictness of censorship; strict American control; operate under approval of MG; don't dare to speak out; restrictions imposed by the occupation (scrutiny, red tape, etc.)". A statistical examination

of the relationship between such responses and responses to the question probing into like or dislike of the local paper was made.+

Only the slightest positive correlation was observed within the Zone while in Berlin a correlation of about the same order was found to be negative. It can be said, then, that no important relationship of this type had been found.

TETRACHORIC CORRELATION COEFFICIENT INDICATING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DISLIKE OF NEWSPAPER AND CHARGE THAT PAPER IS CONTROLLED BY OCCUPATION POWERS

American Zone	.10
Bavaria	.11
Wuerttemberg-Baden	.19
Gross Hessen	.15
Berlin	.10

b) Insufficient coverage?

It may also be hypothesized that newspapers today come in for a share of criticism because of inadequate coverage of newsworthy affairs. Only brief reports can be made of stirring events because of lack of newsprint. Detail and sidelight and background reporting is largely missing.

The evidence shows that in most communities a majority of the population recognized that shortages in newsprint, equipment and personnel seriously hamper the publication of newspapers. In each city a plurality - and if those who were unable to suggest any difficulty are eliminated, a large majority - held that such shortages made up the chief difficulties limiting the activities of newspapers today.

Queried still more directly to the point, all readers of papers were asked: "Does the (local) newspaper contain everything you are interested in?" Among these people only about one in four (28%) said that their paper did not contain everything desired. More dissatisfaction was found in Hessen (31%) and again in Wuerttemberg-Baden (35%) than in Bavaria (26%).

Consistent positive correlations were found in every community between dislike of the local paper and dissatisfaction with the news coverage. However, the size of the coefficient was not such as to indicate more than a tendency throughout the Zone for this type of dissatisfaction to account for the generalized dissatisfaction found.

+ This was a tetrachoric correlation coefficient.

Not was a larger correlation found in one of the three Laender. Nevertheless, the tendency shown in the table below needs careful consideration as to the importance of the relationship discovered. For in some communities within each Land the correlation coefficient indicates a relationship which can be said to be fairly close (e.g. in Kassel, Bayreuth or Bamberg). On the other hand, the relationship is not at all affirmed in other communities (e.g. Darmstadt or Wetzlar).

TETRACHORIC CORRELATION COEFFICIENT INDICATING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DISLIKE OF NEWSPAPER AND DISSATISFACTION BECAUSE OF INSUFFICIENT COVERAGE

American Zone	.32
Bavaria	.32
Wuerttemberg-Baden	.30
Gross-Hessen	.27
Berlin	.27

-- c) Paper as representative of local government.

Variations among communities in local approval of the newspaper have been seen to be large -- from 83% to 23% was the range. Large variations were also discovered in replies to the question: "In your opinion, does the local civil (German) administration do a good, fair or bad job?" The range of proportions answering "good" was between 83% and 17%. Inspection showed that the rank order of the two lists was much the same. (At the top of one list was the town which had the highest proportion liking the paper, at the top of the other list was the town with the highest proportion liking their local government). The rank correlation between these two lists of percentages was .79. It could be said that a fairly intimate association exists between the orders of the two lists.

This discovery, if substantiated by other data, would indicate either that the populations of some towns were more agreeably disposed in general than those of other towns, or that possibly the newspapers were generally felt to represent local governmental administration and were usually disliked when the administration was disliked. It also suggested that the newspapers might be held responsible for malfeasance or nonfeasance of the local government and might also be given credit for good work done by town leaders.

An examination of the tetrachoric correlations between proportions liking the paper and approving of the local government administration revealed that in every instance but two (Berlin and Fulda) was the coefficient positive. In most instances an appreciable tendency toward an indica-

tion of relationship was apparent. The two negative results were of a size indicating no relationship rather than a contradictory finding. Considering the Zone and the three Laender in general the degree of correlation was of the same order as that shown previously -- no more than a tendency was found for this type of relationship to be established as expressing a ground for increased satisfaction with the paper when the local administration was better liked.

TETRACHORIC CORRELATION COEFFICIENT INDICATING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LIKE OF NEWSPAPER AND LIKE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL ADMINISTRATION

American Zone	.31
Bavaria	.32
Wuerttemberg-Baden	.27
Gross Hessen	.29
Berlin	-.03

-- d) Paper is dominated by political party.

Only few of the readers interviewed maintained that their local newspaper preferred a political party in reply to the question: "Do you think the (local) newspaper remains neutral in discussing political problems or does it prefer certain parties?" Within the American Zone one in six respondents (16%) held to the charge of favoritism, and more Bavarians (18%) than Hessians (12%) or residents of Wuerttemberg-Baden (13%) agreed.

At the same time a larger proportion (42%) of all those interviewed were willing to charge that some "propaganda" was published in the local paper. Everyone was asked: "In your estimation, does the local newspaper contain any propaganda -- does it contain none, a little, quite a bit or a great deal of propaganda?" Bavarians were much less inclined to view their local publication as tainted with this charge (35%) than were Hessians (49%) or the majority expression in Wuerttemberg-Baden (56%). However, in the Zone as a whole only a tiny proportion (3%) was willing to go so far as to say that a "great deal" of propaganda was carried in the local paper. Most of those who cried "propaganda" (22%) only acknowledged that a "little" was given play. One-third of everybody questioned said there was "no propaganda" and one-fourth of the whole population was unable to express an opinion.

In order to provide a measure of the relationship between these two charges -- that the paper propagandizes and that it gives preference to a political party -- tetrachoric correlation coefficients were examined for the population of each community. A tendency for such a relationship to be establish-

ed was found within the Zonal population interviewed. However, this tendency was exaggerated in Bavaria and sharply diminished in the other two Laender. From these findings it may be assumed that the smaller population in Bavaria which moved that their papers contained propaganda was to an appreciable extent made up of those people who also charged that the type of propaganda to which reference was made was "political" propaganda. Within the other Laender it may then be proposed that the augmented groups (see paragraph above) contained people who referred to types of propaganda other than "political" propaganda as well as this type.

TETRACHORIC CORRELATION COEFFICIENT INDICATION RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PROPORTION SAYING PAPER CONTAINS PROPAGANDA AND PROPORTION SAYING PAPER PREFERS A POLITICAL PARTY

American Zone	.41
Bavaria	.52
Wuerttemberg-Baden	.21
Gross Hessen	.23
Berlin	.52

At the same time, every instance examined revealed a positive correlation between these two points of view. However, the variations among the sizes of the coefficients was great when these are inspected for the separate newspapers. In some towns the relationship was found to be of no importance at all (e.g. Karlsruhe, Giessen, Marburg) while in other communities it was found to be very intimate (Bayreuth, Garmisch-Partenkirchen), or at least fairly close (Heidelberg, Regensburg, Aschaffenburg, Passau).

-- 4) General Approval of Organizational Policy.

Within the various sectors of occupied Germany diverse publishing policies are followed in regard to the fundamental orientation of newspapers. In the American Zone the editors of the licensed press are largely representatives of the variant political outlooks found within the Zone. Newspapers, then, are organized in such a fashion as to represent no official party "line". To test reactions to this situation newspaper readers were asked: "Which organization of the newspapers in Germany would you like best -- most of the papers being published by political parties or by people without any party domination?"

A large majority (77%) of these people said they preferred no party domination and less than one in ten (8%) wanted party papers. Bavarians were even more disposed against party newspapers (80%) than were readers in Wuerttemberg-Baden (76%) or in Gross Hessen (71%).

These data, it might be said, probably reflect the over-representation of SPD newspaper editors in Bavaria when this representation is compared with popularity of the SPD among the general population sampled in that Land. Coupled with the findings reported in sections above in this brief report it can be said that charges of political bias, or propaganda, or domination, receive more credence among Bavarians. It may be suggested, then, that in such a situation there may be less acceptance given to "democratic" copy carried in these newspapers when the charge may be offered that such copy is SPD propaganda. In this light the correlation coefficients expressing the relationship between the charge of propaganda and the charge of preference given a political party is of a higher order in Bavaria than in the other two Laender. And in the typical examples given confirmation is found for the hypothesis that such a relationship is more intimate in, especially, non-Hessian towns.

-- 5) General Founded Satisfaction With the Newspapers.

In order to provide a general measure of the degree of acceptance of the separate newspapers in the Zone a set of weights was established to various factors which, in their combination, might furnish us with a curve describing the relative satisfaction with the newspapers in the various communities. Arbitrarily, it was decided to leave out the elements of dissatisfaction on political grounds which has been previously discussed. It was recognized that to do so would be to favor the Bavarian newspapers slightly since the correlations just discussed were most prominent in that Land.

The scale weighted replies as shown in the Appendix. A complete set of "desirable" replies would indicate that the paper was liked very much, it had made progress, it contained everything of interest, it did not refuse to speak out on topics of interest to the respondent, it covered news sufficiently well from other zones, about evacuees, refugees, Americans in Germany, food, the world, denazification, housing, it contained only little or no propaganda, it contained sufficient news about policies and announcements of Military Government.

Combined scores of all readers interviewed in the Zone permit the interpretation that about one-third (34%) rate their newspapers "good", about one-fourth (27%) rate it "fair", about one-fifth (21%) rate it "poor", while an equal proportion (18%) rate it "very good".

The replies of Bavarians were very much like those in the Zone as a whole. But in Wuerttemberg-Baden fewer respondents (14%) thought the paper "very good" than in the Zone as a whole. These residents inclined slightly more frequently

to consider their papers "fair". In Gross Hessen+, however, the situation was even more exaggerated in an unfavorable direction. Three in ten respondents (30%) considered their papers "poor". At the same time about as large a proportion (17%) as found in the Zone rated the papers "very good".++

INTERPRETATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES INDICATING SATISFACTION WITH COMMUNITY PAPERS

Area	Score: Interpretation:	0-6 Poor	7-9 Fair	10-12 Good	13-16 Very good	
American Zone		21%	27%	34%	18%	100%
Bavaria		18	28	34	20	
Wuerttemberg-Baden		20	31	35	14	
Gross Hessen		30	24	29	17	

+Because of technical difficulties reactions to the two Frankfurt newspapers were not included.

++As will be developed in a later report, Fulda residents skewed sharply the replies in Gross Hessen in a favorable direction.

APPENDIX

Note on Scoring Procedures

Answers to the following questions were combined:

1. What do you think of the newspaper being published in this community -- is it very good, good, fair or bad?

2. In your opinion has the newspaper shown any progress during the past months, has it remained nearly the same as before, or has it gotten worse?

3. Does the newspaper contain everything you are interested in?

4. Do you believe that the newspaper is not outspoken enough or avoids the treatment of themes that are of interest to you and other people?

5. Do you think there is sufficient or insufficient coverage in the newspaper of each of the following items -- Conditions in other zones? Influx of evacuees? Influx of refugees? Behavior of Americans in Germany? Food situation? The rest of the world? Denazification? Requisitioning of houses?

6. In your estimation, does the local newspaper contain any propaganda -- does it contain none, a little, quite a bit, or a great deal of propaganda?

7. Does your local paper treat and clarify sufficiently well the policies and announcements of Military Government?

To some of the answers the following weight were applied:

Question	Reply	Weight	
1	Very good	2	
	Good	1	
2	Made progress	2	
	Remained the same	1	
3	Yes, everything	1	
4	No, outspoken enough	1	
5	Sufficient coverage each item	1	(total 8)
6	"Little" or "no" propaganda	1	
7	Yes, sufficiently well	1	
	TOTAL POSSIBLE SCORE	16	

GROSS TABULAR RESULTS

Score	American Zone	Bavaria	Wuerttemberg-Baden	Gross Hessen
0	21	10	1	10
1	48	11	4	33
2	115	60	11	44
3	217	107	35	75
4	298	142	47	109
5	340	196	57	87
6	466	259	77	130
7	559	329	102	128
8	683	424	134	125
9	686	422	128	136
10	791	516	131	144
11	846	499	167	180
12	734	458	118	158
13	609	366	96	147
14	412	272	47	93
15	183	140	15	28
16	71	66	2	3
Total Respondents	7079+	4277	1172	1630

+Interviews in Berlin and Frankfurt are exoluded.

A STUDY OF ATTITUDES TOWARD THE RECONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION OF GERMANY

Report No. 22

25 September 1946

Surveys Branch

Office of the Director of Information Control
OMGUS (Rear) APO 757

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INTRODUCTION

This report is the result of a study conducted by the Surveys Branch, OMGUS, during the first half of April, 1946. It should be remembered that these opinions were obtained six months ago, and in the interim there may have been certain changes in the occupation policy which might well reveal different results if a similar Survey were conducted today.

Detailed breakdown tabulations are shown in order that the reader may acquaint himself with those particular groups in the population most favorable and most opposed to the occupation policy of the American Military Government.

Several of the questions dealt with in this report do not relate directly to attitudes on reconstruction and rehabilitation. They have been included, however, to give the reader certain background information on the character of the respondents included in this study.

The reader's attention is invited to the following additional material on related subjects:

1. Report, Surveys Branch, OMGUS, 19 August 1946, "Basic Attitudes Explored by the German Attitude Scale."

2. Press Release, Surveys Branch, OMGUS, 7 August 1946, "Nurnberg Trials".

3. Reports, Surveys Branch, OMGUS, Appearing in Information Control Intelligence Summary, Nos. 38, 41, 47, 56.

The results presented in this report are based on a total of 1192 interviews -- 993 in the American Zone and 199 in the American Sector of Berlin. The Berlin results are shown separately and are NOT included in any breakdown tabulations. Tabulations by population and geographic characteristics are based on fewer cases than the tabulation of the total sample, and are subject to a somewhat larger degree of error, because of the fewer cases on which they are based.

One fact which becomes evident after study of the results is that the thinking of the German people appears to be relatively unstructured when concerned with the problems of reconstruction and rehabilitation. In only very few cases does there appear any semblance of a pattern of thought -- either expected or unexpected. The results fluctuate, but no regular trend of this fluctuation can be established. When the answers of different age groups, education levels, membership vs. non-membership in the Nazi Party and city size groups are tabulated separately, a certain pattern becomes evident in relation to many other problems. With very few exceptions, this is not true in the results shown in this study. It is our opinion that this unstructured thinking can be attributed only to the questions involved -- questions dealing with opinion rather than fact, and questions on which respondents do not have any solid basis for the opinions they hold. This is emphasized by an extraordinarily high percentage of "No opinion" replies, which in itself, influences the distribution of answers of those respondents who do hold opinions.

An additional report, based on more recent surveys and discussing in detail German attitudes toward the American occupation forces and Allied reconstruction efforts, will appear in the near future.

SUMMARY

Appreciable variations were found between the attitudes of residents in the American Zone and residents in Berlin. Superior sophistication of the large city respondents can be said to account for most of these differences. The table below presents overall percentage results to most of the questions asked on the survey and reported later in detail.

AMZONE %	Berlin %	
		Expectations and estimates of the length of the occupation and reconstruction of Germany
62	90	were able to give an estimate of how long the Americans will continue to occupy Germany.
37	55	thought the American occupation would last TEN years or more.
22	26	thought the reconstruction of Germany would take from 20 to 30 years.
41	72	said the reconstruction in the American Zone has gone more quickly than they had expected, and ...
56	73	were optimistic about the possibility of reconstruction being accomplished with some degree of speed and energy.
42	34	have heard disturbing rumors, of which ...
34	20	said the rumor that worried them most was, "There will be another war."
		"Self - help" in the reconstruction of Germany
70	83	believe that through "hard work" can reconstruction best be accomplished, and ...
35	42	think the SPD the party best able to carry out the reconstruction of Germany.
56	62	mentioned lack of building and raw materials as the greatest handicap to the reconstruction.
		Attitudes toward Allied reconstruction efforts
60	90	indicate that the American have FURTHERED the recovery and reconstruction of Germany.
11	63	said that the principal way in which the Americans have helped Germany was by bringing in food.

AMZONE %	Berlin %	
35	38	think that the four occupation powers CANNOT cooperate successfully in the reconstruction of Germany.
41	51	mentioned Russia and France as being most uncooperative.
59	70	feel that the occupation by foreign powers is NOT a national humiliation for Germany.
25	20	think that it is UNJUST that the Allies first help other Allied nations (e.g., France, Belgium, Holland) before helping Germany.
49	55	said the Americans could help Germany most by bringing in food.
		Basic orientation toward acceptance of war guilt and responsibility.
74	70	say that "All Germans are NOT responsible for the war because they allowed a government to come into power which planned to thrust the whole world into war," but ...
56	59	say that the war was begun by the Nazi regime and that the latter must therefore bear the responsibility for it.
41	47	denied their own guilt by saying, "We couldn't do anything about it; little people had not say; what could we do; the leaders are the guilty ones," but in the same breath ...
40	35	think the individual should always obey the orders of the State without question.
		Other attitudes relevant to the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Germany
55	44	still feel that National Socialism was a good idea, badly carried out, yet ...
87	91	say they did NOT put their trust in the "Fuehrer" up to the end of the war.
36	28	indicate that before the war they agreed with the statement that territories with considerable German minorities should be reincorporated into Germany.
14	3	still agree with the pre-war statement that international Jewry alone would profit from the war, and ...
14	12	still feel that the Nordic race is superior to all other races in the world.

THE FINDINGS

Expectations and estimates of the length of the occupation and reconstruction of Germany

Six out of ten people in the Zone and nine out of ten in Berlin were able to verbalize an estimate of how long the Americans will continue to occupy Germany. In both cases, a majority of those with opinions thought the American occupation would last TEN years or more.

In contrast to the expected length of American occupation, the reconstruction of Germany, it was thought, would take considerably more time. The median average number of years mentioned by respondents in both the Zone and Berlin was between 20 and 30 years. Two out of every ten respondents indicated that the reconstruction of Germany would take 50 years or more.

A majority of Berliners (72%) indicated that reconstruction in the American Zone has gone more quickly than they expected. Respondents in the Zone were equally divided in their opinion — 41% saying more quickly than expected; 40% more slowly than expected.

More Berliners are optimistic, too, about the possibility of reconstruction being accomplished with some degree of speed and energy. Over seven in ten repondents in Berlin expressed optimism, while 56% in the Zone showed this hope.

Four in ten respondents in the Zone and one third in Berlin have heard disturbing rumors. The rumor which worried the population most, both in the Zone and in Berlin, (at the time this survey was taken — April, 1946) was, "There will be another war."

* * *

It is interesting to note that the German people expect the reconstruction of Germany to continue after the American occupation forces have departed. Surprisingly enough, they do not expect the Americans to participate, at least by their physical presence, in the complete reconstruction of Germany. The median average number of years mentioned for the reconstruction of Germany varies in only two cases. Residents of Gross Hessen, and Government and White Collar people, expect the reconstruction to take from

30 to 39 years. The median average number of years that the occupation will last remains constant for all groups.

There does not seem to be any easy explanation for the fact that a higher percentage of Berliners than residents in the Zone say that the reconstruction in the American Zone has gone more quickly than expected. It may be presumed that residents in the American Sector of Berlin consider themselves subordinate to American policies, but at the same time favored by the heightened "competition" among the four powers in Berlin.

The destruction in Berlin, heavier than in most areas in the American Zone and concentrated upon a large population, may result in reconstruction activities being more noticeable than in Amzone, where a large part of the population — it is estimated that approximately two thirds of the people in the American Zone live in small communities — was not subjected to physical destruction of their environment.

In general, the people holding the most optimistic views about the reconstruction are —

Berliners — Former members of the Nazi Party — and residents in cities between 10,000 and 99,999

Those holding the most pessimistic views are —

Farmers — People who have no present party preference — and residents in towns between 2,000 and 9,999

The most unfavorable opinion concerning the speed with which the reconstruction has been carried out is found among —

Professional and Business people — Respondents with more than eight years education — and residents in cities of 100,000 or more population.

And while a higher proportion of Berliners than zonal residents believe that reconstruction in the American Zone has gone more quickly than expected, the former are also more optimistic about future reconstruction efforts. Only one fourth expressed pessimism, while more than one third in the Zone showed this sentiment.

Although it might possibly be expected that a higher proportion of Berliners than residents in the Zone would be in a position to hear rumors, the reverse seems to be true. In neither case, however, has a majority of the respondents heard rumors which have worried them.

Question: Have you heard any rumors which have worried you recently?

Sample	Total Sample: AMZONE 993	Berlin 199
Yes	42%	34%
No	58	66
	100	100

The results of two previous surveys shows that the circulation of rumors has steadily increased in the American Zone. Although the questions were phrased in slightly different manner, it is not felt that this difference would account for the variation in the results.

The question in the first (February) survey was worded, "Have you heard any rumors recently which disturb you?" The question in the second survey was worded exactly as in this one:

Question: Have you heard any rumors which worried you recently?

Sample	Total Sample: AMZONE Feb. 1946 954	March 1946 964
Yes	28%	38%
No	72	59
No answer	-	3
	100	100

Question: What were they (rumors heard)?

	AMZONE[1]	Berlin
Sample	993	199
There will be another war, war with Russia, civil war, world war	34%	20%
Increased food shortage, less food, smaller rations, starvation	3	8
Increased housing shortage — Americans will requisition more houses	2	3
Russians will take over more parts of Germany, will never leave	1	1
Other rumors — PsW won't come home, human flesh sold on black market, inflation, devaluation of currency, former NSDAP members will suffer more, houses will be requisitioned for refugees and evacuees	3	2
No answer	2	+
	45	34

It is interesting to note that in the intervening six months since this study was made, the only rumors which have turned out to be, in part, true are the ones concerning an increased housing shortage. No reliance naturally can be placed on the validity of rumors circulating among the German population. In the two earlier surveys, rumors most frequently heard were also concerned with the "forthcoming" war.

Detailed tabulations of the questions discussed in this section appear on the following pages:

+ Less than 1%

[1] This column totals more than 42%, the number having heard rumors because some of these people mentioned having heard more than one.

Question: How much longer do you think the Americans will occupy Germany?

	Total Sample: AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	993	199
Three years or less	7%	6%
Four to ten years	14	27
Ten years or more	37	55
Many years[1]	4	2
	62	90
Until Germany can govern herself	5	2
Other qualified estimates[2]	9	4
Don't care how long[3]	4	-
Don't know how long	21	7
	101	103

	Region: Bavaria	Gross Hessen	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	505	238	250
Three years or less	9%	3%	10%
Four to ten years	13	16	15
Ten years or more	43	35	26
Many years	3	6	5
	67	60	56
Until Germany can govern herself	5	4	6
Other qualified estimates	10	6	9
Don't care how long	4	3	4
Don't know how long	15	27	26
	101	100	101

(Some columns total more than 100% because a few of the respondents giving qualified estimates gave more than one answer.)

+ Less than 1%

1 The category, "Many years," appears to indicate the expectation of a long occupation on the part of the respondent, although he was unable to approximate the number of years.

2 The category, "Other qualified answers," includes such answers as: "Until Nazis are completely out," "Until peace and order are completely restored," "Until Germans understand reasons for occupation, until they become democratic," and "Until fear of outside aggression has passed."

3 Those respondents who indicated, "Don't care how long (occupation lasts)" commented, in addition, "Can stay a day or forever."

City Size Groups:

	Under 2,000	2,000-9,999	10,000-99,999	100,000 and over
Sample	475	180	169	169
Three years or less	10%	8%	6%	3%
Four to ten years	17	8	13	15
Ten years or more	36	36	37	40
Many years	3	4	5	5
	66	56	61	63
Until Germany can govern herself	4	9	4	2
Other qualified estimates	10	7	13	3
Don't care how long	4	2	6	3
Don't know how long	17	27	17	30
	101	101	101	101

Sex:

	Men	Women
Sample	480	513
Three years or less	8%	7%
Four to ten years	16	13
Ten years or more	41	33
Many years	4	4
	69	57
Until Germany can govern herself	7	3
Other qualified estimates	12	5
Don't care how long	2	6
Don't know how long	12	29
	102	100

Age:

	29 and Under	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and Over
Sample	171	244	268	180	128
Three years or less	11%	8%	6%	7%	5%
Four to ten years	19	12	15	16	12
Ten years or more	41	41	34	31	36
Many years	4	4	6	5	*
	75	65	61	59	53
Until Germany can govern herself	4	7	3	6	4
Other qualified estimates	10	7	9	8	11
Don't care how long	2	3	4	5	5
Don't know how long	12	18	24	23	27
	103	100	101	101	100

* Less than 1%

	Professional and Business	Government and White Collar	Skilled Workers	Semi-skilled Workers	Unskilled Labor	Farmers	Pensioned and Unemployed
Sample	125	171	158	87	93	158	174
Three years or less	9%	4%	8%	12%	7%	9%	7%
Four to ten years	19	15	18	13	9	15	11
Ten years or more	41	47	29	33	37	33	35
Many years	6	6	3	2	2	4	5
	75	72	58	60	55	61	58
Until Germany can govern herself	2	8	4	8	5	3	5
Other qualified estimates	8	6	10	13	13	7	8
Don't care how long	4	3	6	2	2	4	4
Don't know how long	11	12	25	18	27	25	26
	100	101	103	101	102	100	101

Education:

	Seven Years or Less	Eight Years	More than Eight Years
Sample	360	437	194
Three years or less	8%	7%	9%
Four to ten years	12	16	16
Ten years or more	37	33	44
Many years	2	5	5
	59	61	74
Until Germany can govern herself	4	5	5
Other qualified estimates	10	7	10
Don't care how long	5	3	*
Don't know how long	22	24	13
	100	100	102

*Less than 1%

	Religion: Catholic	Protestant
Sample	419	551
Three years or less	7%	8%
Four to ten years	14	15
Ten years or more	38	35
Many years	3	5
	62	63
Until Germany can govern herself	6	4
Other qualified estimates	10	9
Don't care how long	3	4
Don't know how long	20	21
	101	101

	Present Party Preference: SPD	CDU	CSU	No Party Preference
Sample	332	171	253	120
Three years or less	9%	7%	6%	7%
Four to ten years	16	15	16	8
Ten years or more	39	29	43	27
Many years	5	5	3	2
	69	56	68	44
Until Germany can govern herself	5	6	5	2
Other qualified estimates	9	9	10	10
Don't care how long	3	4	3	5
Don't know how long	15	26	15	41
	101	101	101	102

	Membership in Nazi Party: Respondent was a Member	Other Person in Family a Member	No Membership in Party
Sample	166	189	625
Three years or less	10%	4%	8%
Four to ten years	12	18	14
Ten years or more	43	36	35
Many years	6	6	3
	71	64	60
Until Germany can govern herself	6	3	5
Other qualified estimates	12	6	9
Don't care how long	1	5	4
Don't know how long	12	23	23
	102	101	101

Question: How long do you think the reconstruction of Germany will last?

	Total Sample: AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	993	199
Ten years, or less	14%	20%
11 - 19 years	7	9
20 - 29 "	22	26
30 - 39 "	11	14
40 - 49 "	4	2
50 years or more	20	22
A long time[1]	8	3
Germany will never recover	1	1
Qualified estimates[2]	9	6
Don't know how long	8	2
	104	105

	Region: Bavaria	Gross Hessen	Wuerttenberg-Baden
Sample	505	238	250
Ten years or less	16%	11%	15%
11 - 19 years	10	4	5
20 - 29 "	25	19	20
30 - 39 "	11	14	8
40 - 49 "	2	8	4
50 years or more	17	20	25
A long time	7	8	10
Germany will never recover	1	-	2
Qualified estimates	8	6	11
Don't know how long	6	13	8
	103	103	108

(Columns total more than 100% because some of the respondents giving qualified estimates gave more than one answer.)

[1]This category includes answers such as: "Will take a long time at the rate it's going," "Will go very slowly," "Nothing much has been done yet".

[2]The three groups combined to make this category are: "Depends on materials and labor," "Depends on outside help, help from America," and "Depends on the German people themselves, planning, cooperation, and energy."

City Size Groups:

	Under 2,000	2,000-9,999	10,000-99,999	100,000 and Over
Sample	475	180	169	169
Ten years or less	14%	16%	13%	17%
11 - 19 years	7	5	8	7
20 - 29 "	24	21	20	19
30 - 39 "	12	9	11	9
40 - 49 "	4	4	4	4
50 years or more	21	19	22	15
A long time	7	8	5	12
Germany will never recover	1	2	1	-
Qualified estimates	6	14	13	7
Don't know how long	7	8	8	14
	103	106	105	104

Sex:

	Men	Women
Sample	480	513
Ten years or less	14%	15%
11 - 19 years	9	5
20 - 29 "	24	20
30 - 39 "	12	10
40 - 49 "	4	4
50 years or more	22	18
A long time	7	9
Germany will never recover	1	1
Qualified estimates	10	8
Don't know how long	3	13
	106	103

Age:

	29 and Under	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and Over
Sample	171	244	268	180	128
Ten years or less	22%	15%	12%	12%	10%
11 - 19 years	4	9	7	7	9
20 - 29 "	23	21	22	23	21
30 - 39 "	11	12	11	12	6
40 - 49 "	3	5	5	4	2
50 years or more	22	16	20	18	27
A long time	5	9	10	7	6
Germany will never recover	*	1	1	2	1
Qualified estimates	7	9	10	9	7
Don't know how long	5	8	8	10	12
	102	105	106	104	101

*Less than 1%

	Professional and Business	Government and White Collar	Skilled Workers	Semi-Skilled Workers	Unskilled Labor	Farmers	Pensioned and Unemployed
Sample	125	171	158	87	93	158	174
Ten years or less	17%	11%	16%	13%	14%	19%	10%
11 - 19 years	7	6	6	9	11	7	6
20 - 29 "	20	22	25	21	23	20	23
30 - 39 "	12	17	8	10	13	8	7
40 - 49 "	1	5	4	1	4	3	7
50 years or more	20	20	17	25	14	22	22
A long time	9	8	11	7	5	9	6
Germany will never recover	2	1	1	-	-	2	1
Qualified estimates	12	10	10	7	5	7	8
Don't know how long	5	5	9	8	12	9	12
	105	105	107	101	101	106	102

Education:

	Seven Years or Less	Eight Years	More than Eight Years
Sample	360	437	194
Ten years or less	11%	14%	21%
11 - 19 years	9	7	5
20 - 29 "	23	21	21
30 - 39 "	10	11	11
40 - 49 "	4	4	4
50 years or more	22	18	21
A long time	8	10	4
Germany will never recover	1	1	1
Qualified estimates	8	8	11
Don't know how long	7	9	6
	103	103	105

	Religion: Catholic	Protestant
Sample	419	551
Ten years or less	14%	15%
11 - 19 years	9	6
20 - 29 "	25	19
30 - 39 "	11	11
40 - 49 "	1	6
50 years or more	18	21
A long time	8	8
Germany will never recover	1	1
Qualified estimates	8	9
Don't know how long	7	8
	102	104

	Present Party Preference: SPD	CDU	CSU	No Party Preference
Sample	332	171	253	120
Ten years or less	13%	16%	17%	15%
11 - 19 years	8	6	9	3
20 - 29 "	23	22	24	14
30 - 39 "	11	14	9	8
40 - 49 "	5	2	3	7
50 years or more	21	22	17	17
A long time	8	6	6	11
Germany will never recover	*	1	2	2
Qualified estimates	9	11	9	10
Don't know how long	6	8	6	18
	104	108	102	105

	Membership in Nazi Party: Respondent was a Member	Other Person in Family a Member	No Membership in Party
Sample	166	189	625
Ten years or less	17%	14%	14%
11 - 19 years	8	10	6
20 - 29 "	26	22	21
30 - 39 "	11	8	12
40 - 49 "	3	8	3
50 years or more	21	15	21
A long time	3	6	10
Germany will never recover	1	*	1
Qualified estimates	12	7	8
Don't know how long	5	13	8
	107	103	104

*Less than 1%

Question: Has reconstruction in the American Zone gone more quickly or more slowly than you expected?

	More quickly	More Slowly	No Opinion
Area			
American Zone	41%	40	19
Berlin	72	16	12
Bavaria	39	45	16
Gross Hessen	34	40	26
Wuerttemberg-Baden	51	29	20
City Size Groups			
Under 2,000	46	36	18
2,000 - 9,999	41	38	21
10,000 - 99,999	45	35	20
100,000 and Over	22	57	21
Sex			
Men	42	43	15
Women	40	36	24
Age			
29 and Under	42	42	16
30	41	42	17
40	41	39	20
50	42	41	17
60 and Over	38	31	31
Occupation			
Professional and Business	34	52	14
Government and White Collar	39	42	19
Skilled Workers	46	41	13
Semi-skilled Workers	46	43	11
Unskilled Labor	44	36	20
Farmers	42	32	26
Pensioned and Unemployed	36	37	27
Education			
Seven years or less	48	33	19
Eight years	39	40	21
More than eight years	33	51	16
Religion:			
Catholic	42	44	14
Protestant	41	36	23
Present Party Preference			
SPD	41	45	14
CDU	43	32	25
CSU	45	42	13
No party preference	35	31	34
Membership in Nazi Party			
Respondent was a member	40	43	17
Other person in family a member	40	47	13
No membership in party	41	37	22

Question: Are you generally pessimistic or optimistic about the possibility that reconstruction can be accomplished with some degree of speed and energy?

	Pessimistic	Optimistic	No Opinion
Area			
American Zone	35%	56%	9%
Berlin	26	73	1
Bavaria	38	54	8
Gross Hessen	26	63	11
Wuerttemberg-Baden	37	52	11
City Size Groups			
Under 2,000	36	56	8
2,000 - 9,999	44	47	9
10,000 - 99,999	22	66	12
100,000 and Over	34	54	12
Sex			
Men	35	61	4
Women	35	51	14
Age			
29 and Under	30	59	11
30 - 39	39	57	4
40 - 49	36	54	10
50 - 59	38	55	7
60 and Over	27	56	17
Occupation			
Professional and Business	39	59	2
Government and White Collar	34	61	5
Skilled Workers	37	59	4
Semi-skilled Workers	38	54	8
Unskilled Labor	34	56	10
Farmers	35	48	17
Pensioned and Unemployed	29	56	15
Education			
Seven years or less	39	49	12
Eight years	32	59	9
More than eight years	35	60	5
Religion			
Catholic	40	50	10
Protestant	31	60	9
Present Party Preference			
SPD	32	64	4
CDU	36	52	12
CSU	37	54	9
No party preference	36	48	16
Membership in Nazi Party			
Respondent was a member	32	64	4
Other person in family a member	39	54	7
No membership in party	35	54	11

"Self-help" in the reconstruction of Germany

Seven out of ten people in the Zone and more than eight out of ten in Berlin mentioned "hard work" as the way in which reconstruction could best be accomplished.

The SPD was the party mentioned most often as best to carry out the reconstruction of Germany.

The principal reason why the reconstruction of Germany does not go on more quickly is because of the lack of building and raw materials, fuel, etc.

* * *

Although "hard work" was mentioned most often as the way in which the reconstruction of Germany could best be accomplished, a considerable proportion of the respondents rely on religion or the birth of new political direction, or a new strong leader. In the Zone those categories received a vote as high as that for "hard work", while in Berlin they were somewhat less significant. Excluding religion, one third of the respondents saw the answer to the reconstruction problem in new political direction or new strong leadership. This would seem to support, to some extent, the popular conception that the Germans are a people of "followers." Exactly what respondents had in mind when they mentioned "new political direction" and "strong leadership" as the best way to carry out the reconstruction problem cannot be established. It should be noted that the Nazi regime offered both of these, and that both can also be exercised democratically. The best and worst interpretation should be considered as being in the minds of some people.

"Religion" as the means by which reconstruction can best be accomplished is favored most by: (1) women, (2) older people and (3) persons with less than eight years education.

"New political direction" and "strong new leadership" receive greatest support from: (1) men, (2) persons with eight years education and (3) Protestants.

In both the Zone and Berlin, the SPD was mentioned most often as the party which could carry out reconstruction best. Residents in the different Laender differed sharply. In Bavaria, the CSU led the list, while in Gross Hessen and Wuerttemberg-Baden the SPD and CDU took first place respectively. If the CDU and the CSU are combined, they receive a somewhat higher proportion than the SPD in the Zone, but the SPD remains undisputedly in first place in Berlin.

The SPD draws its greatest support from: (1) men, (2) younger people, (3) Protestants and (4) persons with eight years education.

The CDU and the CSU (combined) receives its strength from (1) women, (2) older people, (3) persons in the lowest education bracket, and (4) Catholics.

When tabulating the answers to this question by the respondent's indicated present party preference, the SPD receives a higher proportion of its support from SPD members than does either the CDU or the DSU from its members.

Question: What do you think are the main reasons why the reconstruction of Germany doesn't go on more quickly? What are the principal obstacles?

	Total Sample:	
	AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	993	199
Lack of material: building, raw materials, fuel, etc.	56%	62%
Lack of transportation and inter-zonal communications	21	27
Lack of trained workers, not enough people who know their business	18	24
Bad organization, bad planning	5	4
Lack of food, workers can't get enough to eat	3	5
Lack of unity among occupation powers	4	4
Other reasons	3	5
No reason given	15	4
	125	135

(Columns total more than 100% because some respondents gave more than one answer.)

It is evident from the above reasons that the blame for the slow reconstruction of Germany is not, at least directly, placed on the Americans. While such reasons as "lack of trained workers," "lack of materials," and "lack of transportation" are principally due to war destruction, they may very well be voiced as a protest for not being supplied by the American occupation forces. Lack of inter-zonal communication is attributable to the four occupation powers, and some of those people mentioning lack of transportation may be referring to the difficulty encountered in attempting to travel among zones rather than to the lack of rolling stock and roadbeds.

Question: How do you think reconstruction can be accomplished best?

Total Sample:

	AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	993	199
Through:		
Hard work	70%	83%
Religion	35	15
New political direction	26	22
A new strong leader	10	10
The rebirth of the old national spirit of Bismark or Frederick the Great	2	4
Don't know	5	-
	148	134

Sex:

	Men	Women
Sample	480	513
Through:		
Hard work	68%	72%
Religion	29	42
New political direction	35	16
A new strong leader	9	11
The rebirth of the old national spirit of Bismarck or Frederick the Great	2	2
Don't know	5	5
	148	148

Age:

	29 and Under	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and Over
Sample	171	244	268	180	128
Through:					
Hard work	65%	68%	71%	73%	74%
Religion	22	32	36	41	52
New political direction	26	22	27	30	20
A new strong leader	13	9	9	8	13
The rebirth of the old national spirit of Bismarck or Frederick the Great	3	1	2	1	4
Don't know	8	7	4	3	5
	137	139	149	156	168

(Columns total more than 100% because many respondents gave more than one answer.)

Education:

	Seven Years or Less	Eight Years	More than Eight Years
Sample	360	437	194
Through:			
Hard work	75%	67%	72%
Religion	40	33	28
New political direction	20	30	25
A new strong leader	10	11	8
The rebirth of the old national spirit of Bismarck or Frederick the Great	2	3	1
Don't know	4	6	6
	151	150	140

Religion:

	Catholic	Protestant
Sample	419	551
Through:		
Hard work	70%	70%
Religion	36	36
New political direction	20	30
A new strong leader	10	10
The rebirth of the old national spirit of Bismarck or Frederick the Great	2	2
Don't know	5	5
	143	153

Question: In your opinion which party would be the best to carry out the reconstruction of Germany?

Total Sample:

	AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	993	199
SPD	35%	42%
KPD	3	2
CDU	14	17
CSU	22	*
Other Parties[1]	3	16
Any or all of them	4	11
NONE of them	7	7
Don't know which	11	5
No answer	5	4
	104	104

Region:

	Bavaria	Gross Hessen	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	505	238	250
SPD	34%	45%	26%
KPD	3	3	2
CDU	2	20	33
CSU	40	3	5
Other parties	2	2	6
Any or all of them	2	9	5
NONE of them	7	6	8
Don't know which	8	11	18
No answer	6	5	3
	104	104	106

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* Less than 1%.

(Columns total more than 100% because some respondents named more than one party.)

[1]The category, "Other Parties," includes:

	AMZONE	Berlin
LDP	1%	3%
SPD-KPD Einheit	1	7
Koenigs-partei	*	-
Other center and right parties "a democratic party," pre-1933 parties	1	6
	3	16

City Size Groups:

	Under 2,000	2,000-9,999	10,000-99,999	100,000 and Over
Sample	475	180	169	169
SPD	36%	29%	36%	36%
KPD	2	2	4	5
CDU	15	14	14	11
CSU	23	25	24	17
Other Parties	3	2	3	3
Any or all of them	4	7	5	2
NONE of them	6	6	6	14
Don't know which	12	11	8	11
No answer	3	7	5	6
	104	103	105	105

Sex:

	Men	Women
Sample	480	513
SPD	43%	27%
KPD	4	1
CDU	14	14
CSU	20	24
Other Parties	3	2
Any or all of them	6	3
NONE of them	8	7
Don't know which	5	17
No answer	3	7
	106	102

Age:

	29 and Under	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and Over
Sample	171	244	268	180	128
SPD	40%	37%	36%	31%	28%
KPD	1	3	4	3	1
CDU	14	11	15	16	16
CSU	18	20	20	29	30
Other Parties	3	2	1	4	7
Any or all of them	3	4	6	4	4
NONE of them	9	10	8	4	2
Don't know which	9	12	10	11	13
No answer	6	4	4	5	5
	103	103	104	107	106

Occupation:

	Professional and Business	Government and White Collar	Skilled Workers	Semi-Skilled Workers	Unskilled Labor	Farmers	Pensioned and Unemployed
Sample	125	171	158	87	93	158	174
SPD	30%	39%	43%	50%	41%	23%	28%
KPD	1	-	3	10	7	1	3
CDU	14	15	15	10	9	27	6
CSU	27	27	10	15	20	26	25
Other Parties	6	2	3	4	1	4	3
Any or all of them	6	3	7	1	3	2	4
NONE of them	8	6	11	4	4	6	8
Don't know which	11	8	9	9	14	11	17
No answer	4	2	3	4	4	3	10
	107	102	104	107	103	103	104

Education:

	Seven Years or Less	Eight Years	More Than Eight Years
Sample	360	437	194
SPD	30%	40%	31%
KPD	2	4	1
CDU	11	18	10
CSU	33	12	25
Other Parties	4	2	5
Any or all of them	3	5	5
NONE of them	5	8	9
Don't know which	13	10	9
No answer	3	5	8
	104	104	103

Religion:

	Catholic	Protestant
Sample	419	551
SPD	28%	40%
KPD	2	3
CDU	10	17
CSU	36	12
Other Parties	3	4
Any or all of them	4	3
NONE of them	5	8
Don't know which	10	12
No answer	5	4
	103	103

Present Party Preference:

	SPD	CDU	CSU	No Party Preference
Sample	332	171	253	120
SPD	85%	7%	8%	8%
KPD	2	-	-	1
CDU	3	68	3	3
CSU	3	7	75	6
Other Parties	1	1	1	1
Any or all of them	2	8	2	8
NONE of them	3	4	5	24
Don't know which	2	10	7	32
No answer	2	1	3	18
	103	106	104	101

Membership in Nazi Party:

	Respondent was a Member	Other Person in Family a Member	No Membership in Party
Sample	166	189	625
SPD	38%	29%	36%
KPD	4	1	3
CDU	10	14	15
CSU	22	27	21
Other Parties	4	3	2
Any or all of them	7	3	4
NONE of them	7	8	7
Don't know which	7	12	12
No answer	6	7	4
	105	104	104

Attitudes toward Allied reconstruction efforts

Six out of ten people in the Zone and nine out of ten in Berlin believe that the Americans have FURTHERED the recovery and reconstruction of Germany. In the Zone, 10% believe that the Americans have HINDERED the recovery, while only 2% of the Berliners interviewed in this survey hold that opinion.

Mentioned first by a majority of Berlin respondents as the way in which Americans have aided in Germany's recovery war, "Import of food", while in the Zone about one fourth of the respondents said that American interest and aid in general was most beneficial.

A majority (60%) of Berliners and 48% of the respondents in AMZONE think that the four occupation powers CANNOT cooperate successfully in the reconstruction of Germany.

Russia and France were mentioned most often as being uncooperative. The principal reason for this inability to cooperate was attributed to each of the powers wanting something different.

About six in ten respondents in the Zone and seven in ten Berliners believe that the occupation by foreign powers is NOT a national humaliation for Germany.

One fourth of the people interviewed in the American Zone and one fifth in Berlin believe it "UNJUST" that the Allies first help the Allied nations (e.g. France, Belgium, Holland) before helping Germany.

Importing food, supplying materials and equipment and giving financial aid are three of the four principal ways mentioned by which Americans could help the reconstruction of Germany.

* * *

The ways in which the Americans have been felt to FURTHER the recovery of Germany differ sharply between Berliners and Zonal residents. More than half the Berliners said that the importation of food by the Americans has most aided Germany. In the Zone, this category was mentioned by only one in six persons. Restoration of freedom and of peace and quiet was also mentioned by a higher proportion of Berliners than by respondents in the Zone. American interest and aid in general lead the list among residents in the Zone. It is of interest to note that only 1% of the respondents said that the way Americans have helped most is by freeing the country from the Nazi regime.

The highest appreciation of American aid is found among: (1) residents in Wuerttemberg-Baden, (2) men, (3) people in the older age groups, (4) Protestants, (5) non-members of the NSDAP, and (6) people in the lower education levels.

As might perhaps be expected, since they are immediately close to the scene of daily adjustments affected toward furthering cooperation among the four powers, a higher proportion of Berliners indicate the belief that the Allies cannot cooperate successfully in the reconstruction of Germany. In both the Zone and Berlin, Russia was the one of the Big Four mentioned most frequently as not being able to cooperate. A somewhat larger proportion of Berliners, too, mentioned Russia than did respondents in the Zone. France was mentioned second as lacking in the ability (or desire) to cooperate, while Great Britain and the United States received only 2% of the mentions in the Zone and less than 1% in Berlin.*

The reasons held for this attitude, toward lack of cooperation fail to reveal much of significance. One point worth noting, however, is that a considerably higher proportion of Berliners accuse the Russians of "wanting revenge, hating Germany, wanting to keep Germany weak and lacking good will" than to resident respondents in the Zone. Another category of some importance attributes the lack of cooperation to each of the powers wanting something different.

Greatest optimism for cooperation among the Allied Powers in the reconstruction of Germany is shown by: (1) residents in Gross dessen, (2) people living in cities of 100,000 population or more, (3) SPD members, and (4) people in the lower education levels.

Historians do not frequently report a military occupation which is not held to be a national humiliation by a majority of the occupied. However, a majority of the Germans ** answered in this direction on this survey.

Over a period of five months — November, 1945 to April, 1946 — some change is found in the proportions of the population expressing humiliation because of the occupation.

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* Attitudes toward world leadership of the various powers are explored in a previous report of this Branch: "German Attitudes Toward International Leadership Compared With Attitudes in Seven Other Countries" (6 August 1946).

** Following World War I, only about 10% of Germany was subject to occupation by the Allied Powers. Before that time, German states and /or principalities were free from foreign occupation troops since the time of Napoleon's conquest of Germany in the early 19th Century.

questions, with slight variations in the wording, to determine the degree of humiliation felt by the German population because of the presence of an occupying force in Germany have been asked on previous surveys. The results follow:

Question: In your opinion is the occupation by the foreign powers a national humiliation for Germany?

Total Sample:

American Zone

	Nov. 1945	Dec. 1945	Feb. 1946	April 1946
Sample	371	905	984	993
Yes	30%	26%	27%	35%
No	60	65	64	59
No opinion	10	9	9	6
	100	100	100	100

It appears, on the basis of the results of the four surveys, that the German people are becoming more humiliated by the occupation. Although the change is not large, the proportion expressing humiliation reached its highest peak in April, at the time of the last survey.

Expressing least humiliation are: (1) people living in towns 2,000 and under (where the occupation is least felt), (2) older people, (3) people with the least education, (4) non-members in the NSDAP and (5) Farmers.

Most humiliated by the occupation are: (1) residents in larger communities, (2) young people, 29 and under, (3) Government and white collar workers, (4) people with more than eight years education and (5) former NSDAP members.

These groups would appear to be the ones expected to express the least and the most humiliation. The degree of expressed humiliation depends, naturally, on the acceptance of war guilt and responsibility and on the restrictions currently exercised on the individual. These factors seem to correlate with the degree of humiliation.

While it is a fact that 60% of the respondents in the Zone and 77% in Berlin say it is just that the Allied nations first help countries such as France, Belgium and Holland, it takes unmitigated brashness for 25% and 20% of the people interviewed in the Zone and Berlin respectively to indicate that they expect the Allies to aid Germany before extending help to the countries over-run by Germany during the war. Can there be any doubt that a group at least this large not only assumes no responsibility for the war but also goes further to place the guilt on other nations?

The groups with the highest proportions agreeing that it is "just" to aid other countries first are: (1) men, (2) those in the higher occupation levels, (3) those with more than eight years education, (4) Catholics, (5) SPD members and (6) surprisingly enough, former NSDAP members.

Although the German people indicate a willingness to work in the reconstruction of Germany, they also expect the Americans to supply them with (1) food, (2) materials and equipment and (3) financial aid. These three were among the four leading types of American aid mentioned. The other was "the unification of Germany, elimination of zonal boundaries and centralization of the government." There seems to be, in the opinions given, an assumption that the Americans are supposed to provide the material and be responsible for the administration of German reconstruction.

Question: Do you think the Americans have furthered or hindered the recovery and reconstruction of Germany?

	Furthered	Hindered	Both	No Opinion
Area				
American Zone	60%	10	2	28
Berlin	90	2	-	8
Bavaria	59	13	3	25
Gross Hessen	52	7	1	40
Wuerttemberg-Baden	68	6	1	25
City Size Groups				
Under 2,000	65	10	1	24
2,000 - 9,999	54	9	3	34
10,000 - 99,999	64	7	2	27
100,000 and Over	46	14	3	37
Sex				
Men	64	11	2	23
Women	56	9	1	34
Age				
29 and Under	55	12	4	29
30-39	54	11	2	33
40-49	64	9	1	26
50-59	62	11	2	25
60 and Over	64	7	1	28
Occupation				
Professional and Business	57	15	4	24
Government and White Collar	62	10	2	26
Skilled Workers	61	10	1	28
Semi-skilled Workers	71	9	1	19
Unskilled Labor	51	11	4	34
Farmers	60	7	-	33
Pensioned and Unemployed	56	11	2	31
Education				
Seven years or less	64	10	2	24
Eight years	58	8	2	32
More than eight years	55	16	2	27
Religion				
Catholic	55	16	2	27
Protestant	62	6	2	30
Present Party Preference				
SPD	65	10	2	23
CDU	64	6	-	30
CSU	61	14	2	23
No party preference	46	9	3	42

(continued)

Membership in Nazi Party	Furthered	Hindered	Both	No Opinion
Respondent was a member	54%	15	3	28
Other person in family a member	57	11	2	30
No membership in party	62	8	2	28

Ways in which the Americans have FURTHERED the recovery of Germany:

	Total Sample:	
	AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	993	199
Imported food, improved food condition	11%	63%
Transport and communications — bridges rebuilt, railroads operating, radio, mail	10	6
Gave us peace, quiet and order, restored freedom	6	14
Financial and material aid — replacing and repairing damage	3	6
Gave aid and cooperated with German authorities, set up German administration, gave them freedom and authority	2	*
Freed us from the Nazi regime	1	1
Planning of reconstruction and rebuilding, initiative came from MG	1	-
American interest and aid in general — have done everything they could, helped as much as possible, never hindered us, we wouldn't be this far without them	23	13
Don't know how Americans have helped	6	2
	63	105

(These columns total more than those saying the Americans have FURTHERED the recovery of Germany, 60% and 90% respectively, because some respondents gave more than one answer.)

* Less than 1%

Question: Do you think the four occupation powers can cooperate successfully in the reconstruction of Germany?

	Yes	No	No Opinion
Area			
American Zone	35	48	17
Berlin	38	60	2
Bavaria	35	51	14
Gross Hessen	41	34	25
Wuerttemberg-Baden	29	54	17
City Size Groups			
Under 2,000	33	49	18
2,000 - 9,999	35	52	13
10,000 - 99,999	32	49	19
100,000 and Over	41	40	19
Sex			
Men	35	53	12
Women	34	43	23
Age			
29 and Under	32	53	15
30-39	33	51	16
40-49	36	45	19
50-59	40	44	16
60 and Over	31	46	23
Occupation			
Professional and Business	26	62	12
Government and White Collar	34	54	12
Skilled Workers	39	50	11
Semi-Skilled Workers	52	34	14
Unskilled Labor	39	37	24
Farmers	28	44	28
Pensioned and Unemployed	34	44	22
Education			
Seven years or less	34	47	19
Eight years	39	43	18
More than eight years	26	62	12
Religion			
Catholic	33	53	14
Protestant	35	45	20
Present Party Preference			
SPD	43	45	12
CDU	31	50	19
CSU	34	52	14
No party preference	28	44	28
Membership in Nazi Party			
Respondent was a member	31	59	10
Other person in family a member	36	48	16
No membership in party	35	46	19

Allied powers mentioned as NOT cooperating in the reconstruction of Germany:

	Total Sample:	
	AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	993	199
Russia	24%	44
Russia and France	13	5
France	4	2
Great Britain	1	*
United States	1	-
None will cooperate	*	-
No answer	5	9
Total saying Allied powers CANNOT cooperate	48	60

Reasons why Allied powers CANNOT cooperate:

	American Zone:		Berlin:
	Russia	Russia and France	Russia
Dample	993	993	199
Won't cooperate, everybody wants something different, won't ever cooperate	12%	3%	15%
Want revenge, want to keep Germany weak, hate Germany, lack good will, making Germany suffer, tearing it down	6	4	21
Want to spread (individual) political ideas, Communism	2	1	2
No interest in Germany's problems, don't care about Germany	1	2	2
Want to rule the world	1	*	2
Have territorial ambitions	*	1	1
Will rebuild Europe, but not Germany	*	*	*
No reason given	2	2	1
	24	13	44

* Less than 1%

Question: In your opinion is the occupation by the foreign powers a national humiliation for Germany?

	Yes	No	No Opinion
Area			
American Zone	35%	59	6
Berlin	27	70	3
Bavaria	35	59	6
Gross Hessen	36	56	8
Wuerttemberg-Baden	34	60	6
City Size Groups			
Under 2,000	29	66	5
2,000 - 9,999	41	56	3
10,000 - 99,999	45	47	8
100,000 and Over	35	53	12
Sex			
Men	35	62	3
Women	35	55	10
Age			
29 and Under	48	46	6
30-39	36	60	4
40-49	28	66	6
50-59	34	59	7
60 and Over	32	55	13
Occupation			
Professional and Business	38	57	5
Government and White Collar	46	50	4
Skilled Workers	38	59	3
Semi-skilled Workers	30	68	2
Unskilled Labor	34	57	9
Farmers	24	66	10
Pensioned and Unemployed	30	58	12
Education			
Seven years or less	27	67	6
Eight years	36	57	7
More than eight years	47	46	7
Religion			
Catholic	34	60	6
Protestant	36	58	6
Present Party Preference			
SPD	34	62	4
CDU	34	58	8
CSU	32	62	6
No party preference	37	50	13
Membership in Nazi Party			
Respondent was a member	44	54	2
Other person in family a member	37	56	7
No membership in party	32	61	7

Question: Do you think it is just or unjust that the Allies first help the Allied nations (e.g. France, Belgium, Holland) before helping Germany?

	Just	Unjust	No Opinion	No answer
Area				
American Zone	60%	25	6	9
Berlin	77	20	-	3
Bavaria	61	28	8	3
Gross Hessen	50	22	2	26
Wuerttemberg-Baden	65	23	5	7
City Size Groups				
Under 2,000	59	27	4	10
2,000 - 9,999	64	21	8	7
10,000 - 99,999	62	27	8	3
100,000 and Over	54	27	3	16
Sex				
Men	67	24	3	6
Women	53	27	8	12
Age				
29 and Under	55	27	7	11
30 - 39	60	25	4	11
40 - 49	61	25	5	9
50 - 59	61	27	4	8
60 and Over	61	24	10	5
Occupation				
Professional and Business	69	23	6	2
Government and White Collar	57	31	4	8
Skilled Workers	66	25	3	6
Semi-skilled Workers	61	31	6	2
Unskilled Labor	55	27	2	16
Farmers	51	25	6	18
Pensioned and Unemployed	58	21	11	10
Education				
Seven years or less	60	28	9	3
Eight years	56	25	4	15
More than eight years	68	21	3	8
Religion				
Catholic	63	26	7	4
Protestant	57	25	5	13
Present Party Preference				
SPD	63	24	3	10
CDU	59	22	3	16
CSU	58	31	9	2
No party Preference	58	25	6	11
Membership in Nazi Party				
Respondent was a member	65	23	4	8
Other person in family a member	62	25	3	10
No membership in party	58	27	6	9

Those expressing somewhat more resistance to the proposal of Allied aid to nations other than Germany first are: (1) women, (2) people with eight years or less education, (3) CSU members and (4) non-members in the NSDAP.

The reasons given by both those who say it is "just" that the Allies first help other nations before aiding Germany and by those who say it is "unjust" very clearly reveal the thought of German people.

Even among those who say it is "just", only one fifth are willing to accept any responsibility for the war. The remainder say it is "just" not for moral or ethical reasons but as a consequence of Germany having lost the war.

The reasons given by those who say it is "unjust" that the Allies first help other Allied countries before helping Germany reveal these people to be completely unrepentant and disclaiming responsibility for the war.

Throughout, the tone of thought is evident that "had we not lost the war, everything would be fine. But since we have, we may as well make the best of it, and get as much out of the occupation as we possibly can."

Still accepting no responsibility for the war, still placing the blame on their leaders and/or on other nations, still claiming no part of Nazism, still trying to conquer and divide -- these are the German people as revealed in attitudes of majorities of a representative sample.

Reasons why it is JUST that the Allies first help the Allied nations (e.g. France, Belgium, Holland) before helping Germany:

	Total Sample: AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	993	199
Naturally people will help their friends first; these countries were friends, not enemies; we were the enemy	30%	32%
Because we lost the war; they won the war, right of the conqueror	15	31
We are responsible, we deserve it; our guilt is so great, we have done them harm; Germany was the aggressor, we must pay for our war guilt, we looted other countries	13	15
Other reasons -- but don't let us starve; don't let the need become too great; many here who are not guilty, only the leaders are guilty; we have a right to our share; "just" only if the countries really need help	2	1
No reason given	1	*
	61	79

(Columns total more than 59% and 70% respectively, the number saying it is "just," because some respondents gave more than one reason to substantiate their answer.)

Reasons why it is UNJUST that the Allies first help the Allied nations (e.g. France, Belgium, Holland) before helping Germany:

	Total Sample: AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	993	199
Americans are humane; it is not humane to let people starve; we are all human beings; a humane liberator feeds the needy regardless of nationality	8%	9%
Germany's needs are so great; we need more help than anybody; we have nothing, not even a government of our own; our needs are as great as anyone else's; we have a right to live	7	3
Many/most Germans are innocent: we didn't want the war; we may be guilty but other countries are just as guilty; why should we pay for the sins of our leaders	5	5

(continued)

	Total Sample: AMZONE	Berlin
Undemocratic, non-international, we are part of the family of nations, we should get our share; we have a right to our share	5%	3%
Other reasons	1	*
No reason given	*	1
	26	21

(Columns total more than 25% and 20% respectively, the proportions saying it is "unjust", because some respondents gave more than one reason to substantiate their answer.)

* Less than 1%

Question: What kind of help do you think would be well for the Americans to perform for the reconstruction of Germany?

	Total Sample: AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	993	199
Import food	49%	55%
Supply materials and equipment — raw materials, building materials, fuel etc.	49	47
Unify Germany, eliminate zonal boundaries, centralize the government	8	11
Financial aid	7	8
Better distribute available jobs and workers, get all available workers on the job	5	4
Send PWs home, return DPs where they belong	4	5
Better distribute available supplies, fewer restrictions on use and users of raw materials	3	3
No suggestions given	7	1
	132	134

(Columns total more than 100% because some respondents gave more than one answer.)

Basic orientation toward acceptance of war guilt and responsibility

More than seven in every ten Germans interviewed on this survey say that all Germans are NOT responsible for the war because they allowed a government to come into power which planned to thrust the whole world into war.

But more than half of the Germans interviewed maintain that the war was begun by the Nazi regime and that the latter must therefore bear the responsibility for it.

The principal reason given for denying this responsibility is "We couldn't do anything about it; little people had no say; what could we do; the leaders are the guilty ones."

Four out of ten people in the American Zone and 35% in Berlin say that the individual should always obey the orders of the State without question.

* * *

Since the Germans interviewed on this survey fail to accept responsibility for the war because "they allowed a government to come into power which planned to thrust the entire world into war", it is still more doubtful that they would accept this responsibility where the restriction in the question removed.

Lack of acceptance of responsibility for the war is found to be most prevalent among: (1) Bavarians, (2) people in small towns and medium-sized cities, (3) men, (4) older people, (5) persons with less than eight years occupation, (6) Catholics and (7) persons adhering to the CSU or those having no present party affiliation.

Accepting this responsibility most are: (1) Gross Hessians, (2) people in the largest cities, (3) those with eight years education, (4) Protestants and (5) persons belonging to the SPD.

Those persons who refused to accept responsibility for the war (or who had no opinion on the question) because they allowed a government to come into power which planned to thrust the whole world into war were asked two other questions. One deals with their reasons for refusing to accept this responsibility while the other states a similar proposition but places the war guilt on the Nazis.

In evidence again is the plea, "We couldn't do anything about it; little people had no say; what could we do; the leaders are the guilty ones."

Reasons why all Germans are NOT responsible for the war because they allowed a government to come into power which planned to thrust the whole world into war:

	Total Sample: AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	993	199
We couldn't do anything about it; little people had no say; what could we do; the leaders are the guilty ones	41%	47%
We didn't want war; nobody wanted war	11	5
We didn't know anything about it; we had no information	10	8
We were betrayed, swindled, tricked into it, forced to vote for him (Hitler)	8	8
Other countries are to blame, they let Hitler go ahead	3	2
The statement is not true -- Germany didn't want to plunge the whole world into war	1	1
No reason given	5	1
Total saying that all Germans are NOT responsible for the war because they allowed a government to come into power which planned to thrust the whole world into war (and those who had no opinion on this question)	79	72

But while more than 70% of the respondents do not accept responsibility for the war because they allowed a government to come into power which planned to thrust the entire world into war, a majority (56%) is quite willing to say the Nazi regime began the war and to have the regime bear the responsibility for it.

Most willing to place the entire blame on the Nazis are: (1) Bavarians, (2) residents in very small communities and in medium-sized cities, (3) men, (4) older people, (5) those with less than eight years education, (6) Catholics, (7) present members of the CSU party and (8) non-members of the NSDAP.

Still left, however, is a very sizeable minority (44%) who will neither accept for themselves responsibility for the war because they allowed a government to come into power which planned to thrust the whole world into war, nor will this group place the blame for the war on the Nazi regime.

It is probably still possible today to find 40% of the German people in the American Zone and 35% in Berlin as revealed in this survey, who believe that the individual should always obey the order of the State without question.

Holding most firmly to this opinion are: (1) Bavarians, (2) small town people, (3) women, (4) older people, (5) farmers (6) those with less than eight years education, (7) Catholics, (8) those who today have no political party preference and, strangely enough, (9) non-members of the NSDAP.

Those who most disagree with this premise are: (1) residents in Gross Hessen, (2) people living in large cities, (3) men, (4) younger people, (5) those in the higher occupation and education levels, (6) SPD members and (7) former members in the NSDAP.

Question: Do you think there is any truth in the following statement? "All Germans are responsible for the war because they allowed a government to come into power which planned to thrust the whole world into war."

	Yes	No	No Opinion
Area			
American Zone	22%	74%	4%
Berlin	29	70	1
Bavaria	15	81	4
Gross Hessen	34	59	7
Wuerttemberg-Baden	23	75	2
City Size Groups			
Under 2,000	17	80	3
2,000 - 9,999	28	67	5
10,000 - 99,999	15	81	4
100,000 and Over	34	61	5
Sex			
Men	22	76	2
Women	21	73	6
Age			
29 and Under	23	71	6
30-39	22	75	3
40-49	26	70	4
50-59	21	76	3
60 and Over	12	83	5
Occupation			
Professional and Business	23	75	2
Government and White Collar	19	79	2
Skilled Workers	26	69	5
Semi-skilled Workers	22	77	1
Unskilled Labor	24	66	10
Farmers	23	72	5
Pensioned and Unemployed	19	76	5
Education			
Seven years or less	15	82	3
Eight years	28	67	5
More than eight years	20	77	3
Religion			
Catholic	16	81	3
Protestant	25	70	5
Present Party Preference			
SPD	28	69	3
CDU	27	69	4
CSU	16	80	4
No party preference	12	81	7
Membership in Nazi Party			
Respondent was a member	22	75	3
Other person in family a member	21	73	6
No membership in party	22	74	4

Question: Do you believe the war was begun by the Nazi regime and that the latter must therefore bear the responsibility for it?

	Yes	No	No Opinion	Total
Area				
American Zone	56%	8	14	(78)
Berlin	59	5	7	(71)
Bavaria	66	7	12	(85)
Gross Hessen	40	8	18	(66)
Wuerttemberg-Baden	51	13	13	(77)
City Size Groups				
Under 2,000	63	9	11	(83)
2,000 - 9,999	48	9	15	(72)
10,000 - 99,999	64	8	13	(85)
100,000 and Over	40	8	18	(66)
Sex				
Men	59	9	10	(78)
Women	54	8	17	(79)
Age				
29 and Under	53	8	16	(77)
30-39	58	9	11	(78)
40-49	53	9	12	(74)
50-59	54	8	17	(79)
60 and Over	66	10	12	(88)
Occupation				
Professional and Business	51	16	10	(77)
Government and White Collar	54	9	18	(81)
Skilled Workers	56	9	9	(74)
Semi-skilled Workers	64	8	6	(78)
Unskilled Labor	56	5	15	(76)
Farmers	56	6	15	(77)
Pensioned and Unemployed	58	7	16	(81)
Education				
Seven years or less	67	9	9	(85)
Eight years	49	8	15	(72)
More than eight years	52	10	18	(80)
Religion				
Catholic	63	9	12	(84)
Protestant	51	9	15	(75)
Present Party Preference				
SPD	58	6	8	(72)
CDU	48	8	17	(73)
CSU	68	5	11	(84)
No party preference	46	17	25	(88)
Membership in Nazi Party				
Respondent was a member	50	10	18	(78)
Other person in family a member	51	10	18	(79)
No membership in party	59	8	11	(78)

Question: Do you think that the individual should always obey the orders of the State without question?

	Yes	No	No Opinion
Area			
American Zone	40%	53%	7%
Berlin	35	65	*
Bavaria	43	50	7
Gross Hessen	33	56	11
Wuerttemberg-Baden	40	55	5
City Size Groups			
Under 2,000	45	49	6
2,000 - 9,999	38	52	10
10,000 - 99,999	37	54	9
100,000 and Over	30	60	10
Sex			
Men	38	58	4
Women	42	47	11
Age			
29 and Under	34	55	11
30-39	36	57	7
40-49	43	51	6
50-59	47	47	6
60 and Over	42	50	8
Occupation			
Professional and Business	40	51	9
Government and White Collar	37	57	6
Skilled Workers	37	59	4
Semi-skilled Workers	38	57	5
Unskilled Labor	43	44	13
Farmers	49	44	7
Pensioned and Unemployed	37	52	11
Education			
Seven years or less	45	49	6
Eight years	38	54	8
More than eight years	37	54	9
Religion			
Catholic	42	51	7
Protestant	39	53	8
Present Party Preference			
SPD	31	63	6
CDU	42	51	7
CSU	45	50	5
No party preference	52	36	12
Membership in Nazi Party			
Respondent was a member	34	60	6
Other person in family a member	43	49	8
No membership in party	41	52	7

* Less than 1%

Other attitudes relevant to the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Germany.

More than half of the Germans interviewed in the American Zone and 44% in Berlin believe that National Socialism was a good idea badly carried out.

Yet, nearly nine in ten Germans say they did NOT put their trust in the "Fuehrer" up to the end of the war.

A minority of the respondents indicate that before the war they AGREED with the statement that territories with considerable German minorities should be re-incorporated into Germany.

Approximately one in seven persons indicates agreement today with the pre-war statement that international Jewry alone would profit from the war, and ...

A similar proportion still holds the belief that the Nordic race is superior to all other races in the world.

* * *

A year after their defeat, a majority of the German people still maintain that National Socialism was a good idea, although badly carried out. If anything, attitudes toward this proposition have become increasingly worse in the past year.

Among former Nazis the proportion is still higher, with two thirds believing today that National Socialism was a good idea -- badly carried out. Greatest support for this belief among other than former NSDAP members is found in: (1) Gross Hessen, (2) towns under 2,000 population, (3) women, (4) persons under 30, (5) persons with more than eight years education, (6) Protestants and (7) persons who today either associate themselves with the CDU or who have no political preference.

That National Socialism was a bad idea gains strength from the following groups: (1) Bavarians, (2) persons in larger communities and cities, (3) men, (4) older people, (5) people with less than eight years education, (6) Catholics and (7) SPD and CSU members.

In only very few groups does the belief that National Socialism was a good idea although badly carried out fail to gain a majority.

Holding the belief that National Socialism was a good idea although badly carried out exerts considerable influence on other attitudes, especially those concerned with acceptance of war guilt and responsibility. Those who maintain that National Socialism was a bad idea are more ready to accept responsibility for the war because they allowed a government to come into power which planned to thrust the whole world into war. And these people, too, are also more willing to place the blame on the Nazi regime, if they do not accept it themselves.

The tabulations on the following page are based on two groups in the sample — those believing that National Socialism was a bad idea, and those who say that National Socialism was a good idea although badly carried out.

Question: Do you think there is any truth in the following statement? "All Germans are responsible for the war because they allowed a government to come into power which planned to thrust the whole world into war."

American Zone

	Those believing that National Socialism was a bad idea	Those believing that National Socialism was a good idea although badly carried out
Sample	366	544
Yes	27%	19%
No	70	78
No Opinion	3	3
	100	100

Question: Do you believe the war was begun by the Nazi regime and that the latter must therefore bear the responsibility for it?

(asked of those who said, "No" or what "No opinion" in answer to the previous question.)

American Zone:

	Those believing that National Socialism was a bad idea	Those believing that National Socialism was a good idea although badly carried out
Sample	366	544
Yes	64%	53%
No	3	13
No Opinion	6	15
	73	81

It is interesting to note the relationships which are established among the three questions: (1) belief that National Socialism was a good idea although badly carried out, (2) acceptance of responsibility for the war and (3) placing the blame and responsibility on the Nazis.

Bavarians, Catholics and older people are three groups who say: (1) National Socialism was a bad idea, (2) all Germans are NOT responsible for the war and (3) the Nazis are to blame and should bear the responsibility. This line of reasoning can easily be explained. Bavarians, a majority of whom are Catholics, put forth the opinion that the Catholic church opposed Hitler strenuously throughout the Nazi regime. Absolution of blame and non-acceptance of responsibility is based on this opposition of the Church to Hitler. (See report, Surveys Branch, ODIC, "Attitudes Toward Religion and the Church as Political Factors in German Life," 7 June 1946.)

Older people, too, many of whom remembered the Weimar Republic, again offered greater opposition to Hitler and the Nazi regime. A smaller proportion of older people were members in the Party than were younger people. These factors combined explain the position of this group.

On the other hand can be found Gross Hessians, Protestants and, to some extent, young people who hold that National Socialism was a good idea although badly carried out, who accept war responsibility but who are more willing to place the entire blame on the Nazis. Industrial Gross Hessen profited greatly from the full-employment program under the Nazi regime and even today more Nazi-indoctrinated people can be found in Gross Hessen than elsewhere in the American Zone. Least support for opposition to Hitler arose in Protestant and industrial Gross Hessen. The German youth today attempts to explain its position under the Nazi Party by claiming involuntary membership in the NSDAP and participation in its activities. This attempt at explaining away their role in the Nazi Party is, however, not restricted to young people. Throughout, the German people there runs the alibi, "What could we do about it."

The degree of adherance to the belief that National Socialism was a good idea although badly carried out has shown little fluctuation. This question has been asked on surveys during the past year, and with only one exception, has it failed to gain a plurality. The trend in answers to this question over the past year appears on the following page.

Question: Do you think National Socialism was a bad idea or a good idea badly carried out?

American Zone:

	Nov. 1945	Nov. 1945	Dec. 1945	Feb. 1946	April 1946	June 1946	July 1946	Aug. 1946
Semple	371	385	905	964	993	1486	1536	1463
Bad idea	43%	41%	39%	38%	37%	41%	48%	42%
Good idea — badly carried out	44	53	51	43	55	46	42	46
Qualified answer or no opinion	13	6	10	19	8	13	10	12
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

A study of events which took place at the time the interviewing on the July survey was being conducted fails to reveal anything which may have influenced opinion in the indicated direction. The stability of attitudes in response to the question and the denial of a change by the August figure indicates that it is possible that interested contextual factors may have influenced responses on this particular survey.

Near the end of the war, if we accept the results of this study, it would seem that Hitler had only very little support. Slightly more than one person in ten in what is now the American Zone of occupation and 9% in the American Sector of Berlin revealed that they had trusted their "Fuehrer" up to the end.

Most trusting of all were: (1) Nazis, (2) Gross Hessians, (3) residents in the smallest towns and the largest cities, (4) the younger people, (5) those with eight years or more education, (6) Protestants and (7) those who today hold no political party preference.

Those groups showing the highest proportion not keeping true their trust in the "Fuehrer" up to the end are: (1) Bavarians and residents in Wuerttemberg-Baden, (2) persons living in middle sized communities, (3) older people, (4) those with less than eight years education, (5) Catholics, (6) those who today hold some political party affiliation and (7) non-members in the NSDAP.

About one third of the Germans interviewed in the American Zone and about one half of those in the American Sector of Berlin say that they NEVER had any faith in Hitler. Many Germans thought all their conquests would be as simple and bloodless as those pre-1939. When they found out differently, some of them lost their faith; American entry into the war jolted a few more loose from their "secure" faith in Der Fuehrer; Stalingrad hit home particularly hard (it is the single mention of an individual event causing them to desert Hitler); and 1944 was the finishing blow. Remaining are the one in ten who trusted Hitler up to the end of the war. There is no evidence to dispute the assumption that they still hold their faith.

Question: How long did you trust him? (Asked of those people who said they did NOT trust Hitler up to the end of the war.)

	Total Sample: AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	993	199
Never had any faith in Hitler from the beginning; didn't believe in Hitler — only did duty as a German	35%	51%
Until the war began — until 1939	15	11
Until 1940	3	2
1941	6	5
1942	5	9
1943	6	4
1944	5	5
Until STALINGRAD — late 1943	5	4
Other qualified answers	1	*
No answer given	6	-
Total NOT having trusted Hitler up to the end of the war	87	91

* Less than 1%

On questions relative to the respondent's present attitude toward certain conceptions fundamental to the Nazi regime, it is found that only a minority express agreement.* The largest minority group, slightly more than one third, indicates agreement with the pre-war statement that all parts of Europe with considerable German minorities should be legally reincorporated into Germany.

Two other questions, dealing with basic concepts of the Nazi regime which are particularly obnoxious to democratic peoples, result in a considerably lower degree of acceptance. About one in seven persons (14) interviewed in the American Zone say they still agree with the pre-war statement that international Jewry alone would profit from the war. In Berlin 3% still hold this belief.

A similar proportion of the respondents in the American Zone today believe that the pre-war statement that the Nordic race is superior to all other races in the world is true. Berliners vary but little in this respect with 12% agreeing with the statement.

Question: Before the war it was often said that parts of Europe with considerable German minorities, e.g., Sudetenland, should be legally reincorporated into Germany. Did you agree with that or not?

	Total Sample:	
	AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	552	199
Agreed	36%	28%
Disagreed	38	51
No opinion	26	21
	100	100

Whereas the other two questions deal with current attitudes toward a pre-war statement, this one concerns pre-war attitudes, which may, in part, explain the "rather high proportion" expressing agreement with a policy of "racial expansionism" in disrepute today among the occupying powers.

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* Respondents in the Zone were subjected to an experiment in question wording in these three questions. Half the sample was asked the question as indicated, while the other half was asked the same question except in that the statement was attributed to Hitler. The results show that the influence of Hitler's name is negligible. The statements themselves were probably recognized as being those of the NSDAP and inclusion of Hitler's name could offer no additional influence of prestige. In two out of the three questions attributing the statement to Hitler resulted in a negative influence, although too small to be considered important. The same holds true for the positive influence which was found in the question concerning reincorporation into Germany of those parts of Europe with considerable German minorities.

Question: It was (also) said that international Jewry alone would profit from the war. Now that the war is over, do you think that is the truth?

	Total Sample: AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	552	199
Yes	14%	3%
No	73	92
No opinion	13	5
	100	100

Question: It was (also) often said that the Nordic race was superior to all other races in the world. Is this your opinion or not?

	Total Sample: AMZONE	Berlin
Sample	552	199
Yes	14%	12%
No	70	77
No opinion	16	11
	100	100

Question: Do you think National Socialism was a bad idea or a good idea badly carried out?

	Bad Idea	Good Idea	No Opinion
Area			
American Zone	37%	55	8
Berlin	51	44	5
Bavaria	41	52	7
Gross Hessen	31	59	10
Wuerttemberg-Baden	35	56	9
City Size Groups			
Under 2,000	34	58	8
2,000 - 9,999	41	51	8
10,000 - 99,999	35	56	9
100,000 and Over	40	49	11
Sex			
Men	45	52	3
Women	29	58	13
Age			
29 and Under	23	68	9
30-39	33	58	9
40-49	42	49	9
50-59	38	55	7
60 and Over	49	44	7
Occupation			
Professional and Business	38	57	5
Government and White Collar	37	58	5
Skilled Workers	39	56	5
Semi-skilled Workers	43	48	9
Unskilled Labor	35	52	13
Farmers	37	52	11
Pensioned and Unemployed	35	53	12
Education			
Seven years or less	46	47	7
Eight years	33	59	8
More than eight years	30	61	9
Religion			
Catholic	47	45	8
Protestant	28	63	9
Present Party Preference			
SPD	41	52	7
CDU	35	59	6
CSU	42	51	7
No party preference	23	59	18
Membership in Nazi Party			
Respondent was a member	30	67	3
Other person in family a member	29	60	11
No membership in party	41	51	8

Question: Did you put your trust in the "Fuehrer" up to the end of the war?

	Yes	No	No Opinion
Area			
American Zone	12%	87	1
Berlin	9	91	-
Bavaria	11	88	1
Gross Hessen	16	83	1
Wuerttemberg-Baden	11	88	1
City Size Groups			
Under 2,000	15	85	*
2,000 - 9,999	6	93	1
10,000 - 99,999	9	90	1
100,000 and Over	16	83	1
Sex			
Men	12	87	1
Women	13	87	*
Age			
29 and Under	20	78	2
30-39	15	85	-
40-49	10	89	1
50-59	8	91	1
60 and Over	8	91	1
Occupation			
Professional and Business	10	87	3
Government and White Collar	10	89	1
Skilled Workers	11	89	-
Semi-skilled Workers	14	86	-
Unskilled Labor	14	85	1
Farmers	13	86	1
Pensioned and Unemployed	13	87	*
Education			
Seven years or less	8	91	1
Eight years	15	84	1
More than eight years	13	85	2
Religion			
Catholic	8	91	1
Protestant	14	85	1
Present Party Preference			
SPD	10	89	1
CDU	11	89	-
CSU	11	89	-
No party preference	20	77	3
Membership in Nazi Party			
Respondent was a member	20	79	1
Other person in family a member	14	86	*
No membership in party	10	90	*

* Less than 1%

CONFIDENTIAL

THE VIENNESE NEWSPAPERS —
AN OPINION RESEARCH STUDY

22 October 1946

Report Submitted To: Information Services Branch, USFA, APO 777
Report Submitted By: Surveys Branch, ODIC, OMGUS ~~(Rear)~~, APO 757

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The Viennese Newspapers -- An Opinion Research Study

INTRODUCTION

Two public opinion surveys of attitudes toward Viennese newspapers were made during the last few days of August and the first days of September 1946*. About 500 individuals were interviewed in the course of each survey. The people were asked to reply to the same questions, in each study. Both studies were carried out only in the American Zone of Vienna. Thus all data in this report refer only to the situation in this Zone.

The studies varied in that two types of sampling procedures were followed. A separate analysis showed that interviews with individuals who were selected in a random fashion from food ration cards probably presented a more representative picture of the general population in the American Zone of Vienna. The other study depended upon the separate interviewer's ability to select individuals who filled the specifications of defined "types" of persons living in this Zone. A somewhat more articulate population was finally composed. Where possible the results of the two studies are combined in order to increase the size of the base upon which this report is founded.

THE SETTING**

The poll showed that Vienna is very largely (85%) a Catholic city. It is also a two-party community with the SPO and the OVP amassing the support of a very large proportion (93%) of voters with a stated preference. The poll indicated that the SPO held a slight edge over its more conservative rival.

To some extent the basic political disposition of the Austrian people is revealed by their replies to the question: "Do you believe that National-socialism was a bad idea or a good idea only badly carried out?" Less than half (47%) the people thought Nationalsocialism a bad idea, while about one-third (35%) thought it had only been badly carried out but was a good idea. The remainder (18%) were unable to express an opinion on the proposition. Experience with results of this question in Germany forces the conclusion that this remaining fifth of the population, in its confusion and lack of clear-cut judgment on this proposition, or in its reluctance to admire what is not admirable to the Allies, is largely composed of those people who tend to be undemocratically oriented. In the final analysis, then, it must be assumed that about half the Austrians polled still maintain an unhealthy respect for, or still fail to recognize the inherent evil in the Nazi system.

* The study was requested by Information Services Branch, USFA. The work was organized, supervised, and analysis was written by Surveys Branch, OMIC, OMGGUS (Rear). Field work was carried out by native Viennese.

** The analysis is of the 92% interviewed who read newspapers. Their opinions are more pertinent for the purposes of this study than the opinions of the whole population. However, interpolation from these data to an estimate of total popular sentiment is justified with only insignificant changes in the figures shown. In this section is reported data gathered in the random sample only.

Confidence in Reporting

A majority of the newspaper readers questioned (55%) expressed confidence in the completeness and trustworthiness of the Nuernberg Trial reporting. But nearly one-fifth (18%) maintained that the news from Nuernberg was highly selected or lacked objectivity. A very few critical voices were heard who distinguished between the reporting of "Austria" and "foreign" papers, between radio and newspaper stories. In those few cases the "foreign" papers, or the radio, were given preference for greater completeness and objectivity.

Criticism by Newspapers

Nearly two in three people (63%) were of the opinion that a newspaper should criticize the government if the publisher has the conviction that poor work is being done. These people justified their position by claiming the democratic right of criticism to improve a public situation, held that criticism is a duty or pointed to the usefulness of public criticism to profit by mistakes and make progress. Among the few (9%) who objected to criticism of the local government there were those who said that such criticism tends to induce turmoil and confusion, or that such criticism is usually biased and untrustworthy, that criticism in this sphere is the problem of the city parliament, or that it is still too early for such public "disturbance."

Difficulties Recognized

A large proportion of the Austrians interviewed recognized that the newspapers today must work under some difficulties. Practically seven in ten (69%) of the respondents were able to describe some difficulty which hampers newspaper operations. A majority of the public (58%) pointed to material or personnel shortages -- lack of paper, primarily, but also outmoded machines and technical tools. Difficulties accounted for on the personnel side pointed to the lack of experienced workers, stating or implying frequently that this shortage was induced by denazification laws. However, nearly three in ten (27%) of the respondents expressed distaste for certain alleged effects of the occupation. These people said that strict control by the Americans or the Russians prevented editors from expressing their opinions freely or, further, induced them to align their published thoughts alongside those of the military authorities. Others merely said that "strict censorship" or "the occupation" proved to be the main limitation on the work of the Austrian newspapers. Some also spoke about the zonal boundaries and the lack of complete communication services with other zones or with the world. A sense of being shut off from the rest of the world because of the boundaries was revealed in the thinking of these few. Other difficulties hampering newspaper publishing were mentioned by only one or two percent each of the population. Types of comments given were: the news services are too slow, too biased, too incomplete; the sharp differences in viewpoints of the political parties delays progress; lack of food, bomb-damaged buildings and requisitioning of buildings, dire financial straits of the government, the political situation in general -- all debilitate the efficient operations of the papers.

In spite of these difficulties, most people felt, the Austrian papers were doing their best to help the Austrian people understand the world better

(81%), and to arouse understanding and friendship for other nations (78%). A solid majority, too, (69%) considered that local problems were being clarified by the press and interest was being aroused in such affairs. Fewer (57%), however, felt that the papers were explained adequately what was false about Nationalsocialistic ideas, and only a minority (36%) agreed that the Viennese newspapers were effecting the cooperation of political groups whose outlooks or interests were opposed.

READERSHIP

An estimate of the proportion of Viennese living in the American Zone who read newspapers is supplied by the random sample. More than nine in ten (92%) said they read papers. (In the other sample, 98% were reported as readers. This figure is thought to be inflated by the techniques used.) "Readership" was broadly defined as "having at least read a paper during the past two weeks." The table below shows the proportions reading papers who said they read papers regularly or occasionally. No significant differences are apparent. Readers of any of the newspapers are not attracted toward greater regularity of habit by the paper they read. Rather, it can probably be held that regular reading is a generalized function of interest and awareness.

Regularity of Newspaper Reading by Specific Newspaper

	Wiener Kurier	Kleines Volksblatt	Arbeiter Zeitung	Neues Oesterr.	Weltpresse
Regularly	86	87	85	92	85
Occasionally	14	13	15	8	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Sample:	600	314	253	182	250

The most widely read paper was found to be the Wiener Kurier. Chart I shows the relative readership of the Viennese papers. Among newspaper readers in both sample the proportions reading the separate papers did not vary appreciably. Moreover, in both samples, readers on the average thought of themselves as reading two newspapers. However, nearly three in ten readers (27%) read one paper only. Those people tended to choose the Arbeiter Zeitung or the Kleines Volksblatt in larger proportions than did the people who read more than one paper.

Proportions Reading Viennese Newspapers

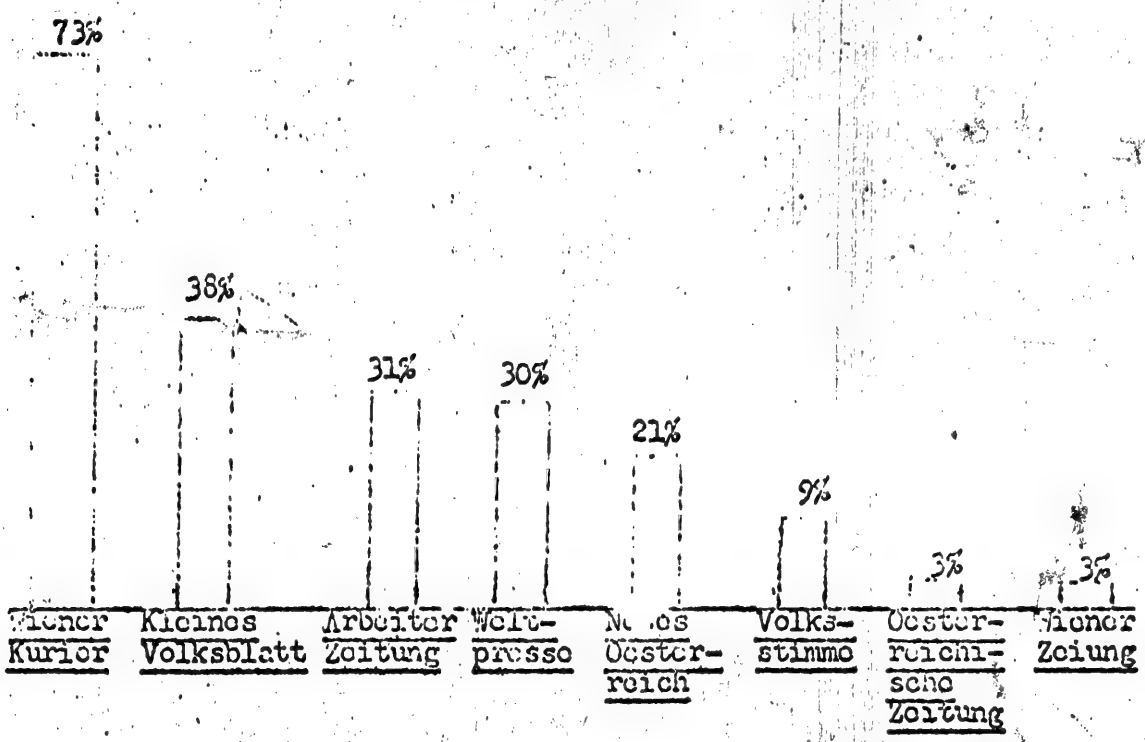
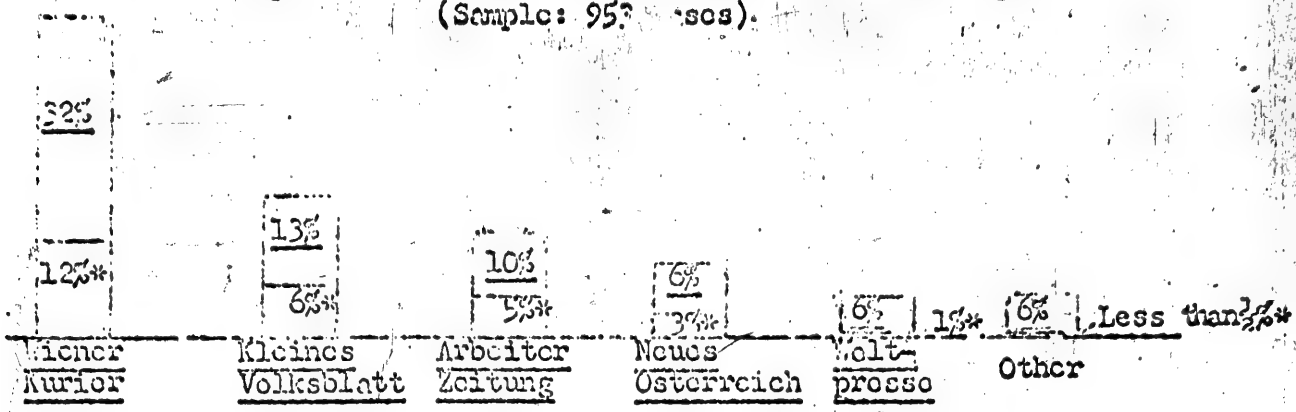


CHART I

Assuming that those people who read one paper only indicate by this fact a preference for that paper over others, stated preference for a particular newspaper can be discovered by adding together the proportion which reads it only and the proportion which prefers it over other papers also read. On this basis, again, the Wiener Kurier is given much greater preference over the other papers. The proportions shown below are based upon all readers in both samples.

Proportions of Expressed Preference For Some Papers
(Sample: 95? ases).



* Proportion reading this paper only
__ Proportion preferring this paper among more than one read

The same data viewed in another manner reveals the same relative ranking.

Percent of Readers of Separate Newspapers

	Read Only	Prefer Among Others	Total Preference	Sample
Wiener Kurier	17	43	60	698
Kleines Volksblatt	17	36	53	360
Arbeiter Zeitung	17	32	49	299
Neues Österreich	12	30	42	199
Weltpresse **	5	20	25	285

** Not a daily paper at time of survey

Thus a solid majority of Wiener Kurier readers (60%)like this paper the best of the available newspapers while only about two-fifths (42%) of the readers of Neues Österreich like that paper the best. And the five papers shown in the table above are the only papers with an appreciable reading public.

GENERAL POPULARITY OF NEWSPAPERS

All people who read the Wiener Kurier, regardless of whether or not they liked this paper more than any other they may have read, were asked: "What do you think of the Wiener Kurier -- is it a very good, good, fairly good or poor newspaper?" An overwhelming majority (88%) of those readers

responded that the paper was good or very good.* The same question was asked of readers of other newspapers. It was asked of those who read another paper alone, or of those who preferred a paper other than the Wiener Kurier, or of those who read a paper in addition to the Wiener Kurier but preferred the latter. The replies to the same question, then, asked of readers of other newspapers, shows no appreciation comparable to that accorded the Wiener Kurier. One paper alone approaches the latter's popularity -- the Weltpresse. Indications are that as a daily paper it could offer stiff competition to the Kurier. And in popularity the Kleines Volksblatt is not far behind the Weltpresse. Again, it can be assumed that these three papers attract the very large majority of sympathetic readers. In fact, among the five most popular papers no paper is strongly disliked by an appreciable proportion of the population.

Attitudes Toward Some Viennese Newspapers

	Very Good	Good	Fair	Poor	No Opinion	Sample
Arbeiter Zeitung	22%	51%	25%	-	2%	237
Kleines Volksblatt	11	65	20	1	3	273
Neues Osterreich	13	47	28	2	10	138
Weltpresse	15	66	11	-	8	106
Wiener Kurier	35	53	8	1	3	722

No significant differences in degree of liking of the paper developed between those who thought Nationalsocialism a bad idea, and those who thought it a good idea only badly carried out. The tendency of the proportional replies, however, was for a slightly larger proportion of those who still find something admiral in Nationalsocialism to like the Kurier better. The interrelationship is shown in the table below.

Relationship between Liking Wiener Kurier and Appreciation of Nationalsocialism

	Think paper is: Very Good	Good	Fair or Poor		Sample
Nationalsocialsim was a bad idea,	34	56	10	100%	334
A good idea, badly carried out	39	51	10	100%	244

A similar tendency appeared for higher appreciation to be given the Wiener Kurier by those who like the Oesterreichische Volkspartei than by those who like the SPÖ. Although only 20 people who preferred the KPÖ were interviewed in this sample, a significantly high proportion (60%) considered the Kurier only fair or poor.

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*The same question was asked of samples of readers in 32 cities in the U. S. Zone of Germany. Papers were thought good and very good by proportions ranging between 23% and 83%. Evidently the Wiener Kurier is as highly popular as any paper in the American Zone of Germany.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

A similar directional tendency was shown between Catholics and Protestants, with a few more of the latter rating the newspaper better in their estimation.

No consistent pattern of preference was found among age groupings. Essentially, the Kurier seemed to appeal as well to the young as to the old.

Among occupational groups two interesting tendencies were shown. Slightly more of the office workers (Angestellte) said the paper was very good than did people engaged in other types of work. However, less warm preference was recorded by laborers and apprentice help. The disposition of these people to follow the SPÖ and to read the Arbeiter Zeitung must be taken into account.

Educational and socio-economic status groupings patterned themselves closely one like the other. The poorest educated and the members of the lowest classes contained appreciable groups who cared little for the Kurier. Little distinction can be made, however, in the level of popularity among social classes from upper lower to upper middle, nor between those with 8 years schooling and those with 9-11 years schooling. Within the upper class, and the college-educated, attitudes toward the Kurier were less enthusiastic. Still very few (about one in twenty) of these people held the Kurier in low esteem. It can be interpreted again that the Wiener Kurier is shown to have a generalized appeal to the broad middle classes of the population, is perhaps not quite as high-toned or sophisticated as some of the upper classes would desire, nor as out spokenly socialist as some of the working classes would like.

Group Differences In Attitudes Toward Wiener Kurier

"What do you think of the Wiener Kurier — is it a very good, good, fairly good or poor newspaper?"

	Very good	Good	Fair or Poor		Sample
PARTY PREFERENCE					
KPÖ	10%	30%	60%	100%	20
SPÖ	36	56	8		246
ÖVP	39	51	10		232
RELIGION					
Catholic	36	53	11		589
Protestant	37	61	2		54
AGE					
Under 30	35	58	7		121
30 - 39	39	51	10		149
40 - 49	35	50	15		171
50 - 59	36	54	10		137
60 or older	30	56	14		119

Table (contd.)

	Very good	Good	Fair or Poor	Sample
OCCUPATION (Family head)				
Professional	38	58	4	69
Independant business	33	53	14	70
Officials (Beamter)	32	55	13	128
Office workers	41	51	8	152
Skilled workers	38	50	12	89
Semi-skilled workers	37	49	14	91
Laborers & apprentices	26	61	13	80
EDUCATION				
7 years or less	29	48	23	62
8 years	37	51	12	305
9 to 11 years	40	50	10	185
12 or more years	29	64	7	138
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS				
Upper	28	67	5	39
Upper middle	36	55	9	110
Lower middle	37	51	11	236
Upper lower	36	54	10	237
Lower lower & on relief	31	47	22	64

In order to test further the general reactions to these papers answers to twelve questions were combined to give an indication of reaction to a set of objective factors. Again popular reactions uphold previous indications that the Kurier was the best-liked paper, that the Weltpresse was next best liked, and that the Arbeiter Zeitung, the Kleines Volksblatt and Neues Oesterreich followed not closely in that order.

Grouped Reactions to Newspapers on Twelve Specific Factors

Score:	0-6	7-9	10-11	12-14
Interpretation:	Poor	Fair	Good	Very good
Arbeiter Zeitung	25%	32%	21%	22%
Kleines Volksblatt	30	29	22	19
Neues Oesterreich	29	32	22	17
Weltpresse	15	40	21	24
Wiener Kurier	12	25	25	38

In this situation it is not surprising that most people were able to name one newspaper which they liked best of three. But a majority was not able to select a newspaper which was disliked most of three named. Evidently the superiority of the Wiener Kurier was impressive, but the standing of the other papers was not too easily discriminated. Nevertheless, a plurality of sentiment fastened upon the Oesterreichische Zeitung as the least liked. In view of the fact that only 3% of the population of readers said they read this paper it may be concluded a) that many people are exhibiting a prejudice against the sponsoring Government and are answering to this question without a founded opinion, or b) it may be concluded that this many people have at one time seen a copy of the Oesterreichische Zeitung and nearly all of them have decided against reading it. The latter (b) seems more reasonable.

"Which of the three following papers do you like best and which of them do you like least: Weltpresse, Wiener Kurier or Oesterreichische Zeitung?"

	Like Best	Like Least
Weltpresse	12%	2%
Wiener Kurier	63	*
Oesterreichische Zeitung	2	42
No opinion	23	56
	100%	100%

*Less than ½ of 1%

Readers of the papers other than the Wiener Kurier were also asked: "Do you think that _____ is better than the former Voelkische Beobachter?" The unpopularity of German influence in Austria is probably demonstrated to as large an extent as the relative evaluation of the separate newspapers when compared with the former Voelkische Beobachter. Nearly two in three of those questioned (64%) said that the paper they read today is better than the German dominated publication. No significant variations appeared in comparisons between the separate newspapers and the former journal. One-third (32%) of the people questioned held no opinion on this proposition.

EVALUATION OF SPECIFIC FEATURES OF THE NEWSPAPERS

The multiple factor rating scale (described in detail in the Appendix) attempts to summarize reactions to numerous items about which newspaper readers were specifically questioned. The table on the following page shows the variations in approval by the public of these separate items.

Considering the order of approval of the separate items it can be seen that the Wiener Kurier is thought by a larger proportion of its readers, than do the readers of other papers think about their journals, that sufficient information is given about the relations of the Americans in Austria. While it is not surprising that the American newspaper should actually be recognized to carry more news about the Americans it is interesting to see which item replaces this on the scale of satisfaction compared with other papers. In each of the other newspapers reported here satisfaction with the amount of news about denazification is ranked higher. The inference which can be drawn is that it is publicly recognized

that the tone of the Wiener Kurier is to emphasize news about the Americans or America rather than to emphasize (as much as other papers) the new responsibilities of the Austrian people. Thus, in short, the Wiener Kurier is recognized by some to be a newspaper designed to "sell America" rather than to draw an historical moral for the Austrian people.

Considerations of the order or proportional responses also induce the conclusion that the Weltpresse is recognized by its readers, more frequently than are other papers recognized by their readers, to satisfy on the count of news about foreign affairs and conditions in the world outside Austria. At the same time, the coverage of one aspect of Austrian news -- conditions in the Zones of Austria -- is recognized to suffer.

Neues Oesterreich, on the other hand, is given the highest vote of confidence on the grounds of lack of propaganda. Its readers, and those of the Kleines Volksblatt indicate relatively the highest ranked satisfaction with news about denazification. On the other hand "Neues Oesterreich" readers are less satisfied with the completeness of news coverage of this paper.

The fact remains, finally, that on eight of the eleven items tested an absolutely higher proportion of readers appraised the Wiener Kurier in a favorable light than the proportion of readers of other papers. In addition, a significantly larger proportion of Kurier readers than readers of other papers said this paper had made progress, said that it contained everything that interested them and said that it contained sufficient news about the relations of the Americans in Austria. More frequently, too, than the readers of any paper but the Weltpresse they maintained that the Kurier brought them sufficient foreign coverage, and news about the refugees in Austria or coming to Austria.

Satisfaction With Specific Factors

	Wiener Kurier	Arbeiter Zeitung	Kleines Volksbl.	Neues Oesterr.	Welt-presse
Sufficient news: food conditions	89%	87%	85%	83%	80%
Sufficient news: foreign affairs	88	70	69	73	90
Evades no issues	81	80	81	76	78
Sufficient news: Americans in Cost	75	45	54	46	56
Contains all of interest	74	58	59	51	59
Sufficient news: Zonal conditions	72	68	62	60	60
Sufficient news: Influx refugees	68	57	50	58	66
Sufficient news: Refugees	68	58	52	59	66
Sufficient news: Denazification	67	65	64	61	68
Has made progress	47	30	20	21	23
Contains no propaganda	37	19	30	59	34
Sample:	722	237	273	138	106

DISSATISFACTION: NEWS UNDERPLAYED IN VIENER KURIER

Newspaper readers who said the Kurier did not contain everything which interested them were asked what was lacking or insufficiently covered in the paper. Among the one-quarter (26%) of the readers who felt that something was missing, more than one response was frequently given.

Most frequent expression (9%) was given to the comment that problems of daily life were inadequately handled. It was said that economic and household affairs were given insufficient space in the paper. A few respondents held that their relatives who are prisoners of war might in some way be brought into communication through the newspaper, or that the paper might well report news of men in the camps throughout the world. Another group about equal in size (8%) maintained that a lack of news about the new Austrian State was apparent to them. They inquired if it were possible to have more news about the plans of the occupation forces and the prospect for a future revived and independent Austria. Some (7%) again mentioned an alleged lack of news or information about refugees. Still others (6%) alluded to their felt desire for more political news especially dealing with the relationship between political problems in Austria and political problems abroad. When this group is added to the proportion requesting more news about policies for a new Austrian State, it is apparent that the largest proportion of readers who expressed a desire for more news of a particular type seem to regard the Wiener Kurier as the voice of one of the great powers whose policy-viewpoint intimately affects the future of Austria.

The awareness among some Austrian people that the Wiener Kurier emphasizes the story of America is undoubtedly tied in with an inclination to accept the viewpoint of this paper as representative of the plans of policies of the United States. Confidence is undoubtedly held by this small minority that Austria's political future can be read in the pages of the Wiener Kurier.

Expression was also given to a desire for more feuilleton or art or philosophical features (3%); for news about jobs, food, public concerts etc. (2%).

Readers were also asked to comment further if they felt that the Wiener Kurier tended to avoid certain topics or tended to fail to speak out directly on certain subjects. On the average, each person disposed in this direction was able to name only one topic or theme he felt was evaded.

The scattering of replies indicates that dissatisfaction on this score is of a very minor nature. However, again the largest group (6%) pointed to political topics and commentary on developments in foreign affairs as being handled somewhat too delicately. Some of this minority group said that political developments within Austria are similarly treated with a fine touch. The implication of this type of comment is that the Wiener Kurier tends to avoid taking a forthright stand on issues about which those few respondents may feel keenly. The overwhelming satisfaction recorded by this question does not indicate that any important change might be considered in the light of this type of comment. Other problems

mentioned as being treated too dist[illegible]y are: food situ[illegible]%); refugee problem (2%); Russo-American relations (2%); inter-zonal [illegible]lations (2%); literary or art criticism (2%); denazification (1%); [illegible]lems concerning PsW (1%).

That these two factors are, however, related to general satisfaction with the Kurier must not be overlooked. People who feel a lack of some type of material in the newspaper seem to be less enthusiastic about the newspaper. Only about one-fourth (24%) of those who felt the paper tended to avoid some topic of interest rated the paper as "very good". Only about the same proportion (28%) of those who said it did NOT contain everything of interest expressed the same degree of enthusiasm. At the same time, nearly two-fifth (38%) of those who did not feel a tendency toward avoidance, and the same proportion of those who said it DID contain everything of interest, considered the paper "very good".

DISSATISFACTION: NEWS OVERPLAYED IN WIENER KURIER

Half the readers of the Wiener Kurier felt that the paper contained some propaganda, one-third (37%) said it contained "generally none", 13% held no opinion. A majority (27%) of those who cried "propaganda" softened their accusation by saying that there was only "little" such special pleading found in the newspaper. Very few (2%) maintained there was a "great deal" of propaganda while the rest (21%) held that there was quite a bit.

Half the readers, then, were asked to indicate what it was about which propaganda was being made. An appreciable minority (13%) did not mention any specific type of propaganda holding, rather, that it was their "feeling" or that "of course, everybody propagandizes". At the same time a rather large minority of [illegible] readers (31%) said that the propaganda which they had in mind concerned American ideology and interests. Among these the largest group (19%) spoke about overemphasis of American interests, outlook or orientation. Others (7%) described propaganda said to favor the western democracies and the affair of the United States and England; while the fewest (5%) spoke generally about propaganda for democracy or the democratic (and "capitalist-democratic") idea. Other types of propaganda mentioned were: the burdens of the occupation, difficulties of the occupation forces, propaganda against Russia, propaganda for the Church, complaints about European obstinacy toward making a firm peace, or "too much talk and no action" in freeing Austria or making her independent.

Significantly more of those who said they detected no propaganda in the Kurier than of those who saw quite a bit or a great deal, contended that the paper was "very good". Indeed, a consistent relationship can be seen between the two judgements -- that there is propaganda in the paper and that the paper is "fair" or "poor".

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Relationships Between Like-Dislike and Estimate of Amount of Propaganda

Amount of propaganda paper thought to contain	Think paper is: Very good	Good	Fair or Poor		Sample
None	44%	52%	4%	100%	267
Little	36	53	11	100%	192
Quite a bit or Great deal	24	61	15	100%	149

These data, then, indicate that at least a majority of the population is aware of the position of the Wiener Kurier as the publication of an occupation power. And, further, they indicate that there is widespread comprehension that the Kurier is designed to tell the story of America to the Austrian people. The tone of the paper has been shown to impress itself upon its Austrian readers as a studied attempt to project America and American ideals. It is widely recognized for what it frankly attempts to do -- to detail the story of America and the American viewpoint. This study raises the question whether the Wiener Kurier is popular in Vienna because it represents the Americans or whether its popularity is disadvantageously affected by the fact that it pleads a special cause. These data do not presume to answer this question but do point out the the Wiener Kurier is undoubtedly the most popular Viennese newspaper and that it is recognized by a large number of Viennese to hold a special brief in its pages for the American point of view.

APPENDIX

Scoring System and Groupings of Multiple Factor Scale

Questions:

1. What do you think about the Wiener Kurier -- is it a very good, rather good or poor newspaper?
2. In your opinion has the Wiener Kurier made any progress during the last months, has it remained about the same or has it gotten worse?
3. Does the Wiener Kurier contain everything that interests you?
4. Do you believe that the Wiener Kurier is not outspoken enough or avoids the treatment of themes that are of interest to you and other people?
5. Do you think there is sufficient or insufficient coverage in the Wiener Kurier of each of the follwoing items -- Conditions in the Zones of Austria; Influx of refugees; The refugees; Relations with Americans in Austria; Food situation; The rest of the world; Denazification?
6. In your estimation, how much propaganda does the Wiener Kurier contain -- none, a little, quite a bit, or a great deal?

Question	Reply	Score
1	Very good	2
	Good	1
2	Progress	2
	Same	1
3	Yes	1
4	No	1
5	Sufficient	1 (7 items)
6	Little or none	1
		14 possible

Score	Random	Quota
0	3	1
1	--	1
2	3	3
3	8	9
4	5	8
5	15	7
6	18	6
7	26	26
8	28	29
9	33	35
10	42	39
11	46	54
12	53	44
13	45	65
14	30	38
	355	365

Interpretation:	Poor	Fair	Good	Very good
Score:	0-6	7-9	10-11	12-14
Random	15%	24%	25%	36%
Quota	10	25	25	40
Total	12	25	25	38

CONCLUSIONS

1. The Wiener Kurier at the time of this study outranked all other Viennese newspapers in readership and in popularity.

2. Neues Oesterreich and Weltpresse were rated about similarly by this cross-section of Viennese. Both these papers were preferred and read by somewhat fewer than the second ranking papers: Kleines Volksblatt and Arbeiter Zeitung.

3. The Wiener Kurier appealed to the large middle classes of the population. The small groups which co ose the very poor and the very well-to-do tended to like the paper less well.

4. Evaluation of allotment of space to specific types of news showed the Wiener Kurier appreciated highly for broad coverage.

5. But the Kurier was also recognized to devote less space than other papers to the story of denazification, and more space to the story of America. It was also felt by some to treat rather delicately issues of political importance both at home and abroad. Those who noted these alleged lapses did not like the paper as well as those who did not speak out to these points.

6. Two policy issues are raised:

a) Should the Kurier continue to tend to hold a somewhat enlarged popularity among the people who still maintain some respect for Nationalsocialism because it is recognized to underplay the story of denazification?

b) Should an attempt be made to relate even more closely the American point of view and the story of America to the needs and interests of the Austrian people in order to undercut as far as possible the charge of "propaganda" which is presently made by many to the disadvantage of the Kurier's popularity?

Mannheim Attitudes Toward Negro Troops

22 October 1946
No.24
Surveys Branch
Office, Director Information and Control
OMGGUS (Rear)
APO 757
US Army.

Mannheim Attitudes Toward Negro Troops

INTRODUCTION

Relations between Germans living in Mannheim and Negro troops stationed there have been reported to have steadily deteriorated. (Daily Intelligence Digest, Intelligence Branch, ODIC, OMGGUS, No. 246, 11 September 1946) A cross-section of Mannheim adults (over 18 years old) was interviewed in a few days following the 27th of September 1946 in an attempt to describe with some precision the attitudes of the general public toward the troops. A total of 226 people were interviewed by German interviewers regularly employed and trained by the ICD Surveys Unit in Wuerttemberg-Baden. The primary limitation on the study arises from the small number of respondents who were asked to express their judgments on the set of questions. Because of this small number interrelationships between attitudes and correlations between attitudes and characteristic types of Mannheim residents are limited in scope.

The purpose of the study was masked by a set of ten introductory questions inquiring into reactions to the occupation in general and to Military Government forces.

SUMMARY

1. Nearly two-thirds of the sample population interviewed in Mannheim reported no personal relations had been struck up with Americans stationed in that city.

2. About one in five reported some direct face-to-face meeting with a Negro. More frequently than not this meeting was said to have been unpleasant.

3. Among those with opinions, nearly seven in ten said the Negroes were friendlier than the white troops.

4. On the other hand, about four in ten citizens were able to recount unpleasant incidents of undisciplined behavior on the part of Negro troops.

5. About half the people hold some fear of the Negro troops. Only about one in eight persons had a first-hand reason upon which this fear was based. As many again were frightened merely by the unusual appearance of Negroes in Germany.

6. Racial prejudice was not closely related to fear of Negroes. It is interpreted that such fear probably grows upon reports of mishandling of Germans by the troops rather than any ingrained stock of prejudice.

7. Half the population felt that the conduct of the Negro troops left something to be desired. Young people under 30, particularly, made this charge. Those, too, who had had an unpleasant experience with a Negro troop were most ready to hold such a general attitude.

DETAILED RESULTS OF STUDY

General Dispositions Toward Occupation

Without observing the situation naively, the general population of Mannheim gives the impression, in this opinion survey's results, of a people who are well-disposed toward the Americans. But, not a few also report that there is some movement away from being well-disposed. Relatively few report first-hand instances of suffering as a result of occupation forces. These data are shown in tabular form below.

86 say the occupation is not as harsh as they expected

76 say the Americans, as far as they can see, are generally disposed to be friendly toward the Germans

70 say there has been no change in the attitudes of the Americans toward the Germans during the first year of occupation

50 feel the reconstruction of Germany has been furthered by the occupation

37 say there has been no change in the disposition of the Germans toward Military Government since the beginning of the occupation, and

26 hold that the Germans in Mannheim are generally more friendly toward MG, while

18 contend that they are less friendly

7 describe how they, or a family member, had suffered under the occupation

Contacts with Soldiers

Nearly two in three (64%) Mannheimers said they had had no contacts with soldiers (in any real sense) since the occupation. But only a few (5%) claimed that they had come to know an American well, and the same proportion said they had struck up a somewhat less close relationship. Still an appreciable minority (18%) said they had held conversations with Americans. (Brief talks, pointing out street directions, etc., were excluded.) Probed directly upon the point of relations with Negroes a similarly small proportion (7%) said they had come to know a Negro. Only few others (9%) agreed that they had had something to do with a Negro — that is, there had been conversational inter-play without the formality of acquaintanceship by name. The table below shows that only about one-third as many Germans had had some dealings with Negro as with White troops.

Reported Contacts with Troops

Some relationship struck up	
with Whites	20%
with Negroes ...	8%
with both	8%
No relationship reported	64%
	100%

In order to arrive at an appreciation of the force of the little "incidents" which occur in daily life, all respondents were asked: "Has it by chance happened that you or someone in your family has had a pleasant experience with a Negro?" One in ten people reported that such an incident had taken place. Most of these people (8%) said that the incident had involved a child -- that the soldier had been very nice to the children, often giving them chocolate. Others spoke about "helpfulness", "friendliness" and a desire to strike up an acquaintanceship.

On the other hand, more people tended to report unpleasant experiences, although the proportion was not significantly larger. One in seven (15%) said that they or a family member had been treated roughly by a Negro. Most of these people who, themselves, said they had been mishandled spoke about rough physical treatment -- drunken soldiers chasing and beating them, seizing and searching them. But a few people also spoke about looting and unjustified searches of homes. Among those who reported that family members had been ill-treated practically all mentioned physical distress in which their relatives had been placed.

To interpret the results of these two questions it can be said that probably at least as many if not more Germans in Mannheim are reporting mistreatment by Negro troops at first hand as are reporting pleasant daily occurences.* And the unpleasant stories must be assumed to be more interesting topics of conversation and less easy to overlook or to forget.

An indication of the impact, in general, of American troops upon the German population is provided by further data. Those questioned were asked: "In general, are the Negro troops friendlier or less friendly toward the German populace than the white troops?" Nearly half (48%) of the respondents were unable to offer an opinion since, they said, they had not had an opportunity to observe enough soldiers, or carefully enough, to form an opinion. That half the people did feel themselves in a position to offer a judgment to this point gives a clue to the depth of penetration of impact of soldiers upon popular sentiment. Among those with opinions about seven in ten (36% of all questioned) hold that Negroes were friendlier than white soldiers and the others (16%) said they were less friendly.

Fear of Negroes

Anti-Negro prejudice, historically, has been related to fear of Negroes. Among the citizens of Mannheim fear was expressed by an important minority and was understood, impressionistically, by the interviewers in half their interviews.

Everybody was asked: "Do you fear the Negroes who are here in Mannheim?" Answers to this question were graded, simply, by the expressed forcefulness of reply. About three in ten people (29%) said they were afraid. Half of these were felt to be strongly fearful, the other half not strongly. Among the remaining people (71%), a large majority (45%) were decidedly not afraid, and the rest (26%) said rather half-heartedly that they did not feel afraid.

---

* Some overlap was found. A few (2%) told of pleasant and unpleasant experiences. Thus, 13% spoke only of difficulties, 8% only of happy occurences, and 77% reported neither.

Reasons given for feeling fear indicated that most of these people shuddered at the thought of being grabbed and mishandled on the street. However, nearly one-fourth of those who said they were afraid explained that the appearance of the Negroes is so strange and outlandish as to frighten them.* It is indicated that some improvement may be gained in the public reception of Negroes as acquaintanceship improves with time, assuming that the troops continue to act in a disciplined fashion in their dealings with the indigenous population.

Estimates made by the interviewers during the interview as to the extensity of fear held by those questioned agree fairly closely with the answers given by the sample population. However, one notable exception can be seen -- although half the people were considered to be afraid of Negroes, only about one in eight (12%) was thought to have a definite grounded reason for this feeling. Without minimizing the importance of this minority group as a group which has felt unfavorably the impact of occupation troops, it must be recognized that Negroes and, perhaps troops in general, are faced with an additional factor which determines to some extent their initial reception in Germany.

Degree of Expressed Fear and Degree of Fear Estimated

"Do you fear the Negroes who are here in Mannheim?"		Interviewers' Estimates of Respondents' Fears	
Much afraid	15%	Definite, grounded fear	12%
Afraid	14	Very fearful	15
Not afraid	26	Somewhat fearful	20
Definitely not afraid	45	No fear	50
	100%	Cannot judge	3
			100%

Although some effect of prejudice can be seen in the proportions of Mannheimers feeling anxiety before the Negro troops, this effect is not so marked as to reach the proportions of a statistically significant influence. It can probably be interpreted that whereas some fear of the Negro troops is based upon their appearance and strangeness, a larger proportion of the population is moved to fear these men because of rumored extra-legal actions in which the troops are alleged to indulge. Racial prejudice, tested by some questions used with this German population are more likely to test not anti-Negro sentiment alone as much as a more generalized disposition toward non-German peoples. Negroes, then, would merely be an exaggerated instance of non-Germanic folk.

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* It must be remembered that few Europeans have seen individuals whose skin is very darkly pigmented.

	"Do you fear the Negroes who are here in Mannheim?" Yes	No		Sample
"Do you think that Negroes, compared with the white race, are a lower race?"				
Yes	38	62	100%	76
No	21	79		115
"Do you think that, in general, Negroes have the same abilities as whites, or not?"				
Not same	28	72		80
Yes, same	24	76		90

General Sentiment Toward Negro Troops

Condemnation of the actions of Negro troops in Mannheim has been shown to be widespread. A question probing specifically into this situation results in the estimate that half the Mannheim adults are ready to express some condemnation of the troops stationed there. All those interviewed were asked: "In general, is the conduct of Negroes in this city decent or not?" (Ist die Haltung der Neger in dieser Stadt im allgemeinen anstaendig oder nicht?")

37% said it was decent
33% said it was decent but there were some exceptions
17% said it was not decent
13% hold no opinion

Those who claimed that there were some exceptions to the decent conduct of these troops, or who claimed that their conduct was not decent, were asked if they would give an example or two of what they meant. Less than one in ten of all those questioned (9%) was not able to give an example, and the remainder (41%) offered a variety of stories of alleged conduct. The tabulation of the types of tales recounted appears below.

Murder, rape, mistreatment of citizens, mishandling women and girls	24%
Drunken irresponsibility	13
Looking for trouble, despoiling gardens, pushing people around	7
Thievery, looting	4
Other (searching houses, shouting in the streets)..	1
TOTAL COMMENTS	49%
TOTAL COMMENTING	41%

It is apparent from these data that a large proportion of the Mannheim population is concerned about the behavior of the troops stationed in their city.

Interrelationships between the replies to this question and some of the other questions reported above indicate that those who have been molested by Negroes, and those who are afraid of Negroes, and those who think they are not friendlier than white troops, are more ready than other people to say that the behavior of the troops leaves something to be desired. There is a tendency, too, for more of those who have come to know a Negro (they have established some personal relations) to believe that these soldiers have not conducted themselves well in Mannheim when their answers are compared with those who do not claim acquaintanceship with a Negro. Only slight variations are observed between the groups who express some racial prejudice, and those who disavow such prejudice, on the question of good conduct.

Behavior of Negroes in Mannheim is:

	Decent	Some Exceptions	Not Decent	No Opinion	Sample
Acknowledge fear	18%	35%	31%	16%	100% 67
No fear	44	33	11	12	159
Harmed by Negroes	9	35	47	9	34
No such experience	42	33	11	14	192
Pleasant experience	50	23	23	4	22
No such experience	35	35	16	14	204
Negroes friendlier than Whites	54	30	10	6	80
Negroes not friendlier	18	38	41	3	37
Had relations with Negroes	27	30	35	8	37
No relations	39	34	13	14	189
Negroes are a lower race	35	34	20	11	76
Not a lower race	37	37	14	12	115
Negroes do not have same abilities	36	35	19	10	80
Have same abilities	41	31	21	7	90
Have known or talked with an American in Germany	31	38	19	12	64
No experience	39	31	16	14	162

No appreciable variations were found in replies to this question given by most of the separate characteristic groups within the population. It is interesting to note that fewer men (5%) were unable to express an opinion on the proposition than were women (20%). With age groups, significantly more young people under 30 (68%) said that the behavior of these men was not always decent than did people over 30 years of age (46%). It is indicated that a goodly proportion of the unpleasant contacts between the soldiers and the German population is with younger members of the population.

GERMAN KNOWLEDGE ABOUT AND ATTITUDES TOWARD INFLATION

Classification cancelled
by authority of Leo P. Crespi
PUBRAS.

Report No. 25
8 November 1946
OPINION SURVEYS BRANCH
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION CONTROL
OMGUS (REAR) APO 757

RESTRICTED

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RODUCTION ...

The results presented in this report are based on a series of six surveys * conducted by the Surveys Branch, ODIC, between January and June 1946 to test attitudes of the German population toward the problem of inflation.

Tabulations of opinions in Berlin are available for only the last three surveys, since that city did not appear in the survey sample before April 1946. Berlin tabulations are shown separately and are NOT included in any tabulations of the American Zone.

The steady increase in the size of the sample employed by the Surveys Branch in obtaining opinions among the German population insures greater precision. Shown in this report are tabulations by various population and geographic characteristics. These are based on smaller numbers of cases than the tabulation of the total sample, and, in general, the statistical reliability of these breakdown tabulations is not as great as that for the total sample.

The reader's attention is invited to the following related material of this office:

Report, Surveys Section, Intelligence Branch, ICD, "Incomes and Expenditures of German Families in the American Zone — Winter, 1946," 25 March 1946.

Reports, Surveys Branch, ODIC, appearing in "Information Control Intelligence Summary," No. 21, 1 December 1945 and No. 33, 2 March 1946.

Breakdown tabulations by "Class" and by "Socio-Economic Status" shown in the report differ in that the former classification was made by the respondents themselves, while the latter classification was arrived at by the interrogator after conducting the interview. The interrogator's classification is made after the respondent has already indicated that class of which he believes he is a part.

* These surveys are dated:

14 January	1946
14 February	1946
1 March	1946
5 April	1946
8 May	1946
7 June	1946

IV ...

In the period between January and June, 1946, four surveys reveal that the proportion believing prices will GO UP has increased from a low of 30% in January to 50% in June. In Berlin, only one fourth of the respondents hold this opinion, (page 2).

With only one exception, the proportion indicating that the Reichsmark will be worth as much in six months as at the time of interviewing has never reached a majority. Berliners, on the other hand, have a great deal less confidence in the stability of the Reichsmark with decisive majorities saying that it will lose its value, (pages 6 and 7).

In the American Zone only 27% of the respondents were able to select the correct statement (given a choice of three) defining the cause of inflation. Surprisingly, the number of Berliners was still lower — 14%, (page 10).

Slightly more than one third of the Zonal respondents and about two in five Berliners believe that there is a possibility of inflation in Germany today, (page 12).

Confidence that the American and German authorities want to and are in the position to prevent inflation is revealed in the following table, (pages 14 - 16):

AMZONE	Berlin	
85%	93%	say that the American and German authorities really want to prevent inflation.
79%	94%	say that they are able to do so.
		* * *
54%	72%	indicate that the Military Government and the Civil Administration are in the position to keep prices stable.
82%	91%	think that the Military and Civil Governments will actually do their best to hold prices on the present level.

R E S T R I C T E D

FINDINGS ...

Trend — expected rise of prices

The trend of opinions among the German population as to a rise in prices shows a great deal of fluctuation. To some extent this can be perhaps attributed to events taking place in the economic reform of Germany. Although there appears no surface explanation for the increase between January and February in the proportion believing that prices will rise, the drop between February and May could be due to the new tax laws enacted in the earlier month. The increase again between May and June appears contradictory to events taking place at the time, viz., request for currency reforms made by the Laenderrat.

The complete table showing results on this question over the entire period follows:

Question: "Do you think that most prices will stay the same or that they will go up or down ?"

American Zone:

	Jan. 1946	Feb. 1946	May 1946	June 1946
Sample	972	954	1504	1486
Go up	30%	56%	40%	50%
Go down	14	7	4	9
Remain the same	36	24	41	22
Qualified answers	*	-	-	2
No opinion	20	13	15	17
	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than 1%

Berliners feel quite differently than do residents in the American Zone, when asked their opinions on the problem of inflation. Only one fourth indicate an expected rise in prices. The fluctuation in Berlin opinions appears among those who say prices will either remain the same or go down. Berliners are probably subjected to extremely high prices now, and perhaps feel that prices cannot go any higher.

	Berlin:	
	May 12-[illegible]	June 12-[illegible]
Sample	194	196
Go up	25%	25%
Go down	27	41
Remain the same	45	31
Qualified answers	-	1
No opinion	3	2
	100%	100%

The belief that prices will GO UP is held most strongly by: Residents in Greater Hesse ... persons living in larger cities ... those in higher socio-economic and occupation levels ... and respondents with eight years or more education.

That prices will remain the SAME or GO Down receives greatest support from:

Residents in Bavaria and Wuerttemberg-Baden ... persons living in small towns and communities ... those in the lower half of the occupation and socio-economic scale.

R E S T R I C T E D

Reasons why prices are expected to GO UP (June 1946).

	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1486	196
Always inflation after a war; as long as there is money, prices will go up; if government loosens controls	17%	2%
Shortage of goods; very little available; shortage of raw materials; forced to import and imports are expensive	14	17
Taxes and reparations are so high, shipping costs	10	5
Black market, goods are being held back	4	**
The market is unstable, prices will go up until currency standard is settled	4	**
Germany is an impoverished nation, crop will be poor this year	1	-
Without industry, the money is worthless	*	1
Other reasons	2	**
No reason given	2	-
	54%	26%

(Columns total more than 50% and 25% respectively, the number saying that prices will GO UP, because some respondents gave more than one reason.)

* Less than 1%
\- Add to 1%

RESTRICTED

Reasons why prices are expected to GO DOWN (June 1946):

	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1486	196
Not enough money; can't afford even daily necessities; people don't earn enough to pay present prices	6%	27%
Goods are getting more plentiful	*	9
If prices go any higher, it will be unbearable	1	3
Prices will fall as soon as currency standard is set	1	-
Other reasons	1	1
No reason given	*	1
Total believing prices will GO DOWN	9%	41%

Reasons why prices are expected to remain at the SAME level (June 1946):

	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1486	196
Wages are stable; in order to have inflation, people must earn more money; people earn the same or less so prices can't go up; when there is no earning power, prices can't get any higher -- must go down	7%	14%
If prices don't stay the same, we'll have inflation	3	5
Government and/or MG USA will be able to maintain price control	3	5
So that the purchasing power will stay the same	2	2
Government and/or MG USA will stabilize currency; currency standard will be set	1	1
Goods getting more plentiful	*	2
Other reasons	*	-
No reason given	6	2
Total believing prices will remain on the SAME level.	22%	31%

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Trend -- anticipated value of Reichsmark

Just as the trend in the expected rise of price shows great fluctuations, so does the trend in the anticipated value of the Reichsmark. And again this may be attributed somewhat to the effect of expected currency reforms.

The decrease noted between April and June may very well have been caused by publicity given to the Laenderrat's request for currency reform and new money at that time.*

Whereas, the proportion in the Zone indicating that the Reichsmark will be worth as much in six months as it was at the time of interviewing reaches a majority but once, Berliners express a great deal more confidence in the stability of the mark with considerable majorities saying that the value will not change.

Question: "Do you think that the Reichsmark will be worth as much in six months as it is today?"

American Zone:

	Feb. 1946	April 1946	May 1946	June 1946
Sample	954	1501	1504	1486
Yes	28%	54%	47%	34%
No	49	25	27	34
No opinion	23	21	26	32
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Much of the indicated change in opinion is actually a shift from the "yes" to the "no" vote, since the change in the proportion holding "no opinion" on the question does not account for the entire amount of shift in opinion.

* Reference is made to articles in "News of Germany," Vol. 1, Nos. 90, 125, and 139.

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Question: "Do you think the Reichsmark will be worth as much in six months as it is today?"

Berlin:

	April 1946	May 1946	June 1946
Sample	199	194	196
Yes	75%	58%	63%
No	19	34	31
No opinion	6	8	6
	100%	100%	100%

Reasons why it is expected that the Reichsmark will have the SAME value six months from now (June 1946):

	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1486	196
General fear of inflation; if mark is not held at present level, we will have chaos; inflation means ruin	6%	11%
The government will keep the mark stable; the government has great interest in controlling the mark	5	13
Because of taxes or other withdrawal of currency	5	7
Economy will keep the mark stable; as long as the economy stays at its present level, so will the mark; if the prices do not go up, the mark will hold its value; price and wage control will stabilize the mark	4	12
The people will keep the mark stable; everybody fears inflation and will therefore help prevent it; everybody will do everything possible to prevent inflation	4	6
Have heard or read there will be no inflation	1	1
Other countries (presure by or because of them) will keep the mark stable; devaluation of the mark would hurt other countries dealing with Germany; other countries don't want inflation in Germany	*	*
Other reasons	1	3
No reason given	8	11
	34%	64% **

* Less than 1%

** This column totals more than 63%, the number saying the Reichsmark will have the same value six months from now, because a few respondents gave more than one reason.

Reasons why it is expected that the Reichsmark will NOT have the SAME value six months from now (June 1946):

	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1436	199
The evidence proves it: Prices are going up; everything costs more	9%	6%
Rumors, have heard it, cannot go on like this, can't stay at this level, world-wide situation	5	7
The evidence proves it: Value of the RM has gone down; the Reichsmark is worth less or nothing; RM is worth only one-half of its former value	5	4
There is no backing for the currency; the RM no longer has anything behind it	4	2
Too much money in circulation	3	2
Because of the black market	2	5
Inflation has already begun; there is nothing available to buy	1	5
Lack of confidence in currency	1	-
Because of the taxes	*	1
Other reasons	1	-
No reason given	3	2
	34%	34% **

* Less than 1%

** Column totals more than 31%, the number saying the Reichsmark will NOT have the same value six months from now, because some respondents gave more than one reason.

Knowledge of the cause of inflation

That actually causes inflation proved to be a puzzling problem to a majority of the respondents interviewed in this survey. Three alternative statements suggested as the cause of inflation were put to the respondents. Less than one third (27%) of the respondents selected that statement which most nearly represents the cause of inflation in Germany today.

Question: "We should like to find out what people think causes inflation. Here are three statements which are frequently made to describe the cause of inflation. Which one of them, in your opinion, most nearly explains the cause of inflation?"

June 1946:

	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1486	196
A. The higher prices go, the scarcer goods become	18%	33%
B. People have more money to buy with, and there are fewer goods on the market (correct)	27	14
C. Money in circulation loses its value because it is not supported in gold	32	40
More than one statement selected -- one of which was B	1	-
No opinion	21	10
No answer	1	3
	100%	100%

Those respondents who selected statements A and C were included in the category, "no opinion," since neither of these two statements was correct.

The table immediately following reveals those groups with the highest and lowest proportions selecting the correct statement:

	Group with HIGHEST proportion selecting correct statement	Group with LOWEST proportion selecting correct statement
City size groups	Residents in large cities	Residents in small towns and communities
Region	Bavaria	Greater Hesse
Present party preference	CSU	No party preference
Class levels	High and middle	Low and worker
Occupation	Professional and Business (upper)	Semi-skilled workers (lower)
Sex	Men	Women
Socio-economic status	Upper and middle	Lower and on relief
Education	Lowest and highest levels	Middle level (8years)

Statistical tabulations of the above table appear in the appendix to this report. With only few exceptions do certain groups of respondents fail to respond in an expected direction. The expected high proportion selecting the correct statements among Berliners and Hessians, a more sophisticated group of respondents than average, fails to appear; while those in the lower education level (with less than eight years schooling) register a higher proportion selecting the correct statement than do those with eight years education.

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Attitudes toward Military Government measures to prevent inflation

Among respondents in the American Zone, less than half (45%) believe that there is NO possibility of inflation in Germany today; while a majority of Berliners (56%) expressed this opinion. Such optimism should be considered in the light of the small proportion of respondents who were able to select the correct statement defining the cause of inflation, discussed previously.

Question: "Do you think there is a possibility of inflation in Germany today?"

	June 1946: AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1486	196
	36%	41%
Yes	45	56
No	19	3
Don't know	100%	100%

That there is a possibility of inflation receives greatest support from: residents in Wuerttemberg-Baden and Greater Hesse; persons living in large cities; the upper class, education, occupation and socio-economic levels; men; and adherents of the CDU. Detailed tabulations appear in the appendix.

Further indication that people in general are not familiar with the causes of inflation is shown in the reasons expressed by those people who indicated that there is a possibility of inflation in Germany today.

Question: "What makes you think there will be inflation?"

(asked of those respondents who said, "YES," in answer to the question, "Do you think there is a possibility of inflation in Germany today")

	June 1946: AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1456	196
Too much money in circulation	7%	5%
No backing for currency	6	8
Bad economic situation: nothing to buy, can't get anything you need even though you can pay for it	6	8
Black market	5	12
Prices are too high	5	6
It's up to the Allies --they can permit or prevent inflation	4	1
It happened after the last war; it cannot be prevented; it has already started	3	4
Reparations are too high	1	2
Other	1	1
Don't know	3	1
	41%	48%

(Columns total more than 36% and 41% respectively, the number saying that there is a possibility of inflation, because some respondents gave more than one answer.)

This question was also asked of those people who indicated they were uncertain or didn't know about the possibility of inflation in Germany today. Their reasons are not shown in tabular form, however, since most of these people were unable to give any answer.

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While a majority of respondents interviewed on this survey do not anticipate a possibility of inflation in Germany today, they nevertheless feel that American and German authorities really want to prevent inflation and that they will be able to do so.

More than eight in ten Zonal residents and 93% of the Berliners interviewed said that government authorities desire to prevent inflation. A slightly smaller majority (79%) in the Zone, and an almost identical majority in Berlin (94%) indicated that the American and German authorities will be able to prevent inflation.

Question: "Do you think the American and German authorities really want to prevent inflation?" US

June 1946:

	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1486	196
Yes	85%	93%
No	3	3
No opinion	12	4
	100%	100%

Question: "Do you think they (American and German authorities) will be able to do so (prevent inflation)? US

June 1946:

	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1486	196
Yes	79%	94%
No	3	2
Don't know	18	4
	100%	100%

Population groups with highest proportions indicating that the American and German authorities really want to prevent inflation are:

Residents in Bavaria and Wuerttemberg-Baden ... those living in medium sized and large cities ... men ... persons in the higher socio-economic, class, education and occupation levels ... and members of the SPD.

Expressing greatest confidence that American and German authorities will be able to prevent inflation are:

Residents in Bavaria and Wuerttemberg-Baden ... men ... persons in the high and middle class ... those with more than eight years education ... respondents in the upper and high-middle socio-economic status ... Professional and Business people ... and followers of the SPD.

The German public's misconception about the cause of inflation is further brought to light when considering that eight of ten people say that the American and German authorities really want to prevent inflation and that they will be able to do so, but only slightly more than half the respondents indicate that the Military Government and civil administration are in a position to keep prices at their present level. In Berlin, this proportion is considerably higher with 72% saying that the authorities are in a position to control prices. The question is related to that concerning the respondent's opinion as to whether or not prices will rise, the results (June, 1946) appearing on page 3

Question: "Do you think that the Military Government and the civil administration (Zivilverwaltung) are in the position to keep the prices on the present level?"

	June 1946:	
	US Zone	Berlin
Sample	1486	106
Yes	54%	72%
No	13	16
Uncertain	21	9
No opinion	12	3
	100%	100%

That the Military Government and civil administration are in a position to keep prices at their present level is held most frequently by:

Men ... persons with more than eight years education ... those in the upper and middle socio-economic status ... the high and middle class ... persons who have some present political party preference ... and professional and business people.

While only slightly more than half the German population in the American Zone interviewed on this survey say that the Military Government and civil administration are in a position to keep prices at their present level, eight in ten people say that the authorities will actually do their best in this respect.

Question: "Do you think that the Military Government and the civil government will actually do their best to hold prices on the present level?"

June 1946:

	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1486	196
Yes	82%	91%
No	4	7
Don't know	14	2
	100%	100%

That the best efforts of the Military and civil governments will be put forth in this direction is believed by above average proportions among the following groups:

Residents in the largest cities ..., men ... those with more than eight years education ... and those having some political party preference today, especially CDU members.

An interesting pattern develops in the cross tabulation of two questions concerning the stability of prices and the possibility of the Military and Civil Governments keeping prices at their present level. In general those who say prices will go up also say that the authorities are not in a position to hold them at their present level, and conversely.

Question: "Do you think that the Military Government and the Civil Administration (Zivilverwaltung) are in the position to keep the prices on the present level?"

American Zone:

	Prices will: GO UP	GO DOWN	RETAIN THE SAME	NO OPINION
Sample	743	132	329	252
Authorities are in position to hold prices at present levels	48%	71%	79%	20%
Authorities are NOT in position to hold prices at present levels	22	8	3	3
Uncertain	23	14	15	25
No opinion	7	7	3	40
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The relationship between the Military Government and the Civil Administration being in the position to hold prices at their present level and their doing their best to keep prices stable reveals some correlation. More than nine in ten persons who say that the authorities are in a position to keep prices down also say that they will do their best in this direction. Even among those who say the authorities are NOT in the position to hold prices down, more than seven in ten say they will do their best.

Question: "Do you think that the Military Government and the civil government will actually do their best to hold prices at their present levels?"

	American Zone: Governments are:			
	In position to hold prices down	NOT in position to hold prices down	Uncertain	No Opinion
Sample	810	192	314	176
Governments will do their best to hold prices down	93%	76%	73%	53%
Governments will NOT do their best to hold prices down	2	14	4	2
Don't know	5	10	23	45
	100%	100%	100%	100%

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In an attempt to determine the basis for their opinions, those respondents who said, (1) that the prices will GO UP and (2) that the Military Government and the Civil Administration are in a position to keep prices at their present level, were asked for their reasons. In general, the reasons given do not apply to the question, but are further evidence of the great confusion existing around the cause of inflation. It might be expected that a person who says that prices will go up and at the same time indicates that the authorities are in a position to hold prices at their present levels, would give some reason indicating that the authorities do not want to prevent inflation. Yet this is not so, because as previously shown, 93% of those people who say the governments are in a position to hold prices down also say that the authorities will actually do their best in this direction.

Question: "Why do you think that prices will go up and that the administration will be able to hold the prices on their present level?"

	American Zone: June 1946
Sample	356
Because of great scarcity of goods, factories are not producing	20%
An inflation won't last; prices can be held by good administration and cooperation of the authorities	18
Taxes too high, need money to pay them, imports too expensive, pressure of foreign goods and prices; pressure groups raise prices — farmers	14
Black market and uncontrolled prices will go up but legal prices will remain the same; not controlled; goods will be sold only on the black market	12
To devalue currency; too much money in circulation; to withdraw money from circulation	11
Legal prices for some things will go up; not all prices will go up	5
Revenge, reparations	4
Prices are always high	4
Lack of confidence in currency	3
Other reasons	1
No reason given	19
	111%

(Column totals more than 100% because some respondents gave more than one answer).

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It is clearly evident that most respondents did not attempt in their answers to correlate the two questions. Reasons were given why prices would go up or why the authorities are in a position to hold them stable, but not for the two statements together.

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ONCLUSIONS ...

It would appear that even those respondents in the sample who selected the correct statement as the cause of inflation in Germany, do not have any more clear cut idea of the actual cause than do other respondents. This would lead us to believe that there is no ready knowledge about inflation, but rather that respondents did little more than hazard a guess.

A campaign attempting to prevent inflation by explaining its cause and effects would, therefore, find no particular group in a position to absorb this information. In other words, awareness of the cause of inflation reflects absolutely no influence on opinions to other questions. In the United States, similar surveys found that those people aware of the cause of inflation held quite different attitudes on related questions than did those people not aware of the cause of inflation.

If a program of public education were instituted here in Germany, it would have to be directed to the entire population on a basis which they could understand. The tables on the following pages reveal this lack of expected differences in the answers between the group knowing the cause of inflation and the group not knowing the cause.

It would appear, in fact, that statement C, with the clause concerning the gold standard, is accepted by larger proportions among the more highly educated than are either of the other two statements. A wide spread educational campaign to inform the German people about the cause of inflation would therefore meet with considerable lack of acceptance, unless they could be brought about to understand that the gold standard has nothing to do with the cause of inflation in Germany today.

A great deal of difference exists, however, between those people who selected one of three choices and those who held no opinion on the question. There is, therefore, a group, about four-fifths of the population which holds some opinion as the cause of inflation. Regardless of whether or not their information is correct, there is only little difference in their attitudes on related questions.

One might conclude that those people who actually recognized the correct statement are motivated to hold attitudes which have no relation to the information on which they base their choice.

(Statement B in the following tables is correct as the cause of inflation in Germany today).

Question	Statement A	Statement B	Statement C	No Opinion
Sample	262	404	484	306
"Do you think that most prices will stay the same or that they will go up or down?"				
Go up	55%	51%	53%	39%
Go down	10	11	8	5
Remain the same	21	24	23	22
Qualified answers	2	3	3	1
No opinion	12	14	13	33
"Do you think that the Reichsmark will be worth as much in six months as it is today?"				
Yes	46%	37%	33%	24%
No	33	35	43	20
No opinion	21	28	24	56
"Do you think there is a possibility of inflation in Germany today?"				
Yes	38%	40%	41%	20%
No	46	48	46	39
Don't know	16	12	13	41

(continued)

Question	Statement A	Statement B	Statement C	No Opinion
Sample	262	404	484	306
"Do you think that the Military Government and the Civil Administration (Zivilverwaltung) are in the position to keep the prices on the present level?"				
Yes	61%	58%	53%	44%
No	14	12	16	8
Uncertain	18	23	22	20
No opinion	7	7	9	28
"Do you think that the Military Government and the Civil Government will actually do their best to hold prices on their present level?"				
Yes	86%	82%	86%	69%
No	3	5	4	3
Don't know	11	13	10	28
"Do you think that the American and German authorities really want to prevent inflation?"				
Yes	90%	88%	91%	71%
No	2	4	2	3
No opinion	8	8	7	26
"Do you think they (American and German authorities) will be able to do so (prevent inflation)?"				
Yes	85%	83%	83%	62%
No	3	3	3	2
Don't know	12	14	14	36

APPENDIX

Question: "We should like to find out what people think causes inflation. Here are three statements which are frequently made to describe the cause of inflation. Which one of them, in your opinion, most nearly explains the cause of inflation?"

Statement A: The higher prices go, the scarcer goods become

Statement B: People have more money to buy with, and there are fewer goods on the market

Statement C: Money in circulation loses its value because it is not supported in gold

	Region:		
	Bavaria	Greater Hesse	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	867	327	292
Statement A	19%	17%	15%
Statement B	30	17	30
Statement C	32	34	33
More than one statement selected — one of which was B	*	3	*
No opinion	18	28	21
No answer	1	1	1
	100%	100%	100%

* Less than 1%

Sample	City Size: Under 2,000	2,000-9,999	10,000-49,999	50,000-99,999	100,000 & over
	667	173	144	248	254
Statement A	20%	13%	22%	15%	13%
Statement B	26	18	30	29	33
Statement C	30	39	30	30	37
More than one statement selected — one of which was B	1	-	1	2	1
No opinion	22	24	17	24	16
No answer	1	1	2	*	*
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Sample	Sex: Men	Women
	709	777
Statement A	16%	20%
Statement B	31	24
Statement C	37	28
More than one statement selected — one of which was B	2	*
No opinion	13	27
No answer	1	1
	100%	100%

*Less than 1%

	Less Than Eight Years	Eight Years	More Than Eight Years
Sample	519	595	363
Statement A	20%	18%	14%
Statement B	30	23	31
Statement C	27	35	37
More than one statement selected — one of which was B	*	1	2
No opinion	22	22	16
No answer	1	1	*
	100%	100%	100%

Socio-Economic Status:

	Upper and High Middle	Lower Middle	Lower	Very low and On Relief
Sample	125	481	585	267
Statement A	19%	17%	18%	17%
Statement B	34	33	24	23
Statement C	31	30	35	31
More than one statement selected — one of which was B	2	2	*	*
No opinion	14	17	22	28
No answer	-	1	1	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than 1%

	Class: High & Middle	Worker & Lower
Sample	691	726
Statement A	18%	12%
Statement B	29	26
Statement C	32	33
More than one statement selected — one of which was B	2	*
No opinion	18	22
No answer	1	1
	100%	100%

	Present Party Preference: SPD	CDU	CSU	NONE	Don't Know
Sample	473	199	391	229	83
Statement A	18%	16%	22%	14%	12%
Statement B	26	27	31	25	27
Statement C	40	36	28	28	16
More than one statement selected — one of which was B	2	-	*	*	-
No opinion	14	20	18	32	43
No answer	*	1	1	1	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Less than 1%

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	Statement A	Statement B	Statement C	A & B or B & C	No Opinion No Answer
Occupation:					
Professional & Business	17%	33	33	1	16 ...100
Government, white Collar & Clerical	14	30	37	2	17
Skilled Workers	12	28	35	-	25
Semi-skilled Workers	22	24	27	1	26
Unskilled Labor	22	26	30	2	20
Farmers	20	27	30	1	22
Pensioned & Unemployed	17	23	32	*	28

* Less than 1%

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Question: "Do you think there is a possibility of inflation in Germany today?"

	Region:		
	Bavaria	Greater Hesse	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	867	327	292
Yes	33%	40%	41%
No	49	36	41
Don't know	18	24	18
	100%	100%	100%

	City Size:				
	Under 2,000	2,000-9,999	10,000-49,999	50,000-99,999	100,000 & over
Sample	667	173	144	248	254
Yes	35%	34%	40%	36%	40%
No	43	50	46	44	45
Don't know	22	16	14	20	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Sex:	
	Men	Women
Sample	709	777
Yes	42%	30%
No	46	44
Don't know	12	26
	100%	100%

	Less Than Eight Years	Eight Years	More Than Eight Years
Sample	519	595	363
Yes	30%	34%	49%
No	45	45	44
Don't know	25	21	7
	100%	100%	100%

Socio-Economic Status:

	Upper and High Middle	Lower Middle	Lower	Very Low and On Relief
Sample	125	481	585	267
Yes	46%	41%	31%	30%
No	43	44	50	39
Don't know	11	15	19	31
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Class:

	High & Middle	Worker & Lower
Sample	691	786
Yes	40%	33%
No	46	44
Don't know	14	23
	100%	100%

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Present Party Preference:

	SPD	CDU	CSU	NONE	Don't Know
Sample	473	199	391	229	83
Yes	38%	41%	34%	29%	27%
No	49	38	48	41	37
Don't know	13	21	18	30	36
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Yes	No	Don't Know	
Occupation:				
Professional & Business	45%	43%	12%	... 100%
Government, white Collar & Clerical	47	43	10	
Skilled Workers	31	47	22	
Semi-skilled Workers	26	50	24	
Unskilled Labor	40	42	18	
Farmers	29	42	29	
Pensioned & Unemployed	29	48	23	

Question: "Do you think that the American and German authorities really want to prevent inflation?"

	Region:		
	Bavaria	Greater Hesse	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	867	327	292
Yes	86%	74%	85%
No	4	1	3
No opinion	10	15	12
	100%	100%	100%

	City Size:				
	Under 2,000	2,000-9,999	10,000-49,999	50,000-99,999	100,000 & Over
Sample	667	173	144	248	254
Yes	84%	81%	87%	90%	87%
No	3	3	4	3	2
No opinion	13	16	9	7	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Sex:	
	Men	Women
Sample	709	777
Yes	90%	81%
No	4	3
No opinion	6	16
	100%	100%

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Education:

	Less Than Eight Years	Eight Years	More Than Eight Years
Sample	519	595	363
Yes	83%	85%	90%
No	3	3	3
No opinion	14	12	7
	100%	100%	100%

Socio-Economic Status:

	Upper and High Middle	Lower Middle	Lower	Very Low and On Relief
Sample	125	481	585	267
Yes	94%	87%	85%	79%
No	2	4	3	3
No opinion	4	9	12	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Class:

	High & Middle	Worker & Lower
Sample	691	786
Yes	88%	83%
No	4	3
No opinion	8	14
	100%	100%

RESTRICTED

Present Party Preference:

	Sample	SPD	CDU	CSU	NONE	Don't Know
		473	199	391	229	83
Yes		90%	89%	87%	75%	71%
No		2	2	3	5	5
No opinion		8	9	10	20	24
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	YES	NO	NO OPINION	
Occupation:				
Professional & Business	89%	4	7	... 100%
Government, white Collar & Clerical	88	5	7	
Skilled Workers	84	3	13	
Semi-skilled Workers	87	1	12	
Unskilled Labor	82	4	14	
Farmers	81	3	16	
Pensioned & Unemployed	84	2	14	

Question: "Do you think they (American and German authorities) will be able to do so (prevent inflation)?"

	Region:		
	Bavaria	Greater Hesse	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	867	327	292
Yes	80%	75%	79%
No	4	2	3
Don't know	16	23	18
	100%	100%	100%

	City Size:				
	Under 2,000	2,000-9,999	10,000-49,999	50,000-99,999	100,000 & Over
Sample	667	173	144	248	254
Yes	78%	80%	81%	77%	80%
No	3	1	5	4	4
Don't know	19	19	14	19	16
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Sex:	
	Men	Women
Sample	709	777
Yes	86%	72%
No	4	2
Don't know	10	26
	100%	100%

Education

	Less Than Eight Years	Eight Years	More Than Eight Years
Sample	519	595	363
Yes	76%	78%	84%
No	2	3	4
Don't know	22	19	12
	100%	100%	100%

Socio-Economic Status:

	Upper and High Middle	Lower Middle	Lower	Very Low and On Relief
Sample	125	481	585	267
Yes	85%	80%	79%	71%
No	3	4	2	3
Don't know	12	16	19	26
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Class:

	High & Middle	Worker & Lower
Sample	691	786
Yes	82%	76%
No	3	3
Don't know	15	21
	100%	100%

Present Party Preference:

	SPD	CDU	CSU	NONE	Don't KNOW
Sample	473	199	391	229	83
Yes	83%	80%	81%	67%	75%
No	3	3	3	4	2
Don't know	14	17	16	29	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	YES	NO	Don't KNOW	
Occupation:				
Professional & Business	84%	3	13	... 100%
Government, white Collar & Clerical	78	6	16	
Skilled Workers	80	3	17	
Semi-skilled Workers	79	1	20	
Unskilled Labor	78	5	17	
Farmers	78	3	19	
Pensioned & Unemployed	73	1	26	

Question: "Do you think that the Military Government and the Civil Administration (Zivilverwaltung) are in the position to keep the prices on the present level?" (June 1946)

	Region:		
	Bavaria	Greater Hesse	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	867	327	292
Yes	54%	56%	51%
No	13	9	16
Uncertain	23	19	19
No opinion	10	16	14
	100%	100%	100%

	City Size:				
	Under 2,000	2,000-9,999	10,000-49,999	50,000-99,999	100,000 & Over
Sample	667	173	144	248	254
Yes	55%	54%	60%	57%	45%
No	12	11	9	14	19
Uncertain	21	16	22	20	26
No opinion	12	19	9	9	10
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Sex:	
	Men	Women
Sample	709	777
Yes	62%	47%
No	15	11
Uncertain	17	25
No opinion	6	17
	100%	100%

RESTRICTED

Education:

	Less Than Eight Years	Eight Years	More Than Eight Years
Sample	519	595	363
	51%	53%	60%
Yes	13	11	16
No	22	23	18
Uncertain	14	13	6
No opinion	100%	100%	100%

Socio-Economic Status:

	Upper and High Middle	Lower Middle	Lower	Very Low and On Relief
Sample	125	481	585	267
	62%	58%	52%	46%
Yes	14	14	13	11
No	17	19	23	24
Uncertain	7	9	12	19
No opinion	100%	100%	100%	100%

Class:

	High & Middle	Worker & Lower
Sample	691	786
	58%	50%
Yes	13	13
No	20	23
Uncertain	8	14
No opinion	100%	100%

RESTRICTED

Present Party Preference:

Sample	SPD	CDU	CSU	NONE	Don't KNOW
	473	199	391	229	83
Yes	54%	57%	56%	47%	48%
No	15	11	12	12	10
Uncertain	21	16	22	27	22
No opinion	10	16	10	14	20
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Occupation:	YES	NO	UNCERTAIN	NO OPINION	
Professional & Business	60%	14	17	9	... 100%
Government, white Collar & Clerical	51	19	22	8	
Skilled Workers	53	11	22	14	
Semi-skilled Workers	[illegible]	12	24	13	
Unskilled Labor	56	10	22	12	
Farmers	53	10	21	16	
Pensioned & Unemployed	52	12	23	13	

R E S T R I C T E D

Question: "Do you think that the Military Government and the Civil Government will actually do their best to hold prices at their present levels?"

	Region: Bavaria	Greater Hesse	Wierttemberg-Baden
Sample	867	327	292
Yes	80%	84%	85%
No	4	2	4
Don't know	16	14	11
	100%	100%	100%

City Size:

	Under 2,000	2,000-9,999	10,000-49,999	50,000-99,999	100,000 & Over
Sample	667	173	144	248	254
Yes	79%	82%	83%	82%	86%
No	4	3	4	5	5
Don't know	17	15	13	13	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Sex:

	Men	Women
Sample	709	777
Yes	85%	78%
No	5	3
Don't know	10	19
	100%	100%

R E S T R I C T E D

Education:

	Less Than Eight Years	Eight Years	More Than Eight Years
Sample	519	595	363
Yes	79%	82%	86%
No	3	4	5
Don't know	18	14	9
	100%	100%	100%

Socio-Economic Status:

	Upper and High Middle	Lower Middle	Lower	Very Low and On Relief
Sample	125	483	585	267
Yes	79%	81%	81%	78%
No	6	4	4	4
Don't know	15	12	15	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Class:

	High & Middle	Worker & Lower
Sample	691	786
Yes	83%	80%
No	5	3
Don't know	12	17
	100%	100%

R E S T R I C T E D

	Present Party Preference:				
	SPD	CDU	CSU	NONE	Don't KNOW
Sample	473	199	391	229	83
Yes	83%	89%	80%	74%	77%
No	5	3	4	4	-
Don't know	12	8	16	22	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	YES	NO	Don't KNOW	
Occupation:				
Professional & Business	83%	4	13	... 100%
Government, white Collar & Clerical	83	6	11	
Skilled Workers	83	2	15	
Semi-skilled Workers	83	2	15	
Unskilled Labor	88	3	9	
Farmers	75	4	21	
Pensioned & Unemployed	77	4	19	

THE OMGUS SURVEYS

Volume II

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INFORMATION ABOUT THE LAND CONSTITUTIONS AND INTENTION TO VOTE IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL ELECTIONS

13 November 1946

Report No.26

SURVEYS BRANCH
INFORMATION CONTROL DIVISION
OMGUS (Rear) APO 757

Attitudes Toward The Land Constitutions And The Constitutional Elections

INTRODUCTION

Early in the Fall (first two weeks of September) a survey was conducted of a cross-section of the residents of the American Zone. A total of 2987 persons were questioned in an attempt to discover their knowledge about and awareness of the constitutional conventions then sitting, and to discover their predispositions toward voting on the constitutions once elections were held. The questioning was conducted by trained German interviewers working full-time for the Surveys Unit.

RESULTS -- Information about the Constitutions

Ignorance about the constitutions and the problems being met by the constitutional conventions was very widespread. Probably at most only one in five persons was sufficiently interested in the assemblies to have some bare information about the issues at stake.

When the cross-section of the population was asked: "Do you know what the purpose of the next election in (name of the Land) is?", only one in four (26%) answered that they thought they knew. However, among this proportion 2% were incorrectly informed and another 5% could offer only a general accounting for the election, such as, "to build a democtatic government", "to promote unity", "to discover the sentiment of the people", etc. In the final analysis, then, only 19% could be said to know that a Landtag election or a constitutional vote was to be held late in the Fall.

Confirming this degree of unawareness were the replies to a second informational question. Everyone was asked: "Do you happen to know whether or not the constitutional assemblies are sitting these days?" Three in four people admitted that they did not know, a few guessed the assemblies were not sitting, and only one in five (22%) averred correctly that they were sitting.

Even when queried as to the task of the Constitutional Assemblies only about one in four (27%) were able to reply in the obvious fashion that new constitutions, or basic laws, were being written.+ Again a small minority (8%) spoke beside the point, and generally, to the effect that "general reconstruction", "the construction of a democratic Germany", "care for the general welfare", "the creation of peace and order", or "the unity of the four zones" constituded the problem of the assemblies. The remainder (65%) offered no reasoned accounting of the task before the constitutional bodies.

+ The question was: "In your opinion, what is the task before the constitutional assemblies?" Inability to reply to such a patently obvious question indicates that the concepts involved in "constitutional assemblies" ("Gesetzgebende Versammlung") were beyond the experience of the large majority.

The representative population was additionally asked whether they were interested in politics or preferred leaving politics to others. Among those who said they were interested in politics half (50%) were able to state what the purpose of the coming elections is. At the same time, the larger body of the population which desired to leave politics to others was found to be much less frequently informed. Only one in eight (12%) could account for the coming elections. In other words, expressed interest in politics represented a real effort to become informed or real achievement in this direction.

Finally, somewhat more of those who expected to vote in the constitutional elections in the Fall were also aware (28%) of the purpose of the election, when their replies were contrasted with the replies of those who did not expect to vote. About one in five (18%) of the latter indicated they knew this minimal amount of information.

-- Voting Expectations

A large majority (78%) of the general population said they would vote in the coming elections and an additional small minority (4%) said they were undecided about voting. Under the best conditions, as many as 82% of the total adult population expected to turn out in the coming elections.

Again a larger proportion of the politically interested expected to act upon their interest and to vote (85%) when contrasted with the expected behavior of the uninterested (75% expected to vote) or those who could not decide whether or not they were interested in politics (60% would vote).

Nearly unanimous sentiment was recorded by political party members (97%), while the very large body of non-members reacted like the general population toward voting (78% planned to vote). However, only slight variations were found among the intentions of followers of the separate parties. People who classified themselves as preferring "no party" were least inclined (47%) to vote, and they were seconded by those who could not decide which party they preferred (62%).

These results indicate that if party lines were drawn upon the issue of approval-disapproval of the Constitutions, the next elections would result in another expression of party preference within each Land. Since the separate parties and other major pressure groups have all approved the Constitutions it must be assumed that a very large vote of approval will be cast in favor of the Constitutions.+

Greater interest of the more sophisticated upper classes was expressed in larger proportions reporting an intention to vote than that expressed by lower social classes. Thus more than eight in ten (84%) of the upper class said they would vote while ten percent fewer (74%) of the lowest class held

---

+ At the time of this survey the Constitutions had not been completed and it was impossible to test sentiment for or against them as written today. In view of the widespread ignorance about the documents, however, it can be maintained that any sentiment recorded toward them would be highly unstable and subject to widest fluctation under some types of pressure. The practical elimination of disturbance by major groups (through securing their concurrence) should ensure a heavy vote of confidence.

TABULAR RESULTS

"Do you plan to vote in the coming elections?"

	Yes	No	Don't know	Sample
NSDAP Membership				
Former member	61%	34%	5%	413
Non-member, but member in family	78	17	5	528
Neither	82	13	5	2039.
Present Party Preference				
SPD	85	12	3	892
KPD	89	8	3	63
CDU	87	10	3	366
CSU	88	9	3	708
LDP	86	12	2	58
No opinion	62	25	13	235
Like/Want no party	47	41	12	420
Education				
7 years or less	83	12	5	1124
8 years	76	19	5	1223
9 to 11 years	77	17	6	431
12 or more years	75	21	4	196
Age				
20 to 29 years	77	19	4	464
30 to 39 years	82	13	5	728
40 to 49 years	79	15	6	763
50 to 59 years	81	14	5	499
60 to 69 years	82	13	5	332
70 or more years	83	8	9	119
Sex				
Men, capable of working	79	17	4	1233
Men, incapacitated	80	16	4	133
Women, capable of working	78	16	6	1477
Women, incapacitated	73	15	12	137
Socio-economic Status				
Upper	84	13	3	38
Upper Middle	82	15	3	222
Lower Middle	80	16	4	886
Upper Lower	79	16	5	1249
Lower Lower	74	18	8	509
On Relief	63	27	10	79
Have a Telephone				
Telephone	78	19	3	206
No telephone	79	16	5	2769
Party Membership				
Belong to a political party	97	2	1	120
Non-member	78	17	5	2857
Interested in politics	86	22	2	1060
Not interested in politics	75	19	6	1856
Can't say about interest in politics	60	12	28	58

Land by Rural-urban	Yes	No	Don't know	Sample
Bavaria	79%	15%	6%	1689
Under 5000	79	15	6	1073
5000 to 100,000	79	16	5	341
Over 100,000	75	17	8	285
Gross Hessen	79	17	4	690
Under 5000	76	18	6	390
5000 to 100,000	87	12	1	178
Over 100,000	75	22	3	102
Wuerttemberg-Baden	77	19	4	626
Under 5000	73	21	6	278
5000 to 100,000	83	15	2	220
Over 100,000	77	21	2	128

R E S T R I C T E D

GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN GERMANY: FREQUENCIES OF GROUP CONTACTS

13 November 1946

Report No.27

SURVEYS BRANCH
INFORMATION CONTROL DIVISION
OMGUS (Rear) APO 757

R E S T R I C T E D

INTRODUCTION

Introductory to a study projected for a later date questions were put to a regular sample of residents of some American occupied areas, during the first two weeks of September, to test the extensity of relations established between Germans and Americans in Germany. Within the American Zone 2987 persons were questioned and in Berlin an additional 404 were asked to answer the identical questionnaire. Each of these two samples can be said to represent the parent population .. the American Zone, and the American and British sectors of Berlin. The questioning was done by trained German interviewers working full-time for the Surveys Unit.

RESULTS --- Overall Zonal and Berlin

The two questions basic to this report were: "Have you by chance come to know well, or rather well, an American who belongs to the American occupation forces stationed in Germany?" Those whose answers indicated they had not come to know an American at least "rather well" were then asked: "Have you ever had the opportunity, since the beginning of the occupation, to talk with an American?" Replies in the affirmative to this question were accepted when the intention was to indicate a conversation about matters other than such trivia as giving street directions.

Two-thirds (66%) of the population of the American Zone said they had had no relations with the American forces, even as meager as a conversation. Another fifth (20%) said they had talked with an American since the beginning of the occupation, while only about one in seven (14%) claimed to have come to know an American "Well" or "fairly well".

In the American an British sectors of Berlin the interrelationship was even less extensive -- eight in ten people admitted no relationship, about one in seven (13%) said they had talked with an American, and the rest (7%) claimed closer acquaintanceship.

-- Group Differences in the Zone

1. Americans in Germany, from the data presented below, have not come into contact with all types of German people equally. Some large groups have had little contact with the Americans while relations seen to be extensively developed with other groups. It can be concluded that Americans have seen a distorted picture of the German people. They do not meet a representative sample of the population. Rather they meet those people who, from some points of view, can be said to be the "better" Germans -- better in class, social position, occupational status, and education. As a result of such impressions the way is open for judgments to be formed which leave out of account types unmet and characteristic groups unseen.

2. Some variations in group activities allow presumptive interpretations as to who took the initiative -- Germans or Americans. For instance, fewer women (32%) than men (42%) had developed some relations, even if only conversational, with Americans. But among the needy group of the unemployed, unemployed women (42%) had more frequently than unemployed men (33%) struck up some relationship with an American. On the other hand, it might be interpreted that Americans in Germany have more occasion to call on the services of craftmen than of unskilled laborers. Nearly half the former (49%) had had some definite contact with Americans, while only about one-third (32%) of the latter had been in a similar position. Among German youth, too, the advances of young men are probably more aggressive than those of young women. More men between 20 and 29 years old (53%) than women of the same age group (43%) reported contacts with Americans. But the contrast between the activity of these young women and that of women over 70 years old is very gross. Only 6% of the latter said they had engaged in relations with Americans. Reluctance here is probably two-sided.

3. Perhaps the most important variable determining interrelationships between Germans and Americans is socio-economic status. The higher a German's social and economic position the greater is the likelihood that a relationship has been established with an American. Hence the better educated, too, have more frequently than the poorly educated associated with Americans. And those in leadership positions, those with specialized occupations, also reported more frequent contacts.

Regular gradations of extensity of contact can be seen among social class groups. While only about one in seven (15%) respondents living from government relief knew or had talked with an American, 22% of the lower class had done so. Among the upper class more than half (55%) reported contacts.

Likewise, fewer people with 7 years or less formal education (29%) claimed inter-group activity than did those with 12 or more years (college) education (54%).

A large majority (66%) of men whose employement is classified as "professional" had entertained American conversation or acquaintanceship. But few farmers (37%), or unskilled (32%), or semi-skilled (38%), or skilled workers (38%) had done likewise. Nearly half the businessmen (46%) and the white-collar workers (52%) had enjoyed such relations.

4. Americans in Germany have had much more extensive contacts with men than with women; and with younger people than with older people. Among men progressively smaller proportions reported contacts as age increased. Only about one-fourth (24%) of the men over 70 claimed such activity, while a majority of those under 20 (59%) spoke to the same point.

This relationship, however, was not maintained so neatly among women. As has been seen, a very small proportion of the women over 70 (6%) reported contacts and a much larger pro-

portion of the girls between 20 and 29 (43%) did likewise. However, among the youngsters under 20 a decrease in the proportion reporting relations can be noted. Only three in ten (30%) among this age group claimed to know or to have talked with an American.

The interpretation is suggested that family pressure restrains the activities of the youngest adult girls, but that such restraint is relaxed when girls are more than 20 years old. Further, since the proportions reporting relations with Americans scarcely varies for girls between 30 and 59 it must be assumed that there is little drive on the part of Americans to select younger mature women as an object of their attentions.

The table below indicates that class differences may be held to be more important than age differences. Variation between activities of the two sexes within various age groups is relatively weighted according to each particular complex.

	No relation	Talked with American	Know an American	Sample
Men, under 40 years old, 9 or more years education, Middle and Upper class	30%	32%	38%	109
Men, 60 years old or more, 8 or more years education, Lower class	6	15	79	143
Women, under 30 years old, 8 or more years education, Middle and Upper class	14	33	53	104
Women, under 30 years old, 8 or more years education, Lower class	13	23	64	174
Women, 40 years old or more, 8 or more years education, Lowest class	5	9	86	109

5. Representatives of certain active groups which embody some of the characteristics already mentioned have developed contacts more frequently than the average German. The groups and proportions shown below are worthy of note insofar as they contain active members of the population --- people whose complex of background and present position, or whose outlook and direction of interest, has probably moved

servative followers of the LDP tended more than other groups to have a sizeable proportion reporting German-American relations. The active and alert followers of the Communist party also tended to show a similar frequency of activity. The politically interested SPD followers, too, slightly more frequently than CDU or CSU followers had established some relations. Finally, the apathetic, the ignorant, the uninterested who claimed no party or liked none of the existing parties had less frequently than the average come to know or talk with an American.

TABULAR RESULTS

	No relation	Talked with an American	Know an American	Sample
Land by Rural-urban				
Bavaria	64%	20%	16%	1664
Under 2000	65	23	12	314
2000-5000	64	21	15	239
5000-100,000	59	17	24	338
100,000 & over	71	14	15	273
Hessen	58	29	13	667
Under 2000	59	32	9	275
2000-5000	56	34	10	114
5000-100,000	53	27	20	177
100,000 & over	67	22	11	101
Wurttemberg-Baden	72	17	11	625
Under 2000	77	19	4	188
2000-5000	64	22	14	88
5000-100,000	70	14	16	220
100,000 & over	72	16	12	129
Economic Status				
Upper	45	21	34	38
Upper Middle	49	25	26	221
Lower Middle	56	28	16	882
Upper Lower	67	20	13	1239
Lower Lower	78	15	7	498
On Relief	85	4	11	76
Membership in a Political Party				
Member	47	34	19	120
Non-member	65	21	14	2831
Have a Telephone				
Telephone	53	22	25	206
Non-telephone	65	21	14	2741

	No relation	Talked with an American	Know an American	Sample
NSDAP Membership				
Former member	55%	27%	18%	409
Respondent non-member but member in family	63	24	13	523
Neither	67	19	14	2021
Army Service				
Former PW	56	24	20	434
Former soldier, non-PW	56	21	23	314
Religion				
Irregular Catholic	59	22	19	527
Irregular Protestant	62	23	15	827
Regular Catholic	66	21	13	1025
Regular Protestant	71	20	9	493
Education				
7 years or less	71	19	10	1105
8 years	65	22	13	1216
9-11 years	56	24	20	430
12 years or more	46	31	23	194
Sex by Age				
Men				
Under 20	41	26	33	34
20-29	47	28	25	170
30-39	56	21	23	271
40-49	58	26	16	381
50-59	59	22	19	249
60-69	67	19	14	183
70 or older	76	18	6	67
Women				
Under 20	70	23	7	44
20-29	57	26	17	292
30-39	68	21	11	446
40-49	72	19	9	376
50-59	71	22	7	245
60-69	84	11	5	142
70 or older	94	6	-	49
Party Preference				
SPD	60	23	17	889
KPD	52	23	25	33
CDU	67	23	10	364
CSU	65	23	12	697
LDP	40	31	29	58
DVP	59	24	17	92
No opinion	78	15	7	232
Want/Like no party	71	16	13	415

	No relation	Talked with an American	Know an American	Sample
Suffered under occupation	60%	21%	19%	179
Did not suffer under occupation	65	22	13	1725
Interested in politics	55	26	19	574
Not interested in politics	70	19	11	1281
Occupation by Sex				
Men	58	23	19	1356
Professional	34	32	34	50
Independent Business	54	21	25	120
Officials	57	22	21	95
Craftsmen	51	25	24	136
White Collar	48	28	24	171
Skilled Workers	62	20	18	215
Semi-skilled	62	23	15	120
Unskilled	68	17	15	116
Farm	63	27	10	275
Women	68	21	11	1601
Professional	60	23	17	40
Independent Business	63	25	12	109
Officials	66	24	10	128
Craftsmen	70	20	10	94
White Collar	59	23	18	253
Skilled Workers	74	16	10	265
Semi-skilled	78	13	9	133
Unskilled	71	20	9	171
Farm	74	21	5	288

RESTRICTED

AN INVESTIGATION TO DETERMINE ANY CHANGES IN ATTITUDES OF NATIVE GERMANS TOWARD THE EXPELLEES IN WUERTTEMBERG - BADEN

SURVEYS BRANCH

Information Control Division
Report No.28
OMGUS (Rear)

14 November 1946

RESTRICTED

SUMMARY

1. As in March, the majority of the expellees express satisfaction with their reception in Land Wuerttemberg-Baden. One in ten of the expellees do not classify themselves as Germans and have not been able to adjust themselves to their new environment.

2. There is less willingness among the native Germans to accept the expellee as a member of German society. There is a consistent minority who are negative in attitude towards the expellee.

3. As in March, a large majority (8 out of 10) believe that the expulsion is not justified.

4. There is a strong homogeneity in the attitudes of the population in regard to the expellees. Those groups normally opposed to the Allies who were once willing to assume the respon - sibility for the care of the expellees now deny this responsibil- ity like the rest of the population.

5. The presence of the expellees in German society furnishes this society with a potential scapegoat. The possible assimilation of the expellees depend upon favorable economic conditions, absent in the Germany of today. This poses the problem of either strict control or economic aid to the Zone to a degree that the expellees will not be used as scapegoats.

INTRODUCTION

The October 19, 1946 issue of The News of Germany reported that according to the Ministry of Interior of Land Wuerttemberg - Baden, 502, 994 refugees and expellees are now living in this Land out of a total of 2, 250, 000 expellees expected in the Amzon. Last March, just before the greatest influx of refugees, a survey* of public opinion was made of the American Zone to investigate the attitudes among refugees, expellees and the native population .The survey reported here was begun on the 13th of September and is complementary to the first and seeks to discover whether there have been any significant changes of attitude in Land Wuerttemberg-Baden toward the expellee problem.

A total of 624 people were interviewed; a tenth (8.5%) of whom had lived in this particular locality for a period less than a year, a tenth (9.5%) of whom had lived there for a period not exceeding four years; most (82%) of whom had lived in Wuerttemberg-Baden for a period exceeding five years. Some questions were directed to the expellees alone, others to the older residents and most to the entire group.

Two conditions differing from the first survey must be kept in mind. One, the increased number of expellees, the other, the approach of winter. The increased number of expellees within Land Wuerttemberg-Baden coupled with the intervening six months since the first survey finds several significant changes in attitude. The shortage of housing, food and clothing, if intensified by a hard winter will probably increase resentment in all groups.

FINDINGS

Reaction of the Expellees.

There are no unusual changes of attitudes among the expellees. This may be due to the fact that they are reconciled to staying in the Amzon for an indefinate period and are resolved to make the best of their condition.

In March three out of four of the expellees stated that they were satisfied with their reception in the Amzon. With a further increase of their numbers this proportion has declined slightly (3 out of 5), but this particular group seems to have achieved a satisfactory adjustment to their new environment. Further probing reveals that this proportion of the expellees consider themselves as German citizens (Deutsche Staatsbuerger). A smaller proportion (2 out of 5) of the expellees have been able to continue the same occupation they had originally while the rest have either not found a suitable job or found substitutes.

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* German Attitudes Toward the Expulsion of German Nationals from Neighboring Countries

pub. by: Surveys Branch, ICD, DB/w OMGUS (Rear)
8 July 1946

Two out of five of the expellees who were dissatisfied with their reception stated that the native Germans did not regard them as Germans and considered them as human beings of inferior value, as foreigners or as beggars. This same proportion of the expellees did not classify themselves as German citizens and claimed Hungary, Czechoslovakia and other countries as their native states. One in ten of the expellees considered themselves as stateless. Further probing reveals that one in ten of the expellees cannot speak German. Hence, one may assume a language barrier as well as dialectic differences which differentiate the expellee from the native population, and slows the assimilative process. The proportion of the expellees who were dissatisfied with their reception have different loyalties from the mass of the population and will be the most difficult element to absorb. They, by their differences promise to be a constant cource of irritation to the native Germans for some time to come.

While most of the expellees are satisfied with their reception in the Amzon, the majority (7 out of 10) expressed a desire to return to their original home. This desire is qualified by a return to the conditions which existed prior to the war. Depending upon their place of origin, they state that either the Russians should not be there, or they refuse to be under a Polish government, or they would want all their former property restored, etc.

In March, during the Spring food shortage, more than half of the expellees in the Amzon considered food to be their major problem. In this survey, housing was named as the greatest difficulty they have met since coming to the Amzon by a third (35%) of the expellees. Smaller groups considered work (20%) and clothing (20%) to have been their most important problem, but only one of the fifty-four expellees questioned named food. With the coming of winter, when asked to name what they thought their most important problem will be, nearly half (43%) mentioned housing. Clothing and shoes were second (39%) in importance, followed by work (31%) and then by food (24%).

Half of the expellees are satisfied with their treatment by the German officials and the remainder wish for more clothing and food coupons and action on the housing situation. They are satisfied (45 out of 54 expellees questioned) with the role which the American government plays in their welfare and believe that it is doing its best.

By and large most of the expellees seem to have made a satisfactory adjustment to their environment. The minority who have not adjusted satisfactorily have been unable to do so because of ethnic and language differences.

Belief in the justification of the Expulsion.

As in March, everyone was asked whether they believed that the expulsion was justified. Approximately the same ration (8 out of 10) replied in the negative. The least educated members of the population had a somewhat higher (96%) average. Less than one in ten (7%) believed that the expulsion was justified. While there has been little change in opinion within the past six months there has been a growing tendency to regard the expellee as a citizen of his original home. The feeling that the expulsion is not justified may grow as increasing numbers of the native population consider them to be foreigners.

Responsibility for the care of the Expellees

In March, certain elements of German society, e.g. the better educated, the middle classes and former NSDAP members were much more willing to assume the responsibility for the care of the expellees than the rest of the population. When the entire group was questioned in September about who bears the main responsibility for the care of the expellees there was little difference between the various groups of society. Nearly half of the entire group (43%) said the Germans (46% among former NSDAP members; 43% among residents of five or more years; 41% among the middle classes). Roughly one in four said the American bear this responsibility. Again, when asked to evaluate American assistance in handling the expellee problem, there was the same uniformity of opinion. About three out of four (73%) of the entire group were satisfied (76% former NSDAP members; 73% among residents of five or more years; 75% of the middle classes, 59% among the better educated). Of the minority who were not satisfied with the aid of the American Government, most (40%) asked for more food and clothing and a fourth (23%) asked for the release of building materials. The same demands made by those who were dissatisfied with the German officials.

This reversal in trend apparent in the most obstinate groups" in German society is in agreement with the earlier analysis which ascribed their willingness to assume the care of the refugees on the basis of opposition to the Allies rather than the possession of a basic interest in their welfare. One can conclude that the expellees have come in numbers which has materially affected the economy of the Land to such an extend that the entire native population is characterized by a homogeneity of opinion in regard to the expellee problem.

Can the Expellee be Successfully Assimilated?

Approximately three out of four of the people questioned (roughly equal to the number in March) believed that the Expellee should have equal political rights. Of the minority

(17%) who believed that they should not have equal rights, almost half (40%) stated that the expellees are not Germans and do not think as Germans.

This surveys has revealed that there is a consistent minority of the native Germans who are entirely negative in their reaction towards the expellees. This group is reinforced by the minority of the expellees who claim allegiance to their original homeland. The question of the successful assimilation of the expellees into the local society is dependent primarily upon factors which will discourage the growth of either of these groups. Factors such as a hard winter, inadequate housing, inadequate clothing, and inadequate food for all contribute to a dangerous situation. The presence of this minority (the expellees as a whole) constitutes a potential scape goat. There is a strong tendency of the entrenched native group in any society to regard the recent arrival, even after a generation or more of residence as 'foreigners' (e.g., the native white American considering the Italo-American or the Polish-American as a 'foreign element'). This is almost altruism in Europe where small ethnic elements preserve their identity for generations, viz., the Basques of Spain, the Balts, the Sudeten Germans, etc. Furthermore, the assimilation of immigrant groups into American society has been aided by a frontier economy, i.e., open lands, shortage of labor, a fluid society, etc., characteristics absent in the present situation in Germany. To prevent any organized resistance to the expellees demands either rigid control or else the alleviation of any economic distress within the Zone which can be ascribed to their presence--a task of years duration.

APPENDIX*

"Do you think the expulsion of these people from Czechoslovakia and Hungary is justified or unjustified?"

	No Answer or Opinion	Justified	Unjustified	Sample Size
Wuerttemberg-Baden (Total Sample)				
March 1946	13%	10%	75%**	246
September 1946	7%	9%	84%	624
Education				
7 years or less of school	5.5%	8.5%	96%	202
8 years	9%	11%	80%	218
More than 8 years	10%	2%	87%	89
Former NSDAP Members	4%	9%	87%	134

"In your opinion, who should be responsible for the care of these people?"**

	No Answer or Opinion	Int'l Organizations	Countries which expelled them	Germany, Germans and the Americans
Wuerttemberg-Baden (Total Sample)				
March 1946	16%	15%	7%	62%***
September 1946	15%	16%	36%	33%
Education				
7 years or less	9%	14%	35%	42%
8 years	--	14%	37%	49%
Over 8 years	11%	15%	37%	39%
Former NSDAP Members	11%	16%	36%	37%

* Unless otherwise indicated, percentage figures given are only for native residents (5 or more years residence in Wuerttemberg - Baden).

** Sample sizes are similar to the above table.

***This figure includes Germans; former PGs; Germany and the countries that kicked them out; Germany and the Americans and the Allies.

In March 1946 .....Germans alone--39% of total.
In September 1946....Germans alone--27% of total.

** 2% Partly justified.

"Do you believe that the American authorities are doing all they can in their power to give assistance to German officials to solve this problem?"

	No Answer or Opinion	Yes	No	Sample Size
Wuerttemberg-Baden (Total Sample)				
September 1946	10%	73%	17%	624
Expellees	11%	83%	6%	54
Education				
7 years or less of school	13%	76%	11%	202
8 years	6%	77%	17%	218
Over 8 years of school	12%	59%	29%	89
Former NSDAP Members	8%	76%	16%	134
Socio-Economic Status (Total Sample)				
Middle Classes and above	11%	70%	19%	227
Lower Classes	10%	74%	16%	397

"Do you believe that the expellees are influencing favorably the economy of the American Zone, or do you think they will be a burden on the financial and economic status of the American Zone?"

	No Answer or Opinion	Favorable Influence	Burden on Zone	Sample Size
Wuerttemberg-Baden (Total Sample)				
September 1946	9%	13%	78%	624
Education				
7 years or less of school	8%	14%	78%	202
8 years	10%	15%	75%	218
Over 8 years	7%	9%	84%	89
Former NSDAP Members	8%	9%	83%	134
Socio-Economic Status (Total Sample)				
Middle Classes and above	6%	11%	83%	227
Lower Classes	10%	15%	75%	397

THE TREND OF CARES AND WORRIES IN GERMANY

21 November 1946

Report No.29

SURVEYS BRANCH
INFORMATION CONTROL DIVISION
OMGUS (Rear) APO 757

Germans interviewed in the course of regular public opinion surveys by the ODIC Surveys Unit are regularly asked what their current cares and worries are. The people questioned compose samples of the population of the entire American Zone. Previous reports of findings about chief cares and worries covered the period from November 1945 through mid-April 1946. (See ICIS Nos. 28 and 46).

ZONAL RESULTS

The two lists below show the six problems which were most frequently mentioned in May, and in October, in order of frequency of mention. The variation in order demonstrates a shift toward greater material distress among the concerns of the general population.

May	October
Lack of food	Lack of food
Anxiety over PsW	Lack of clothing, shoes
Unemployment	Unemployment
Lack of clothing, shoes	Anxiety over PsW
Lack of implements of production	Housing, furnishing problems
General insecurity	Lack of implements of production

Food remained the most frequently mentioned concern of the public throughout this period. The rise in number of mentions in mid-April from about one-fourth of the population to more than one-third has held at the higher level through the last seven months. In order words, worry about the lack of food increased when rations were reduced, but has not yet declined after rations were again increased.

Anxiety about PsW and missing people has very slowly declined. However, it has been replaced in the order of difficulties by worry about the lack of clothing and shoes.... a factor which has a more direct and material impact upon individuals. Again, feeling of general insecurity or concern over the future of Germany has been replaced by material distress in housing difficulties. Reading these data it can be held that the German economy, while being rebuilt insofar as its basic industries are concerned, is falling behind in satisfying some basic needs of the population.

Table I

Question : "What gives you the greatest care and worry at present?"

	1st of May	June	Last of June	July	August	September	October
Lack of food	34%	38%	36%	35%	33%	35%	36%
Anxiety about PsW and missing people	18	17	19	15	14	16	15
Lack of clothing, shoes	15	25	21	18	25	30	23
Lack of implements of gainful production	10	9	8	8	10	10	7
Housing, furnishing problems	7	9	13	8	7	9	9
Unemployment, no adequate support	18	17	18	19	21	18	22
Health, physical disability	5	6	7	5	6	6	7
Difficulties from membership in NSDAP	5	6	4	5	4	4	3
General insecurity about future, Germany	9	6	9	7	8	12	6
Difficulties as evacuee, refugee	3	6	6	5	5	7	4
Nothing to buy	2	2	4	4	2	4	7
Lack of fuel	++	1	1	1	2	3	4
Other difficulties	6	20	9	9	4	7	4
No difficulties	5	7	5	5	5	4	4
TOTAL ANSWERS +	137%	169%	159%	152%	146%	165%	151%
TOTAL INTERVIEWS	1427	1485	1524	1536	2969	2985	2983

\+ Add to more than 100% because more than one answer in some cases

++Less than ½ of 1%

Although difficulties arising out of the lack of clothing and shoes have been on the ascendent throughout the last seven months, a sharp drop was apparent in the proportion of people making such complaints between September and October. It is possible that clothing and shoes were released in some quantities during that month in anticipation of the coming winter.

There has been apparent, too, an increase in the number of cares or worries mentioned by the people questioned. In the five separate reports made between November 1945 and April 1946 an averange of 1.4. difficulties were reported by the respondents. But in the seven succeeding reports people, on the average mentioned 1.5 cares or worries. This is interpreted to mean that people are beset by more problems recently than they were previously. Clothes and shoes, for instance, are wearing out without being replaced. Living quarters are being more crowded by the influx of evacuees although rebuilding is widespread, the number of troops stationed in Germany has declined, and the displaced persons have been largely returned to their countries of origin.

THE LAENDER COMPARED

Comparing the separate Laender, the major variation among the replies is seen to be the larger proportion in Württemberg-Baden who mention the lack of food as a principle concern. Fewer people in both Hessen and Bavaria worried about this problem, although in all three areas food was mentioned by a plurality of respondents.

Between Summer and Fall a certain increase can be observed in the proportions claiming difficulties getting clothing and shoes, and fuel. The first of these difficulties, however, was obviously a major concern, while the last was articulated by less than one in twenty people. And in Bavaria even more people mentioned difficulty with the scarcity of clothing than spoke about the lack of food. On the other hand, Hessians tended to express dissatisfaction on this score less frequently than did residents of the other two Laender.

Residents of Württemberg-Baden, too, were more ready to vocalize complaints than were residents in the other areas. Actual living conditions, it can be maintained, are at a lower standard in that Land truncated as it is and divorced from the richer land areas that traditionally fed its population.

TABLE II

Question: "What gives you the greatest care and worry at present?"

BY LAND

	Bavaria		Gross Hessen		W.-Paden	
	Jul Aug	Sep Oct	Jul Aug	Sep Oct	Jul Aug	Sep Oct
Food	31%	32%	29%	32%	48%	50%
PsW	13	11	16	17	16	17
Clothing, Shoes	27	35	16	29	20	33
Implements	9	10	8	9	7	4
Housing, Furnishing	8	9	6	7	9	11
Unemployment	20	19	16	19	22	25
Health	6	6	6	7	5	7
PG	5	4	2	3	5	4
Insecurity	6	5	9	6	9	9
Evacuee, Refugee	6	6	1	3	5	5
Nothing to buy	3	5	2	3	2	8
Fuel	1	3	1	4	2	5
Other	6	5	5	4	2	10
None	4	4	8	6	3	2
TOTAL ANSWERS	145%	156%	127%	151%	155%	190%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	2581	3422	1012	1335	921	1253

RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENCES

Within the separate Laender certain differences between the difficulties voiced in communities of varying size were observed. In each Land, food was a concern of a much larger proportion of the population of the larger cities than it was of the residents of smaller communities. However, in Württemberg-Baden even in the small towns containing between 2000 and 10,000 people concern over food was expressed by nearly as large a proportion as was found in the largest cities. One explanation is apparent in the data -- residents of villages and hamlets under 2000 in size worried more about food in Württemberg-Baden than in the other two Laender. Evidently there was less food available in the rural districts in that area than in Bavaria or Hessen.

Concern over the lack of clothing and shoes, on the other hand, was much more widespread in smaller towns than in larger cities. In Bavaria, for instance, twice as many rural residents worried about the lack of clothing or shoes as worried about the lack of food. In large Bavarian cities, the reverse was true: twice as many people were worried about food as about the lack of clothing or shoes.

Difficulties in finding subsistence, or a job to provide subsistence, was widespread throughout towns and cities of different sizes. Consistently, in the Fall surveys more residents in large cities spoke about this difficultiy than had mentioned it during the Summer.

As previously reported, worry about absent PsW and missing people was more apparent in the rural areas, where hands were needed, than in the city areas. If anything, the frequency of expression of such worry was slightly increased in the lastest opinion surveys, reflecting undoubtedly greater need at harvest time.

Lack of adequate housing or furnishing was felt most acutely in the large cities containing over 100,000 people. Hessians reported such difficulties less frequently than residents in the other Laender.

SUMMARY

1. Greater material distress was voiced in the early Fall of this year than any time previously during the past year.

2. Residents of Württemberg-Baden report difficulties more frequently than do residents of Bavaria or Hessen. Food is a major concern in Württemberg-Baden even in small towns; rural areas, too, report more concern in this direction than do rural residents in the other Laender.

3. Outside Württemberg-Baden lack of food was mentioned by increasing proportions of the population in larger and larger communities.

4. But the lack of clothing and shoes was felt by more people in the smaller towns and villages than in larger cities.

5. Worry about missing PsW and other people was still centered in the rural areas.

6. Lack of housing and furnishing was more widespread in the large cities than in towns and villages.

TABLE III

Question: "What gives you the greatest care and worry at present?"

By Land by Rural-Urban

	Bavaria Jul Aug	Bavaria Sep Oct	Hessen Jul Aug	Hessen Sep Oct	W-Baden Jul Aug	W-Baden Sep Oct
"FOOD"						
Under 2000	21%	21%	15%	21%	26%	24%
2000 to 10,000	37	32	30	29	57	60
10,000 to 100,000	42	42	36	49	56	56
Over 100,000	41	54	54	48	64	67
"Clothing, Shoes"						
Under 2000	38	47	20	40	21	40
2000 to 10,000	19	23	14	20	22	40
10,000 to 100,000	16	20	15	31	12	25
Over 100,000	16	25	6	14	17	22
"Unemployment"						
Under 2000	21	18	18	16	18	22
2000 to 10,000	21	17	18	20	24	20
10,000 to 100,000	21	20	22	21	26	28
Over 100,000	15	22	16	19	23	31
"PsW and Missing People"						
Under 2000	16	17	24	22	22	26
2000 to 10,000	14	14	15	18	10	17
10,000 to 100,000	10	9	10	13	14	14
Over 100,000	7	10	8	11	13	10
"Housing, furnishings"						
Under 2000	5	6	2	5	5	7
2000 to 10,000	8	9	9	5	3	8
10,000 to 100,000	8	11	10	9	11	14
Over 100,000	16	17	9	9	18	14
"Implements of Gainful Production"						
Under 2000	13	14	13	12	9	7
2000 to 10,000	7	8	6	6	9	2
10,000 to 100,000	5	4	7	7	6	4
Over 100,000	5	5	2	6	3	4

RADIO LISTENING IN VIENNA

I. Introduction

At the request of Information Services Branch, USFA, the ICD Surveys Unit, OMGUS, studied radio listening habits among the Viennese populations. A scientific sample of the population living in the British and American Zones of Vienna was constructed. The interviewing was done by native Viennese following procedures carefully described by personnel of the Surveys Branch. In all, 1496 Viennese were interviewed personally in their homes, being asked the questions on a standardized questionnaire. The results can be considered reliable for interpolation to the broader population which the sample represents. The margin of error is 4%, at the 997/1000 level, when opinion divides 50-50. The margin of error is smaller when opinion is not so evenly divided.

II. Characteristics of Radio Listeners and Non-Listeners

A large majority of the population was found to listen to the radio. But as many as one-fifth of the people were frustrated in their listening habits by sets not in good order or not working at all. An equally large proportion was found who had no radio and who made no adjustment to this situation, such as listening to someone else's radio. (Table I)

Table I

RADIO LISTENERS			73%
Own a radio in order	60%		
Own a radio, not in good order	6	}	
No radio, listen to someone else's	7	}	21%
NON-LISTENERS		}	27%
Own a radio, not in order	8	}	
No radio	19		
			100%

The two basic populations differed markedly in their composition. Radio listeners were found to be better educated, younger, more of them were men, a larger proportion came from the upper and middle classes, and more of them had the jobs usually rated as "better" positions in the community. No appreciable differences were found as to religious preference in Catholic Vienna, nor did the political preferences of these two groups differ to any significant degree. (Chart I)

Some little differences in a basic habit -- usual sleeping hours -- were discovered. Listeners tended to stay up somewhat later at night. At ten o'clock, about seven in ten listeners were still up or just getting ready for bed, while only less than half the non-listeners were not already in bed. No significant differences between hours of rising were observed. (Chart II)

III. Attitudes of Listeners and Non-Listeners Toward Newspapers and Radio

The importance of the radio as an information and orientation medium in the lives of radio listeners was clearly shown. Practically all (92%) of the non-listeners said that of the three media -- radio, newspapers and magazines -- they considered the newspapers to be their chief source of news. Among listeners, however, nearly as many (46%) said the radio chiefly provided them with news as said the newspapers did (51%). Yet this was not to deny that radio listeners read newspapers. On the contrary, more of them read papers (85%) than did non-radio listeners (77%).

Chart I

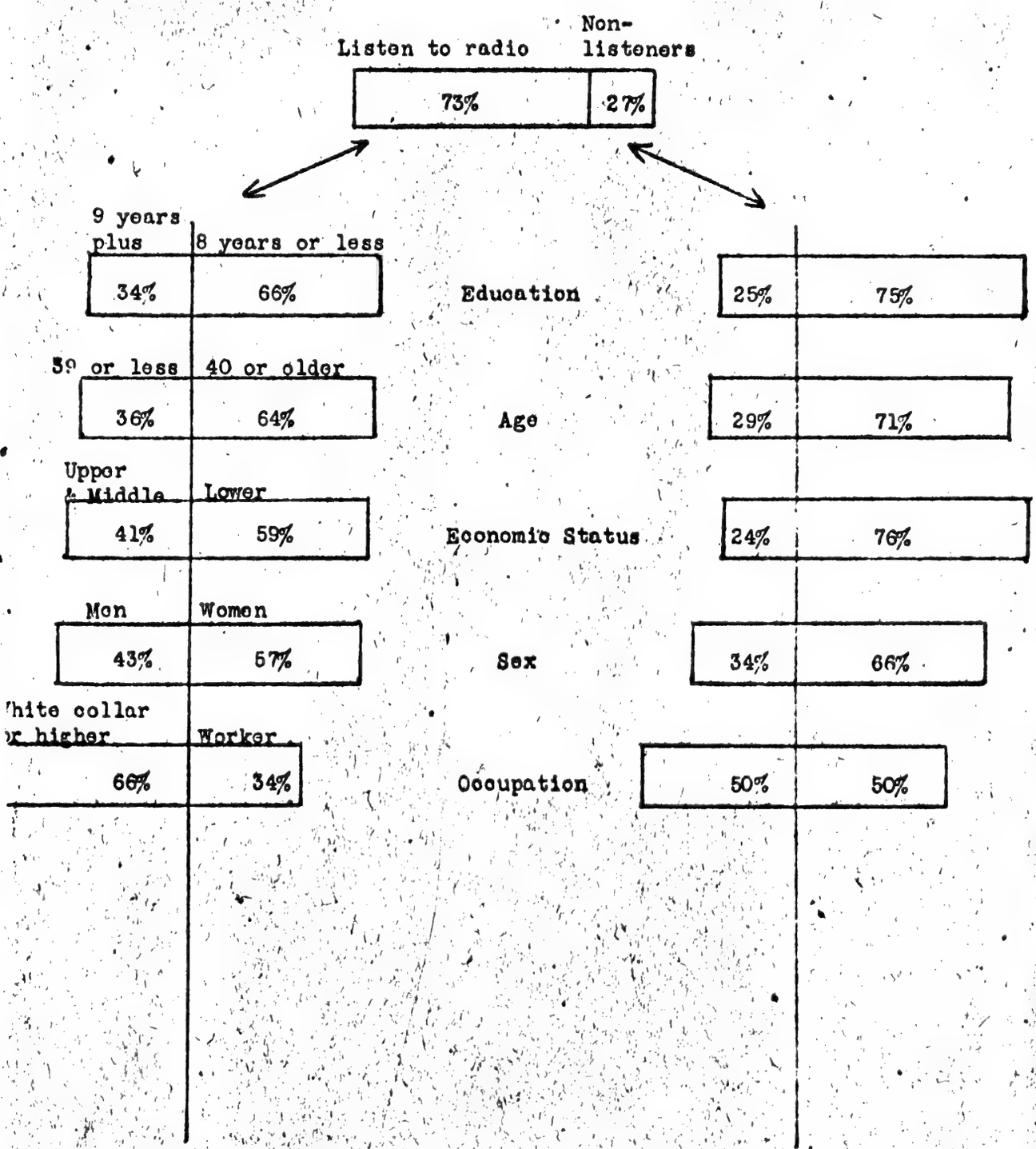
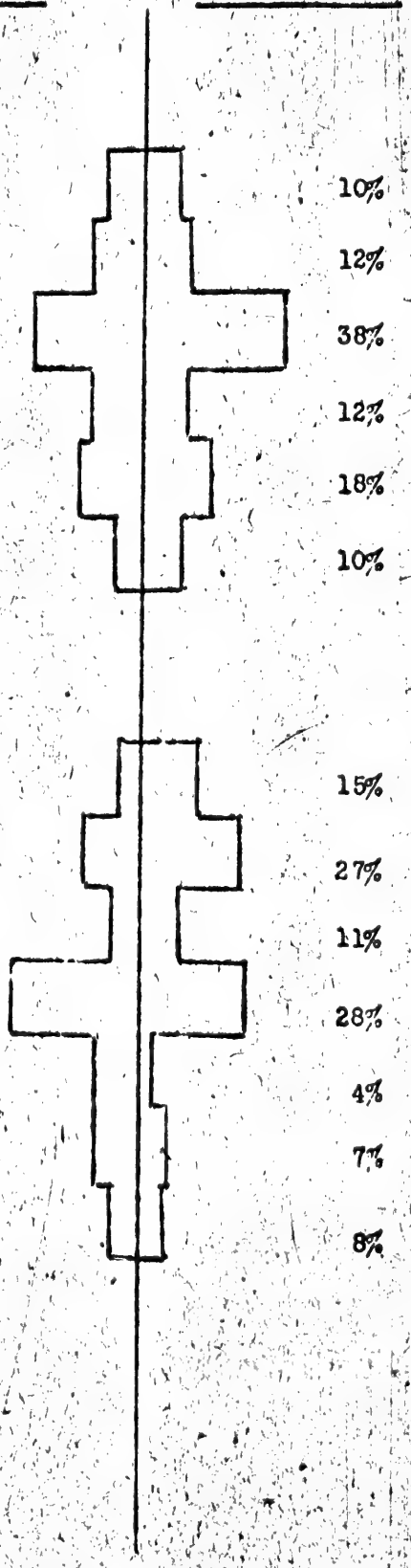

Listen to radio
Non-listeners
73%
27%
9 years plus
8 years or less
34%
66%
Education
25%
75%
39 or less
40 or older
36%
64%
Age
29%
71%
Upper & Middle
Lower
41%
59%
Economic Status
24%
76%
Men
Women
43%
57%
Sex
34%
66%
White collar or higher
Worker
66%
34%
Occupation
50%
50%

Chart II

Usual Rising Time	Listeners	Non-Listeners
Before 05:30	11%	10%
0530-0559	15%	12%
0600-0629	32%	38%
0630-0659	16%	12%
0700-0729	18%	18%
0730 or later	8%	10%

Usual Bed Time		
Before 2100	6%	15%
2100-2129	16%	27%
2130-2159	9%	11%
2200-2229	36%	28%
2230-2259	12%	4%
2300-2329	12%	7%
2330 or later	9%	8%



Queried further, just as many listeners (about four in ten) maintained that the radio provided them with accurate news as said that the newspapers did this.* On the other hand, newspapers were respected by many more listeners for their "completeness" than held that the radio gave them just as complete news. Among non-listeners, naturally, sizeable majorities considered that newspapers were to be preferred both from the point of view of accuracy and completeness. (Table II)

Table II

"Which brings the more accurate news: the radio or the newspapers?"

	Listeners	Non-listeners
Radio	42%	9%
Newspapers	43	56
No opinion, can't choose	15	35
	100%	100%

"Which brings the more complete news of the day: the radio or the newspapers?"

Radio	23%	5%
Newspapers	67	64
No opinion, can't choose	10	31
	100%	100%

An insight into the distrust with which radio programs in general are viewed by Viennese today is provided by the replies to two succeeding questions. Everyone was asked whether there was too much propaganda on the radio, and whether he felt the radio is censored today. Only a bare majority of radio listeners denied that they found too much propaganda. To the censorship charge a solid majority agreed. The replies of non-listeners are largely discounted since they are not in a position to judge. It is interesting, however, that more of them felt able to respond to the question inquiring about censorship than to the question of propaganda. Evidently censorship is felt more often to be something that can be assumed, whereas propaganda is something that needs to be observed, evaluated, and proven. (Table III)

Table III

"Do you think that radio programs contain too much propaganda?"

Yes	29%	6%
No	56	18
No opinion, can't say	15	76
	100%	100%

"Do you believe that the radio is censored today?"

Yes	37%	26%
Suppose so	27	18
No	18	10
No opinion, can't say	18	46
	100%	100%

*This situation appears in contradiction to studies of this point carried out in other countries. Such other studies have always shown that the radio is respected by a larger majority for its accuracy vis a vis the newspaper, while, as in Vienna, newspapers are commended for their completeness. Later in this report it will be shown that some Viennese stations, and particularly that most often heard, are thought to plead a cause rather than to present the news objectively.

About one-fifth (18%) of the population charged that the radio was censored and that it contained too much propaganda. On the other hand, only about one tenth (11%) denied both these suggestions. A large minority of about three in ten (29%) held that the radio was censored but that it did not contain too much propaganda.

The most disaffected reply (that the radio was censored and broadcast too much propaganda) was more frequently given by the better educated, the younger people interviewed, and those who owned radios. No significant difference was found between the attitudes of men and women in this light, although a tendency was observable for women to be somewhat less confident in the radio than were men. Replies of economic class groups were inconsistent. (Table IV)

Table IV

	Radio is censored & contains too much propaganda	Neither	Censored but not too much propaganda	Other
Education				
7 years or less	10%	13%...	22%...	55%..100%
8 years	15	11	29	45
9 to 11 years	24	11	36	29
12 or more years	28	10	29	33
Age				
Under 30	28	7	30	35
30 - 39	22	13	31	34
40 - 49	18	13	32	37
50 - 59	16	11	29	44
60 - 69	14	11	26	49
70 or older	*	7	17	69
Radio Ownership				
Own a radio in good condition	23	14	36	27
No radio	5	5	11	79

"Other" combinations of replies were largely those expressing "no opinion" on one or both of the questions. The analysis offered above has taken into account the increased proportions of those without opinions among older people and among the more poorly educated. It can be maintained, for example, that among those who do not own a radio the proportion of disaffected is smaller than among radio owners when only those with opinions are considered. It might be interpreted, then, that discontent with radio programs is not an important factor operating to keep non-owners of radios from acquiring radio sets.

IV. Attitudes and Habits of Radio Listeners

Number of People Listening to a Radio Set

Within modern society the radio has come to play an important social role. Patterns of listening have become fixed for each society in a way which expresses social and, particularly, familial organization.

In Vienna, on the average, the radio set is listened to by a smaller number of people than has been found to be the case in Germany. The median average number of listeners in Vienna is 2.15. And the quartiles are not widely dispersed. For one-fourth of the population listens in groups of 1.48 people or less; and the top fourth of the population listens in groups of 4 people or more.

Daytime listening was markedly more frequent among women than men obviously because the women were in the homes. But between 1700 and 1900 there was a tendency for more men to listen than women. Household tasks probably kept the women from the radio at these hours. Practically equal proportions of men and women were at the radios from 1900 to 2200 indicating that the family was gathered as a unit at these hours.

Only minor differences were found between the usual listening habits of those whose age was less than 30 and those who were between 30 and 39 years old. Similarly, people between 50 and 59 and those 60 or older showed rather similar patterns of usual listening. The one decade group whose ages were between 40 and 49 tended to listen more infrequently during all hours from 0600 to 1800. During the evening hours, however, their habits were similar to those of the younger age groups. People over 50 listened less frequently than other age groups after 2000. This finding reflects their earlier retiring hour. (Table V)

Table V.

Usual Hours of Listening

	Years of Education:				Sex:		Age:					Total Group Sampled
	7 or less	8	9-11	12 or more	Men	Women	30	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 & More	
Before 0600	20%	17%	18%	10%	17%	16%	14%	18%	18%	19%	12%	16%
0600-0700	27	24	26	25	19	29	22	31	22	24	25	25
0900-1100	12	10	14	9	6	14	14	10	8	14	10	10
1100-1200	21	17	17	10	12	20	15	20	11	19	18	16
1200-1300	19	19	20	15	14	22	19	24	14	17	20	19
1300-1400	8	13	9	10	7	15	14	15	10	7	12	12
1400-1500	6	10	4	9	4	11	13	12	6	5	9	9
1500-1600	5	5	6	8	4	7	8	8	5	5	4	6
1600-1700	8	8	8	7	7	9	11	10	6	8	7	8
1700-1800	23	22	22	15	23	19	25	23	20	22	15	21
1800-1900	45	50	54	46	53	47	48	45	54	53	47	50
1900-2000	82	77	82	80	81	78	81	81	80	76	77	79
2000-2100	39	42	52	51	45	46	54	50	51	38	32	45
2100-2200	6	4	5	17	7	7	12	10	4	7	3	7
2200 on	-	1	2	5	3	1	2	4	1	2	1	2

Length of Daily Listening

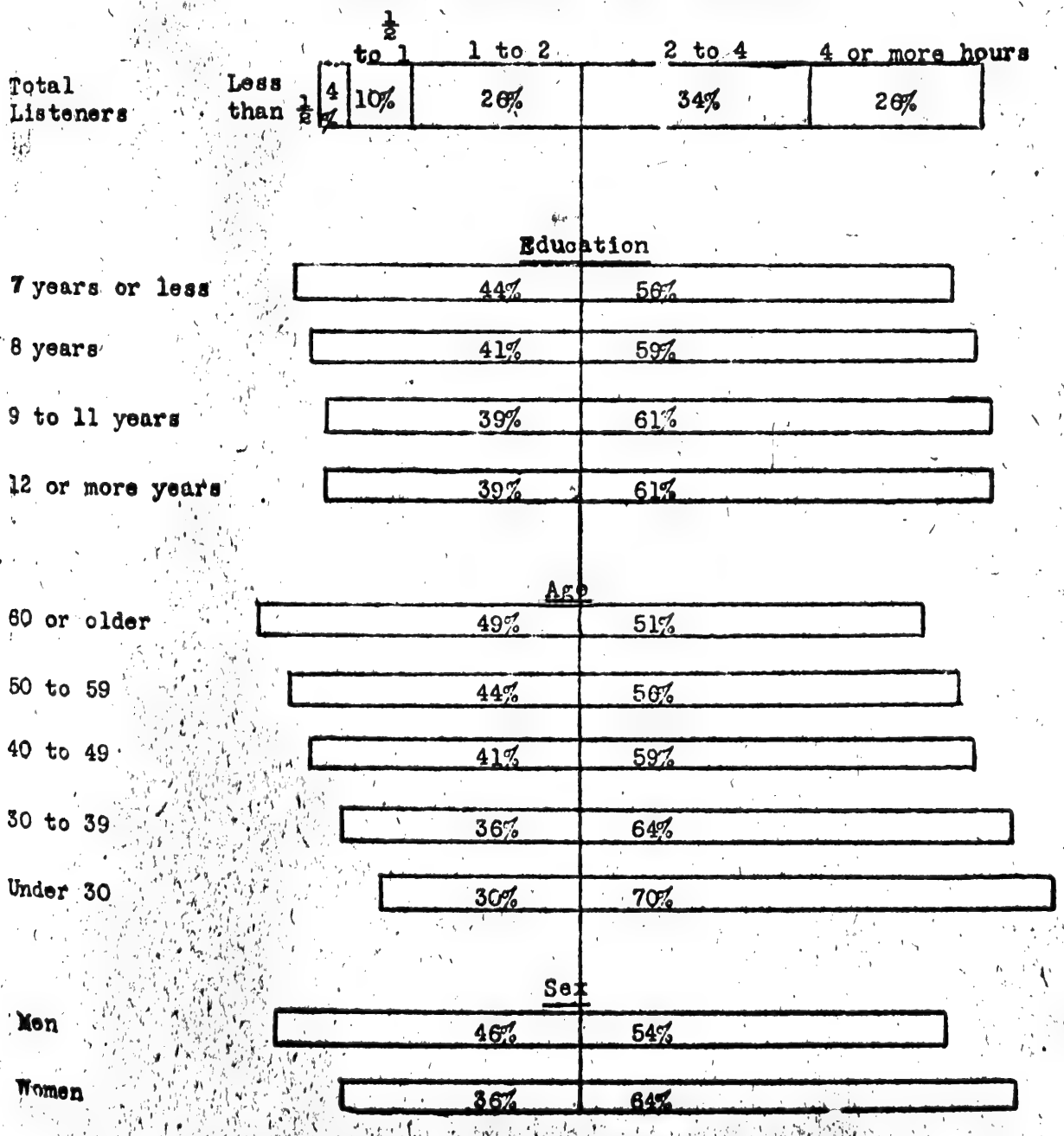
Conservation of an inadequate electricity supply can be expected to have an effect upon the amount of time which people allow themselves to listen to the radio. To measure the extensity of this effect people were asked: "Are you sometimes prevented from listening to the radio because electricity must be saved?" Three in four respondents (74%) answered "No". The modal estimate of those who felt restricted in their listening was five hours duration during a week. This estimate represented, in many instances, one afternoon's restriction during the week.

Radio listeners were also asked the average number of hours which they listen to the radio daily. Six in ten people listened more than two hours a day, and another quarter said they listened from one to two hours daily. These data show correspondence with actual times reported when the radio is turned on. Mostly, then, they represent evening listening, with a majority of the population hearing from two to four hours of programs in that period.

Appreciable differences were found among the habits of members of different age groups. Less and less time was spent daily at the radio as older and older people are considered. The better educated tended to use their radio longer every day than did the more poorly educated. More women, too, listened for the longer time periods than did men. (Chart III)

Chart III

Length of Habitual Daily Listening



Stations Heard and Preferred

Radio research has well established the fact that people tend to tune to a station whose reception on their radio is clear, and whose signal is steady and strong, in spite of the fact that they may have a slight preference for another station or program. High interest in a particular program may induce some people to bear with fading signal, static and whistling, but such interest is usually confined to programs rather than to stations, and thus does not induce an enduring action.

At the time of this survey, Viennese airwaves were dominated by Station Ravag I. Two-thirds of the radio listeners polled said they heard it most frequently. About one-fourth (24%) of the people said they most frequently listened to Rot-Weiss-Rot, one in twenty supported Ravag II, one in fifty Wofa, and the remainder (3%) heard a scattering of other stations.

Secondary listening was centered by a plurality on Rot-Weiss-Rot. Among those who claimed to listen most frequently to Ravag I, a bare majority (51%) said they also listened to RWR. Of the Ravag II listeners, as many also listened to Ravag I as listened to RWR. RWR listeners tuned to Ravag I in very large proportion as a second choice, while Wofa listeners dialed in large proportions to all the other three stations. (Table VI)

Table VI
Secondary Station Preferences

	Tune most often to:			
Listen also to:	Ravag I	Ravag II	RWR	Wofa
Ravag I	-	68%	84%	91%
Ravag II	23%	-	51	57
RWR	51	63	-	86
Wofa	11	20	20	-

From these data it is apparent that more constant listening is done by those who usually turn to Ravag I. Smaller proportions of these listeners select other stations, while relatively large proportions of the listeners to Wofa, for example, dial one of the other three wave-lengths.

Reluctance to accept Ravag I's programs is evident in a comparison of the answers to the question inquiring which station is heard most often with the answers to the question inquiring which station is the loudest. A significantly larger proportion of the listening public claimed that Ravag I has the strongest signal than said that they heard it most often. Local variations in reception, however, can be said to account for some of the variations in audience. More than one-third (36%) of the frequent listeners to RWR said its signal was loudest, but only 10% of the frequent listeners of Ravag II and 6% of the listeners of Ravag I admitted that RWR came in loudest.

Within the listening audience, then, the fact that four in ten people preferred to listen to RWR indicated that appreciable discontent with the programming of Ravag I is felt. Three in ten listeners said they thought Ravag I the best station, and less than one in ten spoke up for Ravag II (7%) or Wofa (3%).

Less solid support among its audience was also found in regard to Ravag I. Whereas nearly all those who most frequently tuned to RWR (95%) said they liked it best, and nearly all the Wofa listeners (86%) said they liked that station best, and three in four of the Ravag II listeners preferred the station they usually heard, less than half (44%) of Ravag I's listeners were more satisfied with their station than any other. In fact one-fourth (24%) of them said they preferred RWR.

Reasons given for expressed preferences followed the lines indicated above. A majority (59%) of those who usually listened to Ravag I said they did so because it had the best reception on their radio, or was the only station they could get. Just as many (16%) also said they listened to it most frequently because of habit as said they liked the programs it broadcast. A large majority (75%) of RWR listeners, on the contrary, said they listened to this station because of the variety of programs it offered, another 13% praised the music heard on this wave-length, and only one in ten said its reception was best. The same pattern of response was repeated when people were asked to state why they liked one station better than another.

Audience characteristics were analysed on the basis of expressed preference for one station. From this point of view, more men than women liked RWR (and, presumably, would more readily tune to this station). Consistently larger proportions of younger age groups said they liked RWR best, and the more education a person had the more likely he was to prefer the same station. Among groups expressing a preference for one of the three parties, only KPD supporters supported Ravag I over RWR. Six in ten of the Communist Party supporters said they preferred Ravag I, while less than three in ten of the followers of the other two parties agreed. Opinions of the people who were not able to say which political party they liked best were nearly evenly divided in preference for Ravag I and RWR. This response, strikingly similar to that of women on the question of radio station satisfaction, induces the interpretation that neither of these two groups contains appreciable proportions of people who are politically sophisticated or who have critical standards of appreciation. Habitual listening, difficult to shake from its lethargy, undoubtedly draws from appreciable elements of both groups. (Table VII)

Table VII

Radio Stations Liked Best - Group Preferences

	Ravag I	Ravag II	RWR	Wofa	Other	Can't say
Sex						
Men	25%	6%	45%	3%	3%	18%
Women	33	7	36	2	1	20
Age						
Under 30	23	5	48	10	3	12
30-39	30	9	43	1	1	16
40-49	27	8	42	2	3	19
50-59	32	4	41	1	2	20
60 or older	36	6	28	1	-	29
Education						
7 years or less	42	3	39	3	-	14
8 years	27	8	37	1	1	25
9-11 years	33	5	44	3	1	13
12 years or more	25	4	48	5	5	13
Party Preference						
KPÖ	60	-	27	7	3	17
SPÖ	28	10	40	3	1	19
ÖVP	29	6	44	1	2	16
No opinion	32	3	36	2	*	27
No party	28	4	46	3	4	14

* Less than ½ of 1%

Complementary to the discussion above are the data from questions inquiring into stations disliked. A majority (62%) of the people were unable to express a judgment to the question: "Which station do you like least?". However, nearly all those who did name a station mentioned Ravag I. Proportions naming any other station did not exceed 3%. Thirty-four of the thirty-five persons who said they liked RWR least were among those who maintained that they listened most frequently to Ravag I. However, among Ravag I's following was found the only appreciable minority group which listened frequently to one station but disliked that station most. This group (11% of those who usually listen to Ravag I) must be assumed to be composed of people whose radio sets preclude listening to other stations.

All listeners were also asked: "Have you recently ever turned your radio off because you thought that what you heard was wrong or untrue?" About one-third of the population sampled said that this situation had occurred. Unsolicited comments were recorded as given to this question. Of the 96 comments made and reported, 72 complained about the "Russian Hour" program in this regard.

Finally, it is entirely possible that discontent with Ravag I, and preference for RWR, is based upon prejudice and predisposition rather than upon an objective evaluation of the quality and content of the programs presented. Listeners were asked: "Which of the Austrian stations gives you the best programs?" More than eight in ten people (81%) chose either Ravag I or RWR. And sentiment of these people divided equally between the two stations. A few spoke for Ravag II (5%) and for Wofa (3%), while the remainder were unable to choose. This fact needs to be kept in mind throughout the discussion below of preferences for programs so that an inference is not made prejudicial to the programs broadcast by Ravag I and beneficial to those offered by RWR.

A summary table is presented below covering responses to questions about the various stations heard in Vienna. (Table VIII)

Table VIII

Stations:	Heard most	Others heard	Loudest	Liked best	Liked least	Which Viennese is preferred for its programs?
Ravag I	66%	30%	72%	30%	28%	40%
Ravag II	5	30	5	7	2	5
RWR	24	42	11	40	3	41
Wofa	2	14	4	3	3	3
Other	)	6		1	2	
	)					
London BBC	)3	6		1		
Alpensender	)	6				
Prag	)	2				
No opinion		1	13	18	62	11
None other		29				
	100%	166%*	105%*	100%	100%	100%

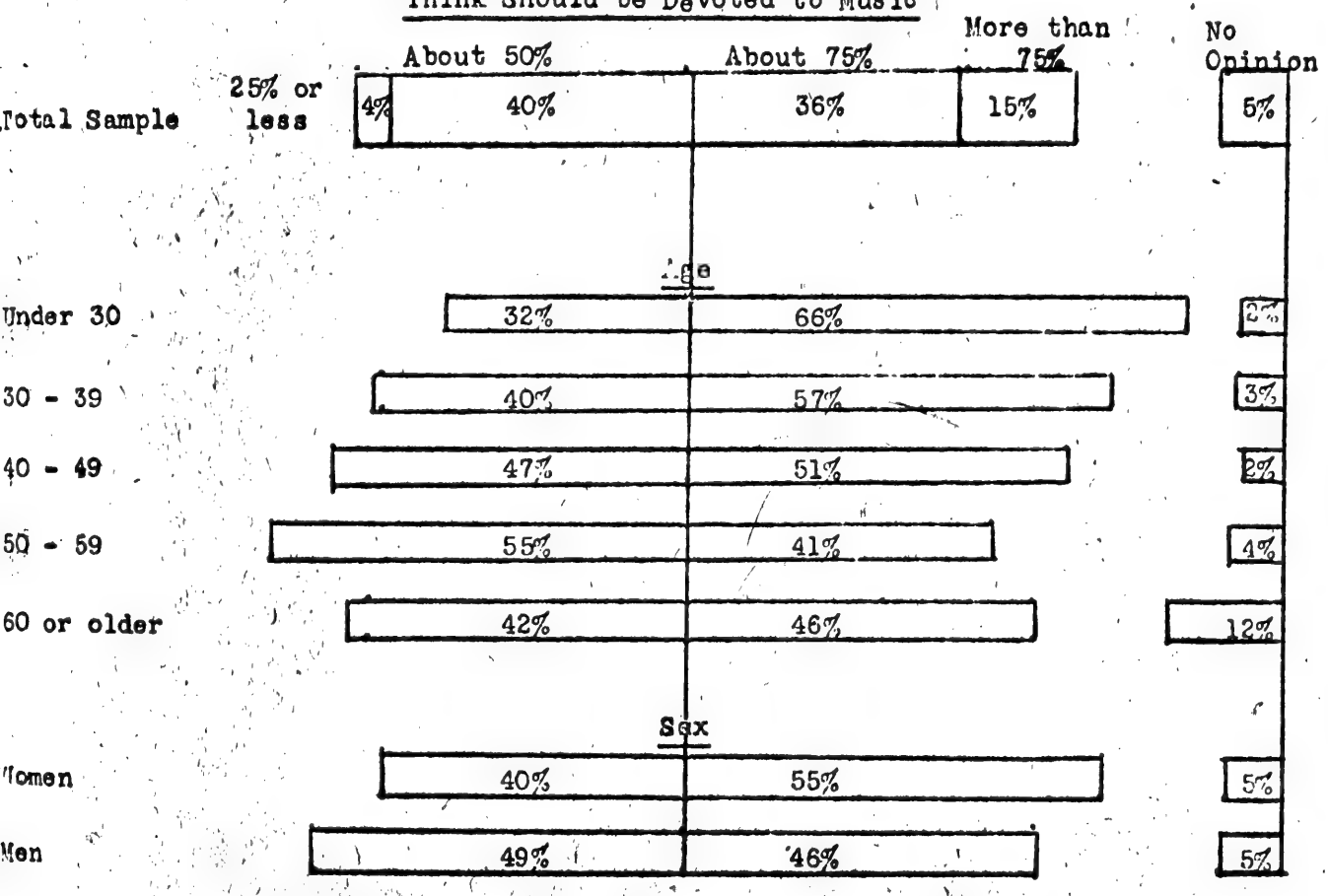
* More than one station mentioned by some respondents

Program Preferences

At least half the population of listeners believe that about three-fourths or more of the radio time should be devoted to music. However, less time for music was preferred, in general, by men comparing their replies with those of women. The older people, too, would like the stations to devote less time to music than would young people under 30 years of age. However, the oldest generation over 60 revealed a lack of alertness and sophistication by preferring more music on the air than did people ten years younger. In general, the better educated differed only slightly from the poorly educated on this proposition, and social status groups scarcely varied in their dispositions toward the amount of broadcasting time which was felt should be given to music, (Chart IV)

Chart IV

Proportion of Broadcasting Time Which Radio Listeners Think Should be Devoted to Music



People were asked to subdivide the allotment of time which they would devote to music among "symphonic", "opera", "American dance music" and "Viennese waltzes". All groups proposed that an average of 50% to 59% be given to Viennese waltzes. Thus, whether an individual felt that only one fourth or less of the broadcasting time should be given to music, or whether he felt that more than three-fourths of this time should be devoted to music, he felt on the average that half of this time should be spent on the melodious waltzes he knew best. Opera music was generally thought to be worthy of about another quarter of the time, and the remainder was proposed for symphonic music or American dance music, with a preference expressed percentagewise for the former. Only within the younger population which (as seen) preferred a great deal of music on the air was American dance music thought to be worth more time than symphonies or even than operatic compositions.

These preferences were developed again in reply to the direct question: "What type of musical program do you like best?" More than six in ten spoke for Viennese music and light music native to their provincial ear. About one in six called for operatic music, and about one in ten for classical music or for dance music and jazz.

The significance of these findings is enhanced by the group differences which were found. Age, economic status and education each exerted a remarkable influence upon musical tastes. Within a frame of Viennese music, programs could be developed from these findings, it is felt, which could appeal to distinct strata within the Austrian audience. (Table IX)

Table IX
Type of Music Program Preferred
Group Differences.

	Wiener Musik	Opera	Classical	Dance	Operetta	Folkmusic	Other	No opinion No interest
Total Sample	63%	15%	11%	11%	8%	8%	5%	1%
Education								
7 years	73	6	2	9	6	19	3	3
8 years	70	11	5	10	7	10	5	1
9-11 years	54	22	17	12	12	4	6	1
12 yrs or more	44	26	32	12	6	2	5	-
Age								
60 or older	63	9	13	2	6	10	6	4
50-59	67	14	10	5	7	10	3	1
40-49	64	18	12	10	5	11	5	*
30-39	71	15	7	10	10	8	5	*
Under 30	46	17	14	32	11	1	6	1
Socio-Ec.Status								
Lower Lower	70	6	3	7	6	12	4	2
Upper Lower	66	13	8	13	7	11	4	1
Lower Middle	62	20	13	12	10	5	6	1
Upper Middle	48	25	23	10	12	4	5	-
Upper	41	10	28	7	3	-	13	-

One type of program which has definitely divided appeal in Austria today is the program, whatever the motivation, which can be linked to special interests of foreign powers. As seen above, Ravag I suffers in its audience-appeal through broadcasts of the "Russian Hour". An indirect question tested reactions to American broadcasts: "Would you like to hear more American programs, if there were less static?" An equal proportion of the population said they would as said they would not (44%). The remaining 12% held no opinion. It is indicated that a straightforward program designed to "sell America" would immediately lose a larger portion of its audience because of its very nature.

Yet a majority of some groups within the population would like to hear such programs. Notably they are the best educated and the upper middle and upper class members. In view of the fact, however, that both these elements are fractional groups it would seem advisable to reach them through means other than a mass medium such as the radio. Or, on the contrary, to reach a mass audience in a more indirect fashion. (Table X)

Table X

Dispositions Toward Hearing More Programs From America

	Yes	No	No opinion
Education			
7 years or less	31%	45%	24%
8 years	40	48	12
9-11 years	50	41	9
12 or more years	59	36	5
Age			
60 or older	34	48	18
50-59	45	42	13
40-49	45	46	9
30-39	46	44	10
Under 30	50	41	9
Socio-Economic Status			
Lower Lower	39	58	3
Upper Lower	38	52	10
Lower Middle	45	35	20
Upper Middle	71	17	12
Upper	62	31	7
Sex			
Women	41	45	14
Men	48	44	8

That it is not impossible to find material which appeals to the Austrian audience is shown by the replies to the question: "What would you like to hear on the radio about America?" It is noteworthy that only a small proportion (9%) said that they would like to hear "nothing" about the United States. In contrast to such truculence a very large majority expressed an interest in some facts about America or American life, as shown in the tabulation below.

What the Viennese Would Like to Know About America

Social relations and development: general living conditions; way of life of the Americans, of American workers	29%
Economic problems; economic development; about strikes	24
Cultural conditions; art, music, movies, Hollywood	12
New techniques; technical developments; science	8
Life and way of life of American women	6
Policies; trade policies	5
Working conditions; standards of living; business possibilities	5
The climate and the landscape; travelogues	3
Factual newsworthy events	3
U.S. orientation toward and policies regarding Austria; possibility of help for Austria	2
Everything	2
History of America; historical development of the U.S.	1
Emigration possibilities	1
Democracy; the American political system	1
School system; training of American youth	1
Moral standards	1
Nothing	9
Can't say; no opinion; not interested	11

Finally, an evaluation of the efficacy of the program "Stimme Amerikas" in reaching a Viennese audience was sought. A not inconsiderable minority of about one in five radio listeners (23%) said they heard the program. Practically all of these (21%) heard it rebroadcast over Austrian stations, although a few heard it direct from London, and a miniscule proportion heard it direct from New York on shortwave.

No appreciable variation in the audience was found by population characteristics. A tendency was observed for slightly more of the college-educated to listen to the program than did the poorly educated. However, it could be concluded on the basis of the evidence that the appeal of "Stimme Amerikas" cut across many of the strata of the population.

Listeners to "Stimme Amerikas" expressed solid satisfaction with the program. Asked whether the program offered too much or too little political news, a solid majority (60%) said the proportions were all right as they are. Among the rest, however, twice as many (17%) thought too little was offered as said too much (8%) was brought.

Preferences regarding the fundamental make-up of the program emphasized an interest in factual presentation of news. The people were asked: "What do you like best about this program -- the news of the day, the commentary, or the musical part?" One third (32%) said they liked the news portion, one fifth (21%) preferred the commentary, and about the same proportion (19%) expressed most pleasure with the music. The remainder held no opinion or expressed a preference for more than one of the three elements. But apportioning these multiple choices to the basic percentages did not alter the observed emphasis:

News of the day	52%
Commentary	35
Music	30
No opinion	8
	125%

In this regard, the replies to a question asked of all radio listeners are pertinent. These people were asked: "Which form of presentation of daily news do you prefer -- straight facts, or commentary and discussion?" A majority (52%) preferred the straightforward presentation, while about one-third (35%) spoke for commentary and discussion. Evidently there is a place for both in a news program, with the emphasis placed upon simple reporting.

THE STANDARD OF LIVING

INTRODUCTION ...

This report summarizes attitudes of Germans in the American Zone toward the economic plans announced by the four occupying powers. Particular emphasis is given to the effect that Germans feel these plans will have on their standard of living.

Interviewing for the study was done in June 1946, but the findings remain pertinent. Personal interviews were conducted with 1485 German in the three Laender of the American Zone. The sample represents a true cross-section of the various population groups in the Zone.

Report Number 31
14 December 1946
Surveys Branch
Office of the Director of Information Control
OMGGUS (Rear) APO 757

THE STANDARD OF LIVING

ATTITUDES TOWARD ALLIED PLANS FOR GERMAN INDUSTRY ...

Knowledge of Allied plans for Germany's industrial future is of obvious importance in the formation of opinions on probable living standards. For this reason, people were queried on what they knew and felt about the announced plans of the occupying powers.

The "area of ignorance" is large ...

Though a sizeable minority (36%) knows that the four powers have announced plans for the allocation of German industry, the large majority is misinformed or uninformed .. 11 per cent state there has been no announcement of plans, and 53 per cent answer, "Don't know."

But there is general agreement on the reasons for the limitations ...

...ked for reasons why Germany's industry is being reduced, a very large majority (71%) reply: in order to do away with war industries, or to remove the possibility of war by destroying the manufacture of arms.

Only a few speak in invidious terms: e.g. that the purpose is to deny Germany any advantage in international trade (4%); or to punish Germans (3%); or to provide reparations (2%). A significant minority (19%) will not hazard a guess as to the reasons.

The limitations are unpopular ...

Despite the general recognition of the reasons for Allied action, the action itself is unpopular, as these figures show:

"In your opinion are these limits more severe or less severe than they should be?"

	Per cent
Less severe	7
More severe	49
No opinion	44
	100 = 1485

The group which feels the plan too harsh bases its complaint almost entirely on the ultimate effect on the German people. Most frequently mentioned reasons are: resultant unemployment, poverty and misery; lack of consumer goods; lack of exports.

The small minority that feels Allied policy is too mild again speaks largely in terms of destroying Germany's war potential, or merely states, "It's a good thing."

A minority considers the steps as just ...

A certain ambivalence seems to exist regarding Allied policy toward German industry. As stated, most Germans either think it is too severe or withhold judgment, yet --- 3 out of 10 admit the justice of the Allies' course.

"Are the Allies justified or not justified in placing these limits on German industry?"

	Per cent
Justified	29
Not justified	44
No opinion	27

This ambivalence is more apparent than real, however. Examination of the reasons advanced for the planned limitations shows them falling into a two-way split: one group comprehends the true purpose, and the second excuses or rationalizes it in terms of might or conquest. "We lost the war," or "It is the right of the conqueror," are typical statements of the latter. These people, thus, rationalize for the Allies and ignore Germany's responsibility. In the end, only 12 per cent of the total sample is really able to justify the action so far as Germany is concerned in it.

The disapproving group reviews the unemployment - impossibility to live - punishment of the innocent - reduction of essential goods theme.

IMPACT OF THE PLANS ON GERMAN LIVING STANDARDS ...

Most Germans, whether aware or ignorant of Allied plans for industry, felt they would mean a low standard of living. Few of them thought the Germans would live as well as other Europeans, and more than 4 out of 10 of the total sample thought they would fare worse.*

---

*As stated in the foregoing, 64% were uninformed or misinformed about Allied plans for German industry. This group was first asked to define the term "standard of living". About half of them (31% of the total sample) offered some definition. Thereupon the entire uninformed group was given this explanation: "How well the German people will be able to live, how much they will be able to buy and what kind of things they can buy is being specifically outlined by the four Allied powers." Then the entire sample was asked a question on Germany's future living standards.

The question and the attitudes of the informed and uninformed groups are as follows ...

"Do you expect that the German people will have a living standard under the new plan which is just as good, or worse than the standard of living of continental Europe - that is, will it be as good as, or worse than, the average of the European countries, excluding England and Russia?"

	Informed %	Informed (% of total)	Uninformed %	Uninformed (% of total)
Just as good as*	7	3	7	5
About the same*	27	9	21	14
Worse	59	21	38	24
Don't know	7	3	34	21
	100%	36% = 533	100%	64% = 948

* The implications of these two estimates indicates a shading in degree: just as good as, or at least as good as; About the same as, or as bad as

In both groups the largest single vote falls in the most pessimistic category, though the uninformed segment is less positive preferring as would be expected, to take refuge in the "No opinion" reply. (Note, however, that when the total sample is considered the two groups balance each other on the "Worse" vote.)

Comparison with earlier opinions on living standards ...

A poll taken in the Spring of 1946 probed opinions on relative standards of living: pre-war conditions in Germany as compared with the U.S. and Soviet Russia; and the conditions in the four Zones. Though the line of questioning differed from that in this study, the findings throw further light on German thinking on the problem.

Germans generally were convinced that their living standard under National Socialism was higher than that of Russia, and while 30 percent thought American standards had been higher than theirs, almost one in eight took the opposite view. Significantly, however, almost half of those queried were unable to make an estimate.

"Do you think that the lot of the German workers before the war, under the Nazi regime, was better or worse than that of American (Russian) workers?"

	Per cent		Per cent
German better	13	German better	45
American better	30	Russian better	3
No difference	10	No difference	6
No opinion	47	No opinion	46
	100%		100%

When queried as to relative standards in the various Zones of occupied Germany, only 38 per cent could answer definitely. (At the time the interviewing was done news about conditions in each of the Zones was not as broadly dessimated or as clearly comprehended as is now true.) About 4 in 10 of this group thought there were marked differences among the four Zones, and the larger proportion thought conditions were the same throughout Germany. Only 1 in 10 felt conditions were best in the American Zone, and a similar proportion said they were worst in the Russian Zone. Small groups considered standards best in the British Zone or worst in the French Zone.

Almost a third now accept prospects of lowered living standards for themselves ...

Paralleling attitudes on the justness of industry restrictions is the vote on the justness of a reduced standard of living for individual Germans. It divides thus:

... 30% say a reduction in their own living standards is just
... 48% hold the opposite view -- it is not justified
... 22% withhold judgment

But their reasons for acceptance do not indicate sound orientation ...

It is noteworthy that more than half of the concurring minority (16% of the total sample) evade the issue of the imposition of lowered standards of living by the victorious powers. Instead they accept them simply as a "natural" consequence of war. Other arguments less frequently advanced by this group are: lowered living standards mean lower prices and thus a more equitable distribution of goods (6%); everyone must make the best of a bad situation (3%); it makes no difference personally since, unlike others, I still have possessions (1%). Relatively few (4% of the total sample) see the situation as retributive justice -- that Germany must somehow make up to other countries what she has done to them, that as long as anyone in those countries is hungry, Germans too must go hungry.

The point emphasized by the large dissenting group is that such inhumanity to man is a frightful thing. Over half (26% of the total) speak this way. A smaller group (18%) complain that because they are personally innocent the reductions are unfair. Other arguments are that: Germany as a cultured nation should not be so treated; the treatment is undemocratic; it will upset the basis for reconstruction. A few say that with these reductions people will lose all desire to work or to think, or the drastic program will foster communism.

Opinions on economic conditions are part of a larger pattern of ideas ...

Pro and con attitudes toward restrictions on industry and living standards are not isolated attitudes, but tend to be part of a general pattern of opinions. Thus people who deny national war guilt, or who see some good in National Socialism are those most inclined to bewail the Allied economic plans. So, too, are the people who blame either the German civil government or MG for the food crisis. The shoe seems to pinch hardest among that considerable number who refuse to accept personal responsibility for past or present conditions.

From these data it is clear that such steps as the economic restrictions provide anti- and undemocratic forces with an argument with wide popular appeal. They also show, however, a goodly proportion prepared to view reconstruction efforts with a degree of insight and maturity.

	Limitation of Industry is:			Reduction of Living Standard is:		
	Just	Unjust	No opinion	Just	Unjust	No opinion
"Do you think the German civil government is in any way to blame, or is it in no way to blame for the present food situation in this country?"						
Some blame	22%	64%	14%	29%	61%	10%
No blame	34	41	25	34	46	20
"How about MG -- do you think it is in any way to blame, or is it in no way to blame for the present food situation in this country?"						
Some blame	15	69	16	21	67	12
No blame	40	36	24	38	41	21
"Do you think the following statement is true: The entire German people is responsible for the war because they allowed a government to come into power which intended to bring war upon the world."						
Some truth	50	30	20	44	37	19
No truth	26	48	26	28	51	21
"Do you think that National-Socialism was a bad idea, or a good idea only badly carried out?"						
Bad idea	40	38	22	39	45	16
Good idea, badly carried out	22	53	25	24	53	23

Estimates of the duration of the restrictions vary ...

When queried as to the probable duration of the Allied plans, there was a wide range of estimates. Only about 3 in 10 gave time estimates, a similar proportion spoke in vague terms, and the remainder based the duration on contingencies.

The relatively large number in the Contingency category (If, as and when such or such occurs, the restrictions may be removed.) is of particular importance. It may be a clue to why more Germans, disgruntled and discontented with the economic outlook as they are, do not give more forceful expression of their feelings. Many of them are probably coasting along on the assumption that the impositions will be short-lived. The time estimates given suggest that wide-spread dispair might result if a larger number felt the Allies actually intended to continue the program outlined to the German people over a period of years.

	Per cent
Estimates of Time	
Three years or less, a short time	15
Four to ten years, many years	17
Eleven or more years, always, a very long time	9
Stated Contingencies	
Until the economic situation is better; until work and food for all men are available; until trade is reestablished in the world; until world situation is cleared up	16
Until the Allies see that we are people too; until the Allies see that they are treating us badly; until the Allies change their minds about us; until they see we are their allies too	8
Until Germany, or German youth is re-educated; until we are able to govern ourselves	4
Other: until refugees or evacuees leave; until Allies come to agreement; until Germany is ruined; until many Germans have been killed; until the Americans stop following Russian policy; until Germany is sufficiently punished; until reparations have been paid; until boundaries are established	5
Indefinite replies: only God knows, I hope not too long, unable to guess, can't say	30
	104%

(Percentages total more than 100 because more than one answer was possible.)

R E S T R I C T E D

INCOME, EXPENDITURES AND CURRENCY HOLDINGS OF THE GERMAN POPULATION

and

Attitudes Toward General Economic Problems

Classification cancelled
by authority of Leo P. Crespi
PUB/RAS.

Report # 32

10 December 1946
OPINION SURVEYS UNIT
Office of The Director of Information Control
OMGGUS (Rear) APO 757

R E S T R I C T E D

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CLASSIFIED

INTRODUCTION

This report is the result of a study conducted by the Opinion Surveys Unit, OMGUS, during the first part of July, 1946 to determine the currency holdings, incomes, expenditures and attitudes toward general economic problems of the German population. More recently, additional studies have been completed and a supplementary report will be issued in the near future.

The report consists of two parts: the first includes respondent's estimates of their personal currency holdings, the income and expenditures of their families per month, and related material; the second comprises respondents' opinions on general problems relative to the German economic structure. Where possible, detailed tabulations by various population and geographic groups are shown in order that the reader may acquaint himself with the economic status of particular population groups.

The survey is based on a total of 1722 interviews -- 1524 in the American Zone and 198 in Berlin. The Berlin results are shown separately throughout, and are NOT included in any breakdown tabulations. Tabulations by some population and geographic characteristics are based on relatively small samples, and these are naturally subject to a somewhat larger margin of error than the results for the entire American Zone.

An earlier study on the same subject is:

Report, Surveys Section, Intelligence Branch, ICD, OMGUS, USFET, 25 March 1946, "Incomes and Expenditures of German Families in the American Zone, Winter 1946".

THE FINDINGS

Currency holdings in bank accounts at the time of survey

In the American Zone, nearly seven in ten people reported having at least one bank account, while in Berlin only one in ten indicated that they had either a checking or savings account or both, this disparity results from the fact that more than six in ten (62.7%) Berliners reported their bank accounts were frozen, while scarcely anyone (.2%) in the Zone was in this position.

Saving accounts outnumbered checking accounts by a ratio of about four to one in the Zone, and five to one in Berlin. A large majority of all bank accounts had RM 1,000 or more in them, and the total currency holdings in bank accounts, of a major proportion of Zonal and Berlin residents, exceeded RM 1,000.

The median average savings account was RM 2300 in the Zone and RM 1625 in Berlin. The median average amount in Zonal checking accounts was RM 2250. Because too few Berliners reported having checking accounts, no median average is available. The median average amount of total account holdings showed RM 2575 in the Zone and RM 2325 in Berlin.

Comparison with currency holdings in bank accounts as of 1 January 1946

Between January and July, 1946, there was practically no increase in the total number of bank accounts. In Berlin an increase of slightly less than 3% was noted. Again, most accounts, both saving and checking, were RM 1,000 or larger, and the number of savings accounts was far greater than the number of checking accounts.

Although the number of accounts did not change materially during this period, the median average size of accounts in the Zone decreased from January to July, while in Berlin the reverse is true.

In the American Zone, the median average savings account decreased from RM 2350 to RM 2300, but Berlin savings accounts showed an increase from RM 1475 to RM 1625. The median average checking account in AMZON dropped from RM 2450 to RM 2250. Total holdings in the Zone decreased from a median average of RM 2725 to RM 2575, while in Berlin total holdings increased from RM 1700 to RM 2325.

People whose bank account holdings dropped between January and July, 1946 were asked why they had used up the difference. The principal purpose was for living expenses. Other reasons, less significant in the number of mentions were: for business reasons, for large purchases, to pay bills and for purchases of ordinary consumer goods.

Question: Do you have a checking or a savings account?

	[illegible]ON	BERLIN
Sample	1524	198
Have NO account	31.3	25.9
Have Savings account	60.1	10.9
Have Checking account	17.3	2.1
Account frozen	.2	62.7
No answer	.2	-
	109.1	101.6
Have Savings account only	51.0	9.3
Have Checking account only	8.2	.5
Have both	9.1	1.6
Total having accounts	68.3	11.4

Question: Is it (account) more or less than RM 1,000?

American Zone:

	Savings	Checking	Total
Less than RM 1,000	13.6	5.1	14.8
1,000 or more	46.3	12.1	52.5
Don't know	.1	.1	.5
No answer	.1	-	.5
	60.1	17.3	68.3

Berlin:

	Savings	Checking	Total
Less than RM 1,000	3.1	.5	3.1
1,000 or more	7.8	1.6	8.3
	10.9	8.1	11.4

Question: Do you have a checking or a savings account?

	[illegible]ZON	BERLIN
Sample	1524	198
Have NO account	31.3	25.9
Have Savings account	60.1	10.9
Have Checking account	17.3	2.1
Account frozen	.2	62.7
No answer	.2	-
	109.1	101.6
Have Savings account only	51.0	9.3
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Question: Is it (account) more or less than RM 1,000?

American Zone:

	Savings	Checking	Total
Less than RM 1,000	13.6	5.1	14.8
RM 1,000 or more	46.3	12.1	52.5
Don't know	.1	.1	.5
No answer	.1	-	.5
	60.1	17.3	68.3

Berlin:

	Savings	Checking	Total
Less than RM 1,000	3.1	.5	3.1
RM 1,000 or more	7.8	1.6	8.3
	10.9	8.1	11.4

R E S T R I C T E D

TOTAL SAVINGS ACCOUNT HOLDING TODAY

	AMZON	BERLIN
Sample	1524	198
Less than RM 100	.3	-
100 - 199	.6	-
200 - 299	.7	-
300 - 399	2.3	1.1
400 - 499	1.1	.5
500 - 599	2.0	-
600 - 699	1.2	.5
700 - 799	1.3	-
800 - 899	2.6	.5
900 - 999	1.5	.5
Total having savings accounts of less than RM 1,000	13.6	3.1
1,000 - 1,499	6.9	2.1
1,500 - 1,999	5.1	1.1
2,000 - 2,499	7.4	.5
2,500 - 2,999	2.4	.5
3,000 - 3,499	4.3	.5
3,500 - 3,999	.9	.5
4,000 - 4,499	2.8	-
4,500 - 4,499	.7	1.0
5,000 - 5,999	3.3	1.1
6,000 - 6,999	2.7	.5
7,000 - 7,999	1.3	-
8,000 - 8,999	1.4	-
9,000 - 9,999	.9	-
10,000 - 12,499	1.8	-
12,500 - 14,999	.3	-
15,000 - 19,999	1.1	-
20,000 or more	1.6	-
Don't know	.1	-
No answer	.3	-
Total having savings account or RM 1,000 or more	46.3	7.8
Don't know	.1	-
No answer	.1	-
Total having savings accounts	60.1	10.9
Median average account	RM 2300	RM 1625

R E S T R I C T E D

TOTAL CHECKING ACCOUNT HOLDINGS TODAY

	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1524	198
Less than RM 100	.6%	-%
100 - 199	.7	-
200 - 299	.6	-
300 - 399	.5	-
400 - 499	.4	-
500 - 599	.3	-
600 - 699	.5	-
700 - 799	.2	-
800 - 899	.8	.5
900 - 999	.4	-
Don't know	.1	-
Total having Checking accounts of less than RM 1,000	5.1	.5
1,000 - 1,499	2.0%	-%
1,500 - 1,999	.8	-
2,000 - 2,499	1.5	-
2,500 - 2,999	.7	-
3,000 - 3,499	.9	-
3,500 - 3,999	.2	-
4,000 - 4,499	1.0	-
4,500 - 4,999	.1	-
5,000 - 5,999	.7	.6
6,000 - 6,999	.6	-
7,000 - 7,999	.3	-
8,000 - 8,999	.5	.5
9,000 - 9,999	.1	-
10,000 - 12,499	1.0	.5
12,500 - 14,999	-	-
15,000 - 19,999	.6	-
20,000 or more	.9	-
Don't know	.1	-
No answer	.1	-
Total having Checking accounts of RM 1,000 or more	12.1	1.6
Don't know	.1	-
Total having Checking accounts	17.3	2.1
Median average account	RM 2250	—

R E S T R I C T E D

R E D A C T E D

TOTAL ACCOUNT HOLDINGS TODAY

	AUTON	BETTIN
Sample	1524	198
Less than RM 500	6.0%	1.6%
500 - 999	8.8	1.5
Total having less than RM 1,000	14.8	3.1
1,000 - 1,499	7.6	1.6
1,500 - 1,999	5.3	.5
2,000 - 2,999	10.5	1.6
3,000 - 3,999	5.7	1.1
4,000 - 4,999	5.1	1.0
5,000 - 5,999	3.3	.5
6,000 - 6,999	3.0	.5
7,000 - 7,999	1.8	-
8,000 - 8,999	1.8	-
9,000 - 9,999	1.1	.5
10,000 - 12,499	2.5	1.0
12,500 - 14,999	.6	-
15,000 - 19,999	1.7	-
20,000 - 24,999	.5	-
25,000 or more	2.0	-
Total having less than RM 1,000	52.5	8.3
Don't know	.5	-
No answer	.5	-
Total having accounts	68.3	11.4
Median average account	RM 2575	RM 2325

R E D A C T E D

D E L E T E D

Question: "Did you have a checking or a savings account on 1 January 1946?

	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sample	1584	198
Had [illegible] account	31.4	28.5
Had Savings account	61.3	8.3
Had Checking account	15.3	1.5
Account frozen	.3	62.7
Don't know	[illegible]	-
No answer	.3	-
	108.7	101.0
Had Savings account only	52.7	7.3
Had Checking account only	6.8	.5
Had both	8.7	1.0
Total who had accounts	68.0	8.8

Question: "Was it (account) more or less than RM 1,000?

American Zone:

	Savings	Checking	Total
Less than RM 1,000	11.3	3.9	12.0
RM 1,000 or more	49.6	11.0	54.4
Don't know	.3	.4	1.0
No answer	.1	-	.6
	61.3	15.3	68.0

Berlin:

	Savings	Checking	Total
Less than RM 1,000	2.1	1.0	2.6
RM 1,000 or more	.2	.5	6.2
	8.3	1.5	8.8

D E L E T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

[illegible] SAVINGS ACCOUNTS [illegible] A.?
OF [illegible] MAY 1943

	[illegible]ON	[illegible]ORTH
Sample	1524	198
Less than $ 100	.3	-
100 - 199	.3	-
200 - 299	.8	-
300 - 399	1.8	1.1
400 - 499	1.1	.5
500 - 599	1.7	-
600 - 699	1.[illegible]	-
700 - 799	.8	-
800 - 899	2.2	.5
900 - 999	1.0	-
Total who had savings accounts of less than $ 1,000	11.[illegible]	2.1
1,000 - 1,499	8.2	2.1
1,500 - 1,999	5.9	1.1
2,000 - 2,499	7.1	-
2,500 - 2,999	2.6	.5
3,000 - 3,499	4.1	.5
3,500 - 3,999	1.8	.5
4,000 - 4,499	3.5	-
4,500 - 4,999	.6	1.0
5,000 - 5,999	[illegible]	-
6,000 - 6,999	3.2	.5
7,000 - 7,999	.8	-
8,000 - 8,999	1.9	-
9,000 - 9,999	1.0	-
10,000 - 12,499	2.0	-
12,500 - 14,999	.4	-
15,000 - 19,999	1.1	-
20,000 or more	1.7	-
Don't know	.1	-
No answer	[illegible]	-
Total who had savings accounts of $ 1,000 or more	49.6	8.2
Don't know	.3	-
No answer	.1	-
Total who had savings accounts	61.3	8.3
Median average account	$ 2350	$ 1475

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

CIAL CHECKING ACCOUNT HOLDINGS OF 1 JANUARY 1946

	ANZON	BERLIN
Sample	1524	198
Less than RM 100	.4%	.5%
100 - 199	.3	-
200 - 299	.4	-
300 - 399	.6	-
400 - 499	.3	-
500 - 599	.4	-
600 - 699	.4	-
700 - 799	.7	.5
800 - 899	.4	-
900 - 999		
Total who had Checking accounts of less than RM 1,000	3.9	1.0
1,000 - 1,499	2.0	-%
1,500 - 1,999	.4	-
2,000 - 2,499	1.3	-
2,500 - 2,999	1.1	-
3,000 - 3,499	.8	-
3,500 - 3,999	.3	-
4,000 - 4,499	.8	-
4,500 - 4,999	.1	-
5,000 - 5,999	.6	-
6,000 - 6,999	.3	-
7,000 - 7,999	.3	-
8,000 - 8,999	.3	.5
9,000 - 9,999	.3	-
10,000 - 12,499	.8	-
12,500 - 14,999	.1	-
15,000 - 19,999	.8	-
20,000 or more	.7	-
Total who had Checking accounts of RM 1,000 or more	11.0	.5
Don't know	.4	-
Total who had Checking accounts	15.3	1.5
Median average account	RM 2450	---

R E S T R I C T E D

TOTAL ACCOUNT HOLDINGS AS OF 1 JANUARY 1946

Sample	AMZON 1524	Berlin 198
Less than RM 500	5.0%	2.1%
500 - 999	7.0	.5
Total who had less than RM 1,000	12.0	2.6
1,000 - 1,499	7.9	1.6
1,500 - 1,999	5.8	.5
2,000 - 2,999	10.5	1.1
3,000 - 3,999	6.5	1.0
4,000 - 4,999	4.8	1.0
5,000 - 5,999	3.6	-
6,000 - 6,999	3.3	.5
7,000 - 7,999	1.2	-
8,000 - 8,999	2.2	-
9,000 - 9,999	1.2	.5
10,000 - 12,499	2.4	-
12,500 - 14,999	.7	-
15,000 - 19,999	1.5	-
20,000 - 24,999	.7	-
25,000 or more	2.1	-
Total who had RM 1,000 or more	54.4	6.2
Don't know	1.0	-
No answer	.6	-
Total who had accounts	68.0	8.8
Median average account	RM 2725	RM 1700

Currency on hand

Nearly eight in ten Zonal respondents claimed to have RM 50 or more on their person or at home, in addition to any money they might have in a bank account. In Berlin slightly more than seven in ten said they had this amount. The median average amount on hand was RM 160 for people in AMZON and RM 165 for Berliners.

A somewhat higher percentage of Bavarians than people in the other two Laender carry more than RM 50 with them. This is also true of those in the higher socio-economic and occupation levels. There is very little difference among respondents living in different sized communities. More men than women have RM 50 on hand as do those 30 years old or more when compared with persons of 29 or younger. An 84% majority of former NSDAP members said they have RM 50 or more on hand or at home compared with 76% who profess no membership in the Nazi party.

Monthly income per family

Regular salary is the source of the major portion of monthly income. In the Zone, 76.6% of the respondents and 91.4% of Berliners reported having a regular salary. The median average amount earned was RM 165 in the Zone and RM 248 in Berlin.

Other sources of income were reported by 21.6% in AMZON and 10.5% in Berlin. The median average amount earned by means other than salary was RM 63 and RM 51 in the American Zone and Berlin respectively.

The median average monthly income per family reported by 86.0% of respondents in AMZON and 93.4% in Berlin is RM 170 and RM 251 respectively.

The slight difference between monthly salary and total monthly income suggests that those respondents with regular salaries, at least in the higher income groups, have no other source of income. Income other than through salary is probably obtained by those people who either have no regular salary or who have a very small regular salary and are forced to earn their livelihood through some other means. The median average monthly income is somewhat lower among Bavarians (RM 155 per month) than among residents in Hesse (RM 175) and Wuerttemberg-Baden (RM 179).

The median average monthly income among residents in the different city size groups is directly proportionate to the size of the city in which the person lives. Respondents living in communities under 2,000 population reported a median average low of RM 137 per month, with residents in the cities of 250,000 or more population reporting a median average high of RM 266 per month income.

Monthly expenditures per family

The median average expenditures per month per family was RM 152 in the American Zone and RM 267 in Berlin. Heading the list of expenditures was food, followed in order by building repairs, rent, clothing, utilities, insurance premiums and fuel.

It is interesting to note that in the American Zone the median average expenditure per month is less than the median average income per month, and RM 16 more in Berlin.

Monthly expenditures per family

The median average expenditures per month per family was RM 152 in the American Zone and RM 267 in Berlin. Heading the list of expenditures was food, followed in order by building repairs, rent, clothing, utilities, insurance premiums and fuel.

It is interesting to note that in the American Zone the median average expenditure per month is less than the median average income per month, and RM 16 more in Berlin.

Residents in Bavaria and Hesse each reported a median average monthly expenditure of RM 155, while persons living in Wuerttemberg-Baden had a somewhat lower median average monthly expenditure of RM 141 per family.

Again, monthly expenditures, with one exception, are directly proportionate to the size of the city in which the respondent lives. Residents in communities under 2,000 population reported a median average monthly expenditure of RM 117, while persons living in cities 250,000 or more population were high with a median average expenditure of RM 220 per month per family. The exception noted appeared among residents living in cities between 10,000 and 99,999 population who spent somewhat less than those persons living in the next smallest city size category.

CURRENCY ON HAND

Question: Have you, by any chance, more than RM 50 on you or at home, besides the amount you have in the bank?

	AMZON	BERLIN
Sample	1524	198
Yes	78%	72%
No	22	28
No answer	*	-
	100	100

Question: Could you tell me how much (money) you have on you?

	AMZON	BERLIN
Sample	1524	198
Less than RM 20	4%	9%
20 - 39	10	8
40 - 49	5	6
50 - 69	6	10
70 - 99	8	8
100 - 149	13	7
150 - 199	8	7
200 - 299	14	15
300 - 499	16	13
500 or more	12	17
Don't know, no answer	4	-
	100	100
Median average	RM 160	RM 165

*Less than 1%

MONTHLY EXPENDITURES

Question: How much did your family spend during the last month to meet its living expenses?

	Fuel: AMZON	Fuel: Berlin	Utilities AMZON	Utilities Berlin		Building repairs: AMZCN	Building repairs: Berlin
Sample	1524	198	1524	198		1524	198
Less than RM 5	4.9%	9.6%	1.4%	3.0%	Less than RM 10	.8%	1.0%
5 - 9	14.9	7.6	4.5	.5	10 - 14	1.8	.5
10 - 14	14.7	2.5	6.0	5.6	15 - 19	.9	.5
15 - 19	6.6	1.0	1.0	1.0	20 - 49	4.4	.5
20 - 24	6.2	1.5	3.2	2.5	50 - 99	2.2	1.5
25 - 29	2.6	1.0	.6	1.0	100 - 149	1.5	.5
30 - 49	5.9	1.5	1.8	2.0	150 - 299	.9	1.5
50 - 99	2.2	1.5	1.7	4.6	300 - 999	.7	.5
100 - 199	.8	2.0	1.0	1.0	1,000 - 9,999	.2	.5
200 or more	.5	.5	.3	3.0	10,000 or more	.1	-
Reported no expenditures, don't know, no answer	40.7	71.3	78.5	75.8	Reported no expenditures, don't know, no answer	86.5	93.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0
Median average	13	8	13	23		38	83

RESTRICTED

MONTHLY INCOME

Question: How much is the income of your family per month?

	Salary (Monthly):		Other Sources:		Total Income:	
	AMZON	BERLIN	AMZON	BERLIN	AMZON	BERLIN
Sample	1524	198	1524	198	1524	198
Less than RM 40	3.8%	2.5%	.4%	-%	3.5%	1.5%
40 - 69	7.2	4.0	1.8	2.0	8.6	7.1
70 - 99	6.3	5.1	2.0	1.5	6.9	4.6
100 - 119	6.1	4.0	1.9	1.0	6.8	3.0
120 - 139	6.5	4.6	2.4	.5	7.0	4.0
140 - 159	7.3	5.1	1.9	2.0	7.8	5.5
160 - 199	8.1	8.1	1.3	.5	9.4	8.1
200 - 249	9.3	12.6	2.3	.5	10.0	12.6
250 - 299	6.0	14.1	2.2	1.0	7.2	14.1
300 - 349	5.1	4.6	1.9	1.0	5.2	5.1
350 - 449	5.1	11.1	1.8	.5	6.6	11.6
450 or more	5.8	15.6	1.7	-	7.0	16.1
Reported no income, don't know, no answer	23.4	8.5	78.4	89.5	14.0	6.6
	[illegible]0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median average	165	248	63	51	170	25[illegible]

Less than RM 10
100 - 19
200 - 29
300 - 39
400 - 49
500 - 59
600 - 69
700 - 99
1000 - 119
1200 - 199
2000 - 299
3000 or more

MONTHLY EXPENDITURES
(continued)

	Insurance Premiums:		Other Expenses:			Total Expenditures:	
	AMZON	Berlin	AMZON	Berlin		AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1524	198	1524	198		1524	198
RM 2 or less	6.2%	6.6%	Less than RM 5	7.7	2.0	Less than RM 40	4.4%	1.5%
3 - 4	6.6	4.0	5 - 9	9.2	7.1	40 - 69	9.9	6.6
5 - 9	15.0	5.1	10 - 14	10.4	13.7	70 - 99	11.8	4.0
10 - 11	6.0	1.5	15 - 19	5.1	8.1	100 - 119	9.0	3.0
12 - 14	3.9	3.5	20 - 24	7.0	11.6	120 - 139	7.9	3.0
15 - 19	6.2	9.1	25 - 29	4.3	9.6	140 - 159	8.1	5.1
20 - 24	5.2	6.6	30 - 49	5.4	9.1	160 - 199	12.3	8.6
25 - 49	8.4	25.2	50 - 74	5.9	10.6	200 - 249	10.8	12.6
50 - 99	3.0	7.6	75 - 99	1.0	4.0	250 - 299	5.6	15.7
100 or more	1.8	3.0	100 or more	3.1	13.6	300 - 349	5.0	6.6
						350 - 449	4.8	11.1
						450 or more	6.7	22.2
Reported no expenditures, don't know, no answer	37.7	27.8	Reported no expenditures, don't know, no answer	40.9	10.6	Reported no expenditures, don't know, no answer	3.7	-
	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0
Median average	11	24		16	25		152	267

RESTRICTED

Size of income and expressed need.

According to previous studies made by the Opinion Surveys Unit, ODIC, approximately one-third of the respondents, in terms of families, indicated that the current monthly income was insufficient to meet necessary living expenses. This same finding is revealed in the present survey, with most of these families relying on personal savings to make up the difference between income and expenditures.

Question: Is your family's total income high enough to cover necessary living expenses?

American Zone

	Nov. 1945	Jan. 1946	Feb. 1946	March 1946	May 1946	July 1946
Sample	331	972	993	991	1504	1524
Yes	67%	67%	71%	68%	71%	68%
No	33	32	29	31	29	32
No answer	-	1	*	1	*	*
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Berliners despite claiming larger incomes had somewhat more difficulty making ends meet; 39% say that the family's total income failed to cover necessary living expenses.

Those people who said that their income was insufficient to cover necessary living expenses were asked how they managed to obtain necessities. Most of them replied that they drew from their savings.

Question: How are you able to buy everything you need?

	Nov. 1945	Jan. 1946	Feb. 1943	March 1946	May 1946	July 1946
Sample	331	972	993	991	1504	1524
"Cannot"	5%	3%	2%	3%	2%	5%
Savings	25	23	23	23	22	23
Other means**	2	7	3	4	3	5
No answer	1	*	1	1	*	1
	33	33	29	31	31	34

** See next page

Amount of life insurance carried

Approximately four in ten respondents in the American Zone and one-fourth of the Berliners interviewed carry life insurance. The proportion having premiums paid up to date is somewhat higher in the Zone than in Berlin. And AMZONers also carry considerably higher policies than do Berliners. The median average amount of insurance carried by respondents in the Zone is RM 2700, while the median average amount in Berlin is slightly less than RM 1200.

More Bavarians (42%) carry life insurance than do residents in either Wuerttemberg-Baden or Hesse, 39% and 31% respectively. A lower proportion of policy holders is found among the residents in the very large cities and the very small communities than among persons living in towns between 2,000 and 100,000 population. As might be expected, more persons in the higher occupation and socio-economic strata are found to carry life insurance policies than do those in the lower levels. And proportionately more people in the 30 - 59 age group than in the younger or older age groups are insured. Slightly more men than women carry insurance, and interestingly enough, a considerably higher proportion of former NSDAP members (52%) are found to be policy holders than are non-party members (36%).

As shown earlier, Berliners spend more per month on insurance premiums than do residents in the Zone; yet the amount of insurance carried is lower. This may be explained in part by the fact that a smaller proportion of Berliners have their insurance premiums paid up to date.

INSURANCE

Question: Do you have a life insurance policy?

	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1524	198
Yes	39.2%	25.2%
No	59.3	74.8
No answer	1.0	-
	100.0	100.0

Question: Are the premiums paid up?

	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1524	198
Yes	33.5%	17.7%
No	4.9	7.5
No answer	.8	-
Total having policies	39.2	25.2

Question: For how much are you insured?

	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1524	198
Less than RM 500	3.7%	6.1%
500 - 599	4.3	4.1
1,000 - 1,499	5.3	2.5
1,500 - 1,999	1.8	.5
2,000 - 2,999	4.3	2.0
3,000 - 3,999	4.6	2.5
4,000 - 4,999	1.0	.5
5,000 - 6,999	5.3	.5
7,000 - 9,999	1.2	-
10,000 - 19,999	3.3	2.5
20,000 or more	1.3	1.0
Don't know	.5	1.0
No answer	2.6	2.0
Total having policies	39.2	25.2
Median average	RM 2700	RM 1180

Attitudes toward readjustment of currency value

Most Germans hold black market dealers responsible for the increase in the volume of money in circulation. Sixty-six percent in the American Zone and 83 percent in Berlin chose this answer on a checklist of four alternatives on possible reasons for the surplus. This vote far outweighs the combined vote as the three remaining alternatives, even though respondents were not limited to a single choice. Whether this emphasis reflects real opinion or whether it results because black marketeers are logical scapegoats is not clear, but it is safe to assume the latter influences the choice.

Question: There is ten times as much money among the people today as there was before the war. In your opinion, where does this surplus come from?

		AMZON	Berlin
	Sample	1524	193
A	It is evenly distributed among the people	12%	3%
B	It is mainly among black market dealers	66	83
C	It is from Nazis and people who profited by the war	33	17
D	It is from occupation troops	5	17
	Don't know	17	5
	No answer	*	—
		133	130

(Columns total more than 100% because some respondents gave more than one answer.)

The higher proportions in Berlin selecting statements B and D appear reasonable in the light of ascertained black market operations on a large scale there and the persence of a large number of occupation forces in a comparatively small area. On the other hand, there is no easy explanation why statement C is selected more frequently by Zonal respondents than by Berliners.

Bavarians more than residents in the other two Laender tend to attribute the currency surplus to black market dealers as do residents in the larger cities. Persons in the upper and high middle socio-economic level, men and younger respondents also are inclined to place the surplus in the hands of the black marketeers. Former membership in the NSDAP seems to have some bearing on a respondent's selection -- 75% of the former Nazi party members think the black market dealers hold all the money, while among non-members, 63% selected this category. The latter placed more emphasis on holdings by Nazis and profiteers.

* Less than 1%

Attributing an unfavorable situation to the black market seems to appeal to a large proportion of the German public, with 88% of the people interviewed on this survey in the American Zone and 97% in Berlin saying that the black market has some influence on the economic situation.

Nine out of ten residents in Bavaria and Wuerttemberg-Baden, and eight in ten Hessians feel that the black market is an important factor in the present economic situation. On the other hand, residents in large cities, more so than in small communities, indicate more frequently this influence. Men, younger people, those in the higher and middle socio-economic and occupation levels and former members of the NSDAP appear to be more ready to attribute some influence to the black market.

* * *

On the question of whether or not a new currency is necessary in the German economy, a 40% plurality in the American Zone and a 52% majority in Berlin indicate that a new currency is NOT needed. Among those saying that a currency should be re-valued, the most frequent suggestion is to peg the new mark at 50 old pfennig, or half the value of the old mark.

Question: Do you think there should be a new currency in order to clear up the money situation?

	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1524	198
Yes	36%	40%
No	40	52
No opinion	23	8
No answer	1	-
	100	100

Question: What should the new money value be: the new mark equal to 50 old pfennig, 20 old pfennig, ten old pfennig or one old pfennig?

	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1524	198
50 old pfennig	16%	21%
20 old pfennig	4	3
Ten old pfennig	3	5
One old pfennig	*	-
Don't know	13	11
Total wanting new currency	36	40

Residents in Hesse, persons in the upper and high middle socio-economic level, men and older people more than comparable groups tend to favor a revaluation. In general, most groups appear to favor the new mark equal to 60 old pfennig.

Freezing bank accounts as a means to currency reform

People who did not favor a revaluation of currency (40% in AMZON, 52% in Berlin) were asked for their opinions on freezing bank accounts as a method of currency reform. Over half in both places advocated freezing bank accounts "over a certain amount." But, as the table below shows, a minority in the American Zone and in Berlin voted against this too. A safe guess is that these people who had also previously turned thumbs down on currency revaluation represent the proportion in the population which wants no reform in the currency.

Question: How should the (money) adjustment be carried out - by freezing of bank accounts regardless of their size, by freezing of bank accounts over a certain amount, or should there be no freezing of bank accounts at all?

	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1524	198
Freezing of all bank accounts	4%	5%
Freezing of bank accounts over a certain amount	28	32
No freezing of bank accounts at all	4	10
No opinion	3	2
No answer	1	3
Total NOT wanting new currency	40	52

* Less than one per cent.

These answers should be considered in the light of the fact that respondents did not have any opportunity to express a desire for currency reform by means other than through the creation of a new currency or by freezing of bank accounts.

* * *

On the question of when such an (monetary) adjustment should take place a 44% plurality in the American Zone and a 45% plurality in Berlin think the adjustment should be made immediately.

The two alternatives offered would delay such an adjustment until either economic conditions have improved or until a new government has been formed. The latter received more frequent mention, but even combining the mentions received by the two alternatives together, an immediate adjustment still receives a higher proportion of the vote.

The complete table of replies appears on the following page:

Question: Should there be such an (monetary) adjustment immediately, or should one wait until economic conditions have improved or until a new German government is formed?

	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1524	193
Adjust immediately	44%	45%
Wait until economic conditions improve	12	11
Wait until new government is formed	16	30
Others**	1	*
No opinion	26	11
No answer	1	3
	100	100

A considerably higher proportion of Bavarians than residents in either of the other two Laender favor an immediate adjustment, as do residents in larger cities. A 56% majority of those in the upper and high middle socio-economic level favor immediate action compared with 28% of those on relief. Men, persons between 30 and 59 years of age, and former members in the Nazi party are all more in favor of an immediate adjustment than are most other groups of respondents.

* * *

* Less than 1%

** This category includes those respondents who indicated that monetary reform should wait until both economic conditions improve and a new government has been formed.

The tenor of German thought on the economic situation is revealed to some extent by the fact that a 46% plurality of AMZON respondents and a 51% majority in Berlin say that they would prefer to have any money reserve in the form of goods. In the Zone, second and third choices are bank accounts and cash respectively, while the converse is true in Berlin.

Question: Would you rather have a reserve in cash, in goods, or would you rather have a checking or savings account?

	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1524	198
In cash	8%	25%
In goods	46	51
In bank account	29	20
More than one alternative selected	?	1
Don't know	14	3
No answer	1	-
	100	100

The principal reasons given for preferring to keep any surplus in cash are that the reserve has to be used for living expenses and to meet any possible emergency. Those who prefer goods say that merchandise does not lose its value, that it is considered an investment, or that they have no faith in the currency. Bank accounts are favored because the money is safe there. The types of goods favored principally are clothing, shoes, household goods and business equipment. These goods probably represent smaller contemplated reserve than those involved in holdings in gold, jewelry, automobiles, real estate, etc.

The complete answers appear in tabular form on the following pages:

Question: Why do you prefer to have this reserve in cash?

	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1524	198
Money has to be used for living expenses, to meet emergencies	4%	17%
Business reasons, for repairs, building purposes, purchase of material	1	4
Dowry for children, sickness, emergency cases	1	1
Other reasons (no trust in bank)	*	3
No reason given	2	*
Total preferring cash	8	25

Question: Why do you prefer a savings or checking account?

	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1524	198
Money is safe, can be gotten if needed, cannot be stolen	20%	16%
Money bears interest	4	2
Something for old age, in case of sickness or emergency	2	2
Government can work with the money, at home money is dead capital	1	1
Nothing to buy with the money	1	-
Other reasons	*	-
No reason given	3	-
	31	21

(Colums total more than 29% and 20% respectively, the number saying they prefer to keep a reserve in a bank account, because some respondents gave more than one reason.)

* Less than 1%

Question: Why do you prefer to have this reserve in goods?

	AUSTRIA	BERLIN
Sample	1524	198
Goods do not lose value, one should buy valuable goods -- land, jewelry, houses	15%	14%
As an investment, for a dowry, business purposes, food	8	23
Money in cash is worthless, goods are much better for a businessman	8	3
No trust in currency, currency lacks government backing	6	10
In need of goods, bombed-out, lost everything, refugees	4	1
Other reasons	5	-
No reason given	*	-
Total preferring goods	46	51

Question: What kind of goods?

	AUSTRIA	BERLIN
Sample	1524	198
Clothing, shoes, material	13%	15%
Household goods -- furniture, china, linen	12	7
Business goods -- raw materials consumer goods to be sold, equipment	11	4
Food, tobacco	7	17
Land, houses, building materials	6	3
Gold, silver, jewelry valuable books, stamps	2	8
Radios, automobiles	1	2
Other items	1	1
No item mentioned	3	1
	56	58

(Columns total more than 46% in 51% respectively, the number saying they prefer to keep a reserve in goods, because some respondents mentioned more than one item.)

* Less than 1%

Claims against the former Reich government

questioned regarding all financial claims against the former Reich government, nearly four in ten persons in the American Zone and a majority (72.2%) of Berlin respondents advanced at least one claim. An earlier survey (April) showed very much the same results, with 38% in the Zone and 68% in Berlin listing some claim.

Berliners are slightly less optimistic about the possibility of the future German state honoring their claims than are people in the Zone. Of those respondents who advanced claims, 29% in AMZON and 43% in Berlin do not expect to be compensated. On the other hand, 41% of Zonal respondents and 49% of Berliners do expect the future state to honor their claims. The April survey revealed that about 57% of those with some claim expected to receive payment; those who definitely stated that they did not expect payment numbered less than 20% in AMZON and about 36% in Berlin. Thus, it is evident that in the interim people have lost faith in either the ability or the desire of any future German state to honor supposedly valid claims against the Third Reich. One other possible alternative is that some claims may have already been satisfied. This possibility is suggested in the light of considerable change between the various types of claims made in April and those made in the July survey.

Whereas, in the April study, pension claims were put forth by about 20% of the entire AMZON population and 28% of the Berliners, only 2.2% and 5.0% respectively advanced similar claims in the July survey.* Claims for war damages and bombing headed the list in the July study, being made by 22.7% of AMZON respondents and 42.9% of Berliners. In April, this claim was made by 12% of the respondents in the Zone and by 44% in Berlin. Similarly, claims for frozen bank accounts were large (especially in Berlin) in the July survey, with 38.8% of all Berliners and 5.0% of all respondents in the Zone recording this type of claim. Other claims, mentioned somewhat less often were plundering and thefts (6.5% in AMZON; 13.6% in Berlin), unpaid wages, salaries, and soldier pay (5.6% in AMZON; 9.6% in Berlin), and claims for requisitioned goods, homes, rent, social security, insurance and bonds.

Size of claims varied considerably. Leading the list were claims for war damages. The median average amount claimed was RM 4900 in the American Zone and RM 6300 in more-heavily-damaged Berlin. Second on the list was Berliner's claim for frozen bank accounts, with the median average amount of RM 2700. In general claims in Berlin ran higher than did claims of residents in the Zone. For all claims, median average amount was RM 4100 in AMZON and RM 5700 in Berlin.

* At some time during the period between April and July, a list was published of persons whose pension claims were considered bona fide, and who under the Law for Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism were qualified to have their pension claims honored. One other explanation for the decrease noted is that during the interval between the two surveys, the German Government acknowledged many pension claims. It may be presumed, therefore, that persons who either receive pension payments or whose claims have been established and who are qualified to receive payment, would not list pensions as a claim against the former Reich government.

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Claims against the former government are advanced more frequently by Bavarians than by residents in either of the other two Laender, and a higher proportion of respondents in larger sized cities than in the smaller communities also have some claims. Persons in the highest and lowest socio-economic levels and those in the highest occupation levels evidence claims more frequently than middle groups. A slightly higher proportion of former Nazi party members than non-members advance some claim.

Question: Do you have any claims on the former Reich Government?

	AMZON	BERLIN
Sample	1524	198
Yes	38.0%	72.2%
No	59.8	22.7
No answer	2.2	5.1
	100.0	100.0

Question: Do you expect the future state to honor these claims?

	AMZON	BERLIN
Sample	1524	198
Yes	15.5%	35.4%
No	11.2	31.3
No opinion	3.8	5.5
No answer	7.5	-
Total having claims	38.0	72.2

Question: What kind of claims do you have?

	AMZON	BERLIN
Sample	1524	198
War damages, bombing	22.7%	42.9%
Plundering, thefts	6.5	13.6
Unpaid wages, salaries, soldier pay	5.6	9.6
Bank accounts	5.0	38.8
Pensions	2.8	5.0
Requisitioning by and deliveries to Government and/or Wehrmacht, rent on requisitioned homes	1.9	12.5
Social security, insurance, etc.	1.4	8.6
Bonds	.9	2.0
Other claims	2.9	7.0
	49.1	130.0

(Columns total more than 38.0% and 72.2% respectively, because some respondents mentioned having more than one claim.)

Amount of Claims

War Damages:

	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1524	198
Less than RM 500	1.4%	2.0%
500 - 999	2.8	4.5
1,000 - 2,999	3.6	6.6
3,000 - 4,999	3.4	6.1
5,000 - 6,999	1.0	3.5
7,000 - 9,999	2.5	5.6
10,000 - 19,999	2.9	4.6
20,000 - 29,999	1.2	4.5
30,000 - 49,999	1.8	3.0
50,000 or more	1.5	2.5
Don't know	.6	-
Total having claims	22.7	42.9
Median average	4900	6300

Bank Accounts:		Bonds:	
AMZON	Berlin	AMZON	Berlin
1524	198	1524	198
.1%	2.5%	1 case	- case
.5	8.1	1	-
1.0	10.1	1	-
.8	4.0	3	2
.5	4.6	2	-
.6	4.5	-	-
1.2	2.5	2	2
.1	1.0	2	-
.1	.5	1	-
.1	1.0	-	-
-	-	-	-
5.0	38.8	13(.9%)	4 (2.0%)
-	2700	-	-

Amount of Claims
(continued)

	Plundering:		Unpaid Wages:		Pensions: (in RM per year)		Requisitioning:		Social Security:		Other Claims:	
	AMZON	BERLIN	AMZON	BERLIN	AMZON	BERLIN	AMZON	BERLIN	AMZON	BERLIN	AMZON	BERLIN
Sample	1524	198	1524	198	1524	198	1524	198	1524	198	1524	198
	%	%	%	%	Cases	Cases	Cases	Cases	Cases	Cases	Cases	Cases
Less than RM 200	.6	-	.8	2.6	8	3	2	-	6	3	3	2
200 - 299	.5	1.5	.5	1.5	6	3	1	-	3	2	1	-
300 - 399	.4	.5	.5	.5	1	-	2	-	2	2	-	2
400 - 499	.5	1.5	.9	1.0	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	1
500 - 699	.5	1.5	.8	1.0	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	1
700 - 999	1.2	2.0	.5	1.5	4	-	3	-	2	-	3	1
1,000 - 1,999	.8	1.0	.8	1.0	2	-	3	1	2	1	9	1
2,000 - 2,999	.5	3.1	.5	.5	3	-	1	-	1	2	5	1
3,000 - 4,999	.5	.5	.2	-	2	1	2	2	1	2	4	2
5,000 or more	1.0	2.0	.1	-	2	1	11	1	2	2	18	3
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Total having claims	6.5	13.6	5.6	9.5	33 (2.2%)	10 (5.0%)	29 (1.9%)	5 (2.5%)	21 (1.4%)	17 (8.6%)	44 (2.9%)	14 (7.0%)

AMOUNT OF CLAIMS
(continued)

	Total Claims: AMZON	BERLIN
Sample	1524	198
Less than RM 500	4.6%	4.0%
500 - 999	4.9	7.1
1,000 - 2,999	6.0	13.1
3,000 - 4,999	3.9	8.6
5,000 - 6,999	1.7	8.1
7,000 - 9,999	2.6	3.5
10,000 - 19,999	5.0	9.6
20,000 - 29,999	2.0	7.1
30,000 - 49,999	2.4	4.6
50,000 or more	2.2	5.5
No total given	2.7	1.0
Total having claims	38.0	72.2
Median average	RM 4100	RM 5700

Two fifths of the respondents in the American Zone, and a naturally higher proportion in Berlin (81%) indicate that their property has suffered some war damage. A survey in April reveals almost identical results.

Question: Has your property suffered any war damage?

	AMZON	BERLIN
Sample	1524	198
Yes	40%	81%
NO	59	15
No answer	1	4
	100	100

Quite understandable is the desire for some compensation for this damage. Surprisingly enough, 16% of all Berliners want NO compensation, as do 3% in the Zone. The ratio desiring some compensation is similar to that expressed in an earlier survey (April).

Question: In your opinion, how much of it (war damage) should be made good: all, most, or a small part?

	AMZON	BERLIN
Sample	1524	198
All	6%	8%
Most	14	17
A small part	13	39
Nothing	3	16
No opinion	3	*
No answer	1	1
Total suffering war damage	40	81

* Less than 1%

Attitudes toward war losses and restitutions

The survey revealed widespread public support for a program to aid war victims at the expense of those who did not suffer economically.

1) A 72% majority of the respondents in the American Zone answered in the affirmative when asked if people who did not suffer war losses -- who did not lose property, income or savings because of the war -- should now be asked to help those who did.

2) A still larger majority, 95% in AMZON and 90% in Berlin, said that people who had an average income during the war, or who were in a position to save substantially, should now be asked to help in the rehabilitation of those who had losses.

One explanation for the considerably higher proportion of affirmative replies to the latter question than to the former lies in the fact that the group which would have to finance the cost of such a rehabilitation program was more clearly identified.

Little change in attitudes on this point occurred between April and July. Compared with the 72% majority in July, the April survey showed 75% of the respondents answering in the affirmative, 19% negative, and 6% held no opinion. Berliners answered 69% YES, 30% NO, and 1% had no opinion compared with 73% YES, 20% NO, and 7% having no opinion in the latter survey.

In the second question, respondents in the Zone and in Berlin answered exactly the same in the April survey -- 93% in the affirmative, 3% negative and 4% held no opinion.

On this question, there appeared practically no difference in the answers given by various population groups. However, in answering the first question, residents of Hesse, persons living in large cities, people falling in the highest and lowest socio-economic levels, and those in the high occupation levels expressed a greater willingness to aid war victims than did other groups of respondents. Interestingly enough, 76% of former Nazi party members, and 77% of those respondents who were themselves not members of the party but in whose family there was at least one member expressed willingness to aid those who suffered war losses, as compared with 70% of those who were not members in the NSDAP expressing this willingness.

Both in Berlin and the American Zone, war casualties got priority as groups to be aided. Following in descending order of mention were those who were bombed-out, refugees, expellees, dependents of war casualties, the politically persecuted and, at the bottom of the list, the Jews. One in four persons in the Zone and 31% in Berlin said, "All should be helped."

The complete table with percentages appears on the following page:

Question: In your opinion, who should be helped?

	AMZON	BERLIN
Sample	1524	198
War casualties	63%	43%
Bombed-out	57	32
Refugees	49	39
Expellees	49	32
Dependents of war casualties	48	26
Political persecutees	25	16
Jews	18	21
Foreigners, (unidentified)	1	1
All of them	24	31
No answer	3	7
	337	248

(Columns total more than 100% because respondents gave more than one answer.)

This same question was asked in a survey made in April, 1946. Two things can be seen in a comparison of the results: (1) there has been some reshuffling in the order of the groups to be aided, and (2) the overall proportions naming each group has decreased. For one reason or another, it seems that between April and July, 1946, the proportion desiring to aid certain groups of war victims has suffered a drop. The following table gives the results for this question in the April survey.

	AMZON	BERLIN
War casualties	84%	80%
Bombed-out	75	74
Expellees	70	68
Refugees	65	63
Dependents of war casualties	61	52
Jews	47	48
Political persecutees	47	48
DP's	39	35
All of them	37	32

Results of a study conducted by the Opinion Surveys Unit, CDIC in February of this year, and reported in the Information Control Intelligence Summary, No. 35 for the week ending 16 March 1946, indicates that appreciation of the magnitude of the problem of restitution was not widespread among the German public, but, in general, responsibility for the care of these people was accepted by most people.

Question: Have you, by any chance, more than RM 50 on you or at home, besides the amount you have in the bank?

	YES	NO	NO ANSWER	= 100%
Region				
AMZON	78%	22	*	
Berlin	72	28	-	
Bavaria	82	18	*	
Hesse	70	28	2	
Wuerttemberg-Baden	74	26	*	
City Size				
Under 2,000	76	24	*	
2,000 - 4,999	80	19	1	
5,000 - 9,999	82	18	-	
10,000 - 99,999	79	21	-	
100,000 - 249,999	75	24	1	
250,000 and over	78	20	2	
Socio-economic Status				
Upper and high middle	88	12	-	
Middle	84	15	1	
Lower	77	22	1	
Very low	68	32	-	
On relief	64	35	1	
Occupation				
Professional and Business	91	8	1	
Officials and white collar	77	23	-	
Clerical workers	81	18	1	
Craftsmen	86	12	2	
Skilled workers	70	30	-	
Semi-skilled workers	73	26	1	
Unskilled Labor	72	27	1	
Farmers	78	22	-	
Sex				
Men	81	19	*	
Women	75	24	1	
Age				
29 and under	63	37	*	
30 - 39	80	20	-	
40 - 49	81	18	1	
50 - 59	84	15	1	
60 and over	79	20	1	
NSDAP Membership				
Respondent was a member	84	15	1	
Other person in family was a member	78	22	-	
No membership in party	76	23	1	

* Less than 1%

TOTAL MONTHLY INCOME

	Region:		
	Bavaria	Hesse	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	881	336	307
Less than RM 40	3.7%	1.2%	5.2%
40 - 69	8.7	7.4	9.4
70 - 99	7.5	7.7	4.2
100 - 119	7.6	6.6	4.5
120 - 139	8.3	5.7	4.9
140 - 159	7.2	8.9	8.5
160 - 199	9.5	7.4	11.4
200 - 249	10.4	8.6	10.4
250 - 299	6.1	9.2	7.8
300 - 349	5.6	3.9	5.8
350 - 449	6.2	7.7	6.5
450 or more	7.8	6.3	5.5
No income, don't know, no answer	11.4	19.4	15.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median average	RM 165	RM 175	RM 179

TOTAL MONTHLY INCOME

	City Size Groups:					
	Under 2,000	2,000-4,000	5,000-9,999	10,000-99,000	100,000-249,000	250,000 and over
Sample	653	312	188	103	87	181
Less than Rs 40	5.2%	3.2%	1.1%	4.8%	2.3%	-%
40 - 69	12.9	9.0	4.3	2.9	4.6	1.6
70 - 99	8.7	7.4	5.3	5.8	2.3	3.9
100 - 119	9.8	7.0	5.3	1.9	-	2.8
120 - 139	6.9	3.7	9.0	7.7	3.5	3.9
140 - 159	9.3	7.4	5.9	4.8	9.2	5.0
150 - 199	6.4	12.5	11.7	7.7	13.8	11.6
200 - 249	9.6	10.6	11.2	9.6	8.1	10.5
250 - 299	4.3	4.5	5.8	13.5	20.7	13.3
300 - 349	2.6	4.8	4.8	8.6	9.2	12.1
350 - 449	4.4	5.4	12.8	7.7	5.7	9.9
450 or more	4.6	5.1	10.1	9.6	10.3	12.7
Reported no income, don't know, no answer	15.3	14.4	11.2	15.4	10.3	12.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median average	137	160	201	235	253	266

RESTRICTED

TOTAL MONTALY EXPENDITURES

	Region: Bavaria	Hesse	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	881	336	307
Less than RM 40	4.2%	2.1%	7.8%
40 - 69	10.0	8.9	10.7
70 - 99	12.1	11.9	10.7
100 - 119	9.5	6.8	9.8
120 - 139	6.8	9.8	8.8
140 - 159	8.3	9.5	5.9
160 - 199	11.7	12.5	13.7
200 - 249	12.3	9.8	7.8
250 - 299	5.0	6.5	6.2
300 - 349	5.5	3.6	5.2
350 - 449	4.3	6.0	5.2
450 or more	7.6	6.3	4.6
Spent nothing, don't know, no answer	2.7	6.3	3.6
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Median average	RM 155	RM 155	RM 141

RESTRICTED

R E S T R I C T E D

TOTAL MONTHLY EXPENDITURES

City Size Groups:

	Under 2,000	2,000-4,999	5,000-99,999	10,000-99,999	100,000-249,999	250,000 and over
Sample	553	312	188	103	87	181
Less than Rs 40	7.2%	3.5%	2.1%	1.9%	2.3%	1.1%
40 - 69	25.6	9.3	3.2	6.8	2.3	2.8
70 - 99	25.5	14.4	7.5	6.8	4.6	5.0
100 - 119	10.7	7.4	9.6	11.7	4.6	5.5
120 - 139	7.3	9.6	10.6	5.8	6.9	5.5
140 - 159	7.2	7.7	6.9	7.8	12.6	11.1
160 - 199	9.5	17.3	12.2	13.6	16.1	11.0
200 - 249	8.0	9.6	12.8	15.5	12.6	17.7
250 - 299	4.1	5.8	6.4	6.8	9.2	7.2
300 - 349	3.4	4.5	6.9	6.0	9.2	6.6
350 - 449	2.3	4.5	9.1	3.9	8.1	9.4
450 or more	3.8	4.8	10.6	8.7	6.9	14.9
Reported no expenditures, don't know, no answer	5.4	1.6	2.1	3.9	4.6	2.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median average	117	153	190	181	195	220

R E S T R I C T E D

Question: Do you have a life insurance policy? If "Yes," are the premiums paid up?

	Region:		
	Bavaria	Hesse	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	881	336	307
Have No policy	57%	68%	60%
Have policy:			
Premiums paid up	36	24	35
Premiums NOT paid up	5	7	3
No answer	1	-	1
Total having policies	42	31	39
No answer	1	1	1
	100	100	100

	Socio-economic Status:				
	Upper and High Middle	Middle	Lower	Very Low	On Relief
Sample	139	419	614	254	86
Have NO policy	47%	53%	63%	69%	65%
Have policy					
Premiums paid up	43	43	30	26	15
Premiums NOT paid up	7	3	5	4	15
No answer	3	*	1	-	1
Total having policies	53	46	36	30	31
No answer	-	1	1	1	4
	100	100	100	100	100

*Less than 1%

RESTRICTED

	City size Groups:					
	Under 2,000	2,000 4,999	5,000- 9,999	10,000- 59,999	100,000- 249,999	250,000 and Over
Sample	653	312	188	103	87	181
Have NO policy	63%	57%	55%	51%	61%	60%
Have policy:						
Premiums paid up	39	35	38	46	35	35
Premiums NOT paid up	6	7	4	3	3	3
No answer	1	1	*	-	-	1
Total having policies	56	43	42	49	37	39
No answer	1	-	3	-	2	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100

*Less than 1%

	Occupation:							
	Professional and Business	Officials & White Collar	Clerical Workers	Crafts-man	Skilled Workers	Semi-skilled Workers	Unskilled Labor	Farmers
Sample	207	106	233	92	186	135	162	270
Have NO policy	45%	55%	56%	61%	59%	70%	62%	72%
Have policy;								
Premiums paid up	45	38	39	34	32	26	34	23
Premiums NOT paid up	7	6	4	4	6	3	2	3
No answer	2	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
Total having policies	54	44	43	38	40	30	37	28
No answer	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	-
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*Less than 1%.

	Sex:	
	Men	Women
Sample	707	817
Have NO policy	58%	62%
Have policy:		
Premiums paid up	36	31
Premiums NOT paid up	5	5
No answer	1	1
Total having policies	42	37
No answer	*	1
	100	100

	Age:				
	29 and Under	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and Over
Sample	268	390	365	262	226
Have NO policy	75%	52%	52%	58%	72%
Have policy:					
Premiums paid up	20	40	41	37	22
Premiums NOT paid up	5	7	4	4	4
No answer	-	1	1	*	1
Total having policies	25	48	46	41	27
No answer	*	*	2	1	1
	100	100	100	100	100

	NSDAP Membership:		
	Respondent a member	Other person in family was a member	No membership in party
Sample	226	302	979
Have NO policy	47%	59%	63%
Have policy:			
Premiums paid up	45	34	31
Premiums NOT paid up	5	5	5
No answer	2	1	*
Total having policies	52	40	36
No answer	1	1	1
	100	100	100

*Less then 1%

Question: There is ten times as much money among the people today as there was before the war. In your opinion, where does this surplus come from?

Statement A: It is evenly distributed among the people

B: It is mainly among black market dealers

C: It is from Nazis and people who profited by the war

D: It is from the occupation troops.

	Region:		
	Bavaria	Hesse	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	881	336	307
Statement A	11%	11%	17%
B	70	64	55
C	38	28	24
D	4	9	2
Don't know	13	26	20
No answer	+	1	1
	135	139	119

	Socio-economic Status:				
	Upper and High Middle	Middle	Lower	Very Low	On Relief
Sample	139	419	614	254	86
Statement A	14%	11%	13%	8%	12%
B	74	72	61	62	60
C	35	30	34	38	30
D	6	7	4	4	6
Don't know	9	12	20	22	22
No answer	1	-	1	-	1
	139	132	133	134	131

+ Less than 1%

Columns total more than 100% because some respondents gave more than one answer

47

City Size Groups:

	Under 2,000	2,000-4,999	5,000-9,999	10,000 99,999	100,000-249,999	250,000 and Over
Sample	653	312	188	103	87	181
Statement A	15%	8%	12%	12%	9%	9%
B	60	66	70	72	77	70
C	37	34	31	35	24	23
D	4	4	10	8	6	3
Don't know	20	21	15	10	11	11
No answer	1	-	*	-	2	-
	137	133	138	137	129	116

* Less than 1%

R E S T R I C T E D

Occupation:

	Professional and Business	Officials & White Collar	Clerical Workers	Crafts-men	Skilled Workers	Semi-skilled Workers	Unskilled Labor	Farmers
Sample	207	106	233	92	186	135	162	270
Statement A	16%	12%	11%	13%	13%	7%	11%	12%
B	69	68	79	64	68	60	67	56
C	31	29	27	40	38	36	35	36
D	7	5	3	10	5	2	2	5
Don't know	10	18	11	8	14	19	15	28
No answer	1	-	*	1	-	1	*	-
	134	132	136	136	138	125	130	137

* Less than 1%

R E S T R I C T E D

Sex:

	Men	Women
Sample	707	817
Statement A	16%	8%
B	71	61
C	40	27
D	5	5
Don't know	9	25
No answer	*	1
	141	127

Age:

	29 and Under	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 - 59	60 and Over
Sample	268	390	365	262	226
Statement A	11%	9%	13%	17%	12%
B	69	71	67	60	54
C	32	33	33	31	35
D	6	5	7	4	3
Don't know	15	14	15	20	27
No answer	*	-	1	1	*
	133	132	136	133	131

NSDAP Membership:

	Respondent a member	Other person in family was a member	No membership in party
Sample	226	302	979
Statement A	19%	9%	11%
B	75	67	63
C	29	28	36
D	4	7	5
Don't know	8	21	16
No answer	*	*	*
	135	132	133

* Less than 1%
Columns total more than 100% because some respondents gave more than one answer.

	YES	NO	NO OPINION NO ANSWER	
Region				
AMZON	88%	3	9	- 100
Berlin	97	2	1	
Bavaria	91	3	6	
Hesse	81	4	15	
Wuerttemberg-Baden	88	1	11	
City Size				
Under 2, 000	86	2	12	
2,000 - 4,999	85	2	13	
5,000 - 9,999	89	5	6	
10,000 - 99,999	91	3	6	
100,000 - 249,999	95	2	3	
250,000 & Over	94	2	4	
Socio-economic Status				
Upper and high middle	92	2	6	
Middle	92	2	6	
Lower	87	4	9	
Very low	85	1	14	
On relief	85	4	11	
Occupation				
Professional & Business	91	5	4	
Officials and white collar	92	4	4	
Clerical workers	92	2	6	
Craftsman	93	1	6	
Skilled workers	89	2	9	
Semi-skilled workers	87	3	10	
Unskilled Labor	91	1	8	
Farmers	80	3	17	
Sex				
Men	92	3	5	
Women	85	2	13	
Age				
29 and under	90	2	8	
30 - 39	91	3	6	
40 - 49	89	2	9	
50 - 59	86	3	11	
40 - 49	89	2	9	
50 - 59	86	3	11	
60 & Over	84	3	13	
NSDAP Membership				
Respondent was a member	92	4	4	
Other person in family was a member	88	2	10	
No membership in party	89	2	10	

R E S T R I C T E D

Question: Do you think there should be a new currency in order to clear up the money situation? If "Yes", What should the new money value be: the new mark equal to 50 old pfennig, 20 old pfennig, ten old pfennig or one old pfennig?

Region:

	Bavaria	Hesse	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	881	336	307
Total NOT wanting new currency	44%	32%	37%
New mark should equal:			
50 old pfennig	17	10	21
20 old "	4	6	1
10 "	1	7	2
1 "	*	*	*
Don't know	13	15	10
Total wanting new currency	35	38	34
No opinion	20	29	28
No answer	1	1	1
	100	100	100

Socio-economic Status:

	Upper and High Middle	Middle	Lower	Very Low	On relief
Sample	139	419	614	254	86
Total NOT wanting new currency	42%	49%	35%	37%	37%
New mark should equal:					
50 old pfennig	16	17	17	11	15
20 old "	4	4	4	3	1
10 "	5	2	4	1	1
1 "	-	*	*	1	1
Don't know	22	10	12	14	12
Total wanting new currency	47	33	37	30	30
No opinion	11	17	26	31	32
No answer	-	1	2	2	1
	100	100	100	100	100

*Less than 1%

	City Size Groups:					
	Under 2,000	2,000-4,999	5,000-9,999	10,000-99,999	100,000-249,999	250,000 and Over
Sample	653	312	188	103	87	101
Total NOT wanting new currency	37%	41%	43%	49%	45%	38%
New mark should equal:						
50 old pfennig	17	15	18	16	21	14
20 "	4	4	2	5	2	3
Ten "	3	4	-	2	-	2
One "	1	*	-	1	1	-
Don't know	12	12	12	15	8	17
Total wanting new currency	37	35	32	39	32	36
No opinion	25	23	24	12	21	25
No answer	1	1	1	-	2	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Less than 1%

Occupation:

	Professional and Business	Officials & White Collar	Clerical workers	Crafts-men	Skilled Workers	Semi-skilled workers	Unskilled Labor	Farmers
Sample	207	105	233	92	186	135	162	270
Total NOT wanting new currency	43%	47%	48%	40%	44%	29%	36%	37%
New mark should equal:								
50 old pfennig	23	14	15	21	12	14	15	17
20 "	5	2	4	2	5	3	4	3
Ten "	3	1	1	3	4	4	3	2
One "	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	1
Don't know	12	17	13	11	10	15	13	13
Total wanting new currency	43	35	33	38	31	37	35	36
No opinion	13	16	19	21	23	32	27	27
No answer	1	2	*	1	2	2	2	*
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

	Sex: Men	Women
Sample	707	817
Total NOT wanting new currency	46%	35%
New mark should equal:		
50 old pfennig	19	14
20 "	5	2
Ten "	3	2
One "	1	*
Don't know	12	13
Total wanting new currency	40	31
No opinion	13	33
No answer	1	1
	100	100

Age:

	29 and Under	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and Over
Sample	268	390	365	262	226
Total NOT wanting new currency	41%	44%	37%	41%	35%
New mark should equal:					
50 old pfennig	19	16	16	15	16
20 "	2	3	4	6	2
Ten "	3	3	2	4	1
One "	-	1	*	*	-
Don't know	10	10	16	11	17
Total wanting new currency	34	33	38	36	36
No opinion	25	21	23	22	29
No answer	-	2	2	1	*
	100	100	100	100	100

NSDAP Membership:

	Respondent a member	Other person in family was a member	No membership in party
Sample	226	302	979
Total NOT wanting new currency	48%	42%	37%
New mark should equal:			
50 old pfennig	16	17	16
20 "	6	2	4
Ten "	3	3	3
One "	-	-	1
Don't know	11	15	12
Total wanting new currency	36	37	36
Don't know	15	21	26
No answer	1	-	1
	100	100	100

* Less than 1%

Question: Should there be such an (monetary) adjustment immediately, or should one wait until economic conditions have improved or until a new German government has been formed?

	Bavaria	Hesse	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	881	336	307
Adjust immediately	48%	38%	37%
Wait until economic conditions improve	12	11	14
Wait until new government is formed	15	13	23
Other **	*	1	2
No opinion	24	36	24
No answer	1	1	*
	100	100	100

Socio-economic Status:

	Upper and High Middle	Middle	Lower	Very Low	On Relief
Sample	139	419	614	254	86
Adjust immediately	56%	51%	41%	37%	28%
Wait until economic conditions improve	9	12	12	13	15
Wait until new government is formed	16	17	16	14	20
Other	1	*	1	*	2
No opinion	17	19	29	35	34
No answer	1	1	1	1	1
	100	100	100	100	100

* Less than 1%

** This category includes those respondents who indicated that monetary reform should wait until both economic conditions improve and a new government has been formed.

R E S T R I C T E D

City Size Groups:

	Under 2,000	2,000 4,999	5,000- 9,999	10,000- 99,999	100,000- 249,999	250,000 and Over
Sample	653	312	188	103	87	181
Adjust immediately	39%	46%	38%	45%	46%	59%
Wait until economic conditions improve	12	10	14	17	17	10
Wait until new government is formed	17	12	18	19	16	17
Other	1	2	1	-	2	1
No opinion	31	30	27	18	14	13
No answer	*	-	2	1	5	-
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Occupation:

	Professional and Business	Officials & White Collar	Clerical Workers	Crafts-men	Skilled Workers	Semi-skilled Workers	Unskilled Labor	Farmers
Sample	207	106	233	92	186	135	162	270
Adjust immediately	45%	37%	51%	50%	47%	41%	43%	36%
Wait until economic conditions improve	14	21	15	8	9	17	7	13
Wait until new government is formed	18	22	12	18	16	12	17	16
Other	*	1	*	1	2	1	1	2
No opinion	17	18	23	21	26	28	31	33
No answer	2	1	1	2	*	1	1	-
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Less than 1%

Sex:

	Men	Women
Sample	707	817
Adjust immediately	51%	37%
Wait until economic conditions improve	13	12
Wait until new government is formed	20	13
Other	1	1
No opinion	15	36
No answer	*	1
	100	100

Age:

	29 and Under	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and Over
Sample	268	390	365	262	226
Adjust immediately	40%	50%	46%	45%	29%
Wait until economic conditions improve	16	12	12	8	15
Wait until new government is formed	19	13	13	18	20
Other	1	1	*	2	1
No opinion	24	23	28	25	35
No answer	*	1	1	2	-
	100	100	100	100	100

NSDAP Membership:

	Respondent a member	Other person in family was a member	No membership in party
Sample	226	302	979
Adjust immediately	50%	44%	42%
Wait until economic conditions improve	11	11	13
Wait until new government is formed	19	16	15
Other	1	2	1
No opinion	19	26	29
No answer	*	1	*
	100	100	100

* Less than 1%

R E S T R I C T E D

Question: Would you rather have a reserve in cash, in goods, or would you rather have a checking or savings account?

Region:

	Bavaria	Hesse	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	681	336	307
In cash	9%	6%	7%
In goods	43	50	53
In bank account	30	24	32
More than one alternative selected	2	3	1
Don't know	16	15	7
No answer	*	2	*
	100	100	100

Socio-economic Status:

	Upper and High Middle	Middle	Lower	Very Low	On Relief
Sample	139	419	614	254	86
In cash	13%	5%	7%	7%	14%
In goods	49	50	48	40	34
In bank account	20	28	30	32	35
More than one alternative selected	3	2	1	2	2
Don't know	15	15	13	18	14
No answer	-	-	1	1	1
	100	100	100	100	100

* Less than 1%

R E S T R I C T E D

City Size Groups:

	Under 2,000	2,000-4,999	5,000-9,999	10,000 99,999	100,000-249,999	250,000 and Over
Sample	653	312	188	103	87	131
In cash	7%	12%	6%	7%	6%	6%
In goods	49	44	49	43	48	39
In bank account	31	24	29	39	38	23
More than one alternative selected	2	2	4	3	1	-
Don't know	11	18	10	8	5	32
No answer	*	*	2	-	2	-
	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Less than 1%

Occupation:

	Professional and Business	Officials & White Collar	Clerical Workers	Crafts-men	Skilled Workers	Semi-skilled Workers	Unskilled Labor	Farmers
Sample	207	106	233	92	186	135	162	270
	7%	7%	8%	6%	8%	6%	7%	7%
In cash	56	41	37	47	53	50	44	49
In goods	23	43	34	22	26	27	26	29
In bank account	3	1	2	3	1	1	1	2
More than one alternative selected	11	8	19	20	11	15	19	13
Don't know	--	--	*	2	1	1	1	--
No answer	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*Less than 1%

	Sex: Men	Women
Sample	707	817
In cash	8%	7%
In goods	50	43
In bank account	29	29
More than one alternative selected	3	2
Don't know	10	18
No answer	*	1
	100%	100%

	Age: 29 and under	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and over
Sample	268	390	365	262	226
In cash	5%	9%	8%	5%	10%
In goods	50	48	46	46	40
In bank account	30	27	30	28	34
More than one alternative selected	2	1	2	3	2
Don't know	13	15	13	17	14
No answer	-	*	1	1	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	NSDAP Membership: Respondent a member	Other person in family was a member	No membership in party
Sample	226	302	979
In cash	6%	7%	8%
In goods	49	49	46
In bank account	33	29	29
More than one alternative selected	3	1	1
Don't know	9	14	15
No answer	-	-	1
	100%	100%	100%

* Less than 1%

	Sex:	
	Men	Women
Sample	707	817
Have NO claims	59%	61%
Have claims which		
Will be honored	16	16
Will NOT be honored	12	10
Don't know	10	10
Total having claims	38	36
No answer	3	3
	100	100

	Age:				
	29 and Under	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and Over
Sample	268	390	365	262	226
Have NO claims	63%	59%	59%	61%	58%
Have claims which:					
Will be honored	13	15	17	15	17
Will NOT be honored	13	11	10	12	11
Don't know	9	11	11	8	13
Total having claims	35	37	38	36	41
No answer	2	4	3	3	1
	100	100	100	100	100

	NSDAP Membership:		
	Respondent a member	Other person in family was a member	No membership in party
Sample	226	302	979
Have NO claims	56%	59%	61%
Have claims which:			
Will be honored	18	16	15
Will NOT be honored	12	13	11
Don't know	11	8	11
Total having claims	41	37	37
No answer	3	4	2
	100	100	100

RESTRICTED

City Size Groups:

	Under 2,000	2,000-4,999	5,000-9,999	10,000-99,999	100,000-249,999	250,000 and Over
Sample	65	312	188	103	87	181
Have NO claims	62%	59%	64%	51%	53%	53%
Have claims which:						
Will be honored	14	13	13	15	21	27
Will NOT be honored	10	13	8	15	16	10
Don't know	10	13	14	7	7	8
Total having claims	34	39	35	37	44	45
No answer	4	2	1	6	3	2
	100	100	100	100	100	100

RESTRICTED

Occupation:	Professional and Business	Officials & white Collar	Clerical workers	Crafts-men	Skilled workers	Semi-skilled workers	Unskilled Labor	Farmers
Sample	207	106	233	92	186	135	162	270
	48%	48%	59%	62%	59%	65%	60%	72%
Have NO claims	20	25	16	14	14	16	16	9
Have claims which:								
Will be honored	16	13	14	9	14	6	8	9
Will NOT be honored	14	12	8	11	8	10	12	8
Don't know	50	50	38	33	36	32	36	26
Total Having claims	2	2	3	5	5	3	4	2
No answer	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Question: Do you have any claims on the former Reich's Government? If "Yes", Do you expect the future state to honor these claims?

Religion:

	Bavaria	Hesse	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	881	336	307
Have NO claims	58%	59%	65%
Have claims which:			
Will be honored	17	12	17
Will NOT be honored	13	10	7
Don't know	10	14	8
Total having claims	40	36	32
No answer	2	5	3
	100	100	100

Socio-economic Status:

	Upper and High Middle	Middle	Lower	Very Low	On Relief
Sample	139	419	614	254	86
Have NO claims	40%	61%	66%	61%	50%
Have claims which:					
Will be honored	29	13	13	14	24
Will NOT be honored	19	12	9	11	7
Don't know	11	11	9	11	17
Total having claims	59	36	31	36	48
No answer	1	3	3	3	2
	100	100	100	100	100

Question: Do you think that people who did not suffer war losses, e.g. who did not lose property, income or savings because of the war, should now be asked to help those who suffered war losses?

	YES	NO	NO OPINION NO ANSWER	
Region				
AMZON	72%	20	8	= 100%
Berlin	73	20	7	
Bavaria	69	23	8	
Hesse	81	9	10	
Wuerttemberg-Baden	73	21	6	
City Size				
Under 2,000	71	21	8	
2,000 - 4,999	71	20	9	
5,000 - 9,999	68	21	11	
10,000 - 99,999	67	29	4	
100,000 - 249,999	77	20	3	
250,000 & Over	83	7	10	
Socio-economic Status				
Upper and high middle	75	17	8	
Middle	73	21	6	
Lower	72	18	10	
Very low	65	24	11	
On relief	80	15	5	
Occupation				
Professional & Business	78	16	6	
Officials and white collar	76	18	6	
Clerical workers	74	21	5	
Craftsmen	77	16	7	
Skilled workers	74	21	5	
Semi-skilled workers	78	14	8	
Unskilled Labor	71	20	9	
Farmers	61	27	12	
Sex				
Men	72	22	6	
Women	73	17	10	
Age				
29 and under	74	18	8	
30 - 39	73	20	7	
40 - 49	70	21	9	
50 - 59	70	22	8	
60 and over	75	15	10	
NSDAP Membership				
Respondent was a member	76	20	4	
Other person in family was a member	77	17	6	
No membership in party	70	20	10	

Question: Do you believe that people who had an average income during the war, or who were in a position to save substantially, should now be asked to help in the rehabilitation of those who had losses?

	Yes	No	No opinion No answer	
Region				
AMZON	95%	2	3	... 100%
Berlin	90	4	6	
Bavaria	96	1	3	
Hesse	93	1	6	
Wuerttemberg-Baden	94	2	4	
City Size				
Under 2,000	95	1	4	
2,000 - 4,999	95	1	4	
5,000 - 9,999	94	2	4	
10,000 - 99,999	97	1	2	
100,000 - 249,999	94	5	1	
250,000 & over	96	1	3	
Socio-economic Status				
Upper and high middle	92	2	6	
Middle	98	1	1	
Lower	94	1	5	
Very low	94	1	5	
On relief	94	3	3	
Occupation				
Professional & Business	94	2	4	
Officials and white collar	98	1	1	
Clerical workers	95	2	3	
Craftsmen	96	-	4	
Skilled workers	96	1	3	
Semi-skilled workers	95	1	4	
Unskilled labor	94	3	3	
Farmers	93	2	5	
Sex				
Men	96	2	2	
Women	94	1	5	
Age				
29 and under	96	1	3	
30 - 39	95	2	3	
40 - 49	94	2	4	
50 - 59	95	2	3	
60 and over	95	1	4	
NSDAP Membership				
Respondent was a member	96	3	1	
Other person in family was a member	96	1	3	
No membership in party	95	1	4	

R E S T R I C T E D

THE TREND OF PUBLIC REACTIONS TO THE NUERNBERG TRIALS

The ICD Surveys Unit has periodically surveyed the public's attitude toward various aspects of the Nuernberg trials. This report summarizes previous findings and presents material gathered toward the end of the trials and immediately after the sentences had been pronounced.

Report Number 33
18 December 1946
Surveys Branch
Office of Director of Information Control
OMGUS (Rear) APO 757

R E S T R I C T E D

The conduct of the trials ...

The feeling that defendents were receiving a fair and orderly trial remained widespread among the public throughout the proceedings. There was a slight rise among the doubters when the Russian took their turn as prosecutors in March. The extent to which this reflected the generally negative attitude toward anything Russian is indicated by the fact that a greater disbelief in a fair trial was registered when respondents were specifically asked to rate the Russian prosecution. Only about half of those who knew that the prosecution was then in Russian hands thought it was being handled in a fair and orderly way. The other half either took a negative stand or expressed no opinion. In the same survey, three-fourths answered the question favorably when no reference to Russia was made. When the verdicts were announced in October 1946, just as many agreed that the trial was fair and orderly as had anticipated, a year previously, that the defendents would receive a fair trial.

Charges against other organizations; against the entire people ...

In March, few people (17%) had heard about the possibility of holding further trials after the conclusion of the Nuernberg trials. There was a wide-spread feeling (71%), however, that the men of Nuernberg were not the only criminals. Most frequently on the list were Party leaders such as Gauleiters and Kreisleiters, as well as Party activists and fanatics. After the verdicts, just as many people (43%) thought that lesser leaders should be brought to trial as thought (43%) it was sufficient to have the higher leaders punished. At the same time, a sharp distinction was made between office holders in the Party and "little" members of National Socialist organizations. Nearly eight in ten people (77%) felt that a heavier burden of guilt for the Hitler regime lay on the functionnaires than on non-office holding members. Some distinction was made, too, between people who joined the Party before 1 May 1937 and those who joined it afterwards. One third of the public thought pre-1937 members carried greater guilt for Party actions, and less than a fifth (18%) felt the post-1937 joiners were more blameworthy. And another third held there was no difference in degree of guilt between the two groups.

In general, then, the German public attempted to disassociate itself from ties with the NSDAP. By an overwhelming vote (92%) Germans rejected the idea of collective war guilt because of their submission to a government which had planned and fought aggressive war. Only a bare majority was willing to assume some responsibility for the actions of the Nazi regime. These people (51%) agreed that the Germans because of their support of Hitler's government were at least partly responsible for its actions.

Reactions to the verdicts ...:

By and large there was majority support for a verdict of guilty for the defendants. In December 1945 and again in March 1946, seven in ten said that all the men being tried were guilty. However, by August a more critical outlook was apparent. Then, only about half of the public admitted the guilt of all the defendents.

As to the punishment, 36% felt that all the defendents would receive the same sentences, but more people (46%) felt there would be different punishments for the men being tried. The latter group thought that Party leaders such as Goering, Streicher, Ribbentrop, Kaltenbrunner, Sauckel, Rosenberg and Frank would get heavier sentences. Less severe punishment was expected for von Papen, Schacht, Fritzsche and the military and naval leaders on trial. Rudolf Hess was expected to be treated most leniently, and always led the list of those thought not guilty by the public. A poll in early February 1946 showed a near majority anticipating the verdict, in general, to be death. Only a few people specified the manner of execution, but nearly all of those who did suggested hanging.

After the sentences were announced, a solid majority (about six in ten) held that not one of the verdicts was too harsh. About two in ten people said that some of the verdicts were too severe, and the rest were unable to judge the situation. Most of the criticism offered was directed at the sentencing of the officers -- Keitel, Raeder, Jodl, Doenitz. A spontaneous comment of an appreciable minority was that these men should at least die a "soldier's death."

Evaluating the verdicts in general, one in ten persons said they were too harsh, two in ten, too lenient, and more than five in ten (55%) thought them "just." The remainder withheld judgment.+

A large minority was unsympathetic with the indictment of whole organizations such as the SA, SS, the General Staff, etc. Nor was there any perceptible change in the size of the majority which favored such indictments during the various polls. In November 1945, 57% held them justified, in January 1946, 60% were of the same opinion, and right after the end of the trials, in October 1946, 59% so believed. But while large minorities held that the SA, General Staff and Wehrmacht did not deserve being placed on trial, few spoke in defense of the Gestapo, the Reichs cabinet or the Leadership corps of NSDAP.

+ AIPO (Gallup Poll) reported that 3% of the American people thought the verdicts too severe, 34% thought them too lenient, 44% thought them just right an the remainder did not judge.

What was learned from the trials ...

The German people learned much recent history from the trials, and thereby saw the Nazi period in sharper focus. Large majorities claimed to have learned many things about their former leaders for the first time. Particularly impressive to large numbers was the story of the concentration camps as developed in the early stages of the trial. Nazi plans for the war, the activities of Party leaders, and the planned annihilation of the Jews also impressed appreciable minorities. After the announcement of the trial verdicts, it was the facts of the concentration camps which persisted in the minds of half the public as something gleaned from Nuernberg.

Queried at this time on the lesson of the trials - that is what the German people could learn from them - their answers varied. Three in ten pointed to the danger of dictatorship and one-sided politics, maintaining that caution was needed in electing future statesmen. A fourth felt the lesson was to maintain peace because it is always the people who suffer from war. For the rest, few positive statements were forthcoming. However, a very few (6%) spoke in negative terms: that there is no justice, that only Germans get punished, that human rights were violated, that politics should be avoided. Significantly, a third could give no articulate reply as to the lesson of the trials. They said they were not interested in politics, did not understand politics, or had other worries to trouble them.

From these data it can be concluded that the Nuernberg trials made at least half of the German people more fully aware than formerly of the inhumanity of the Nazi concentration camps. And it linked this story to their chosen leaders. Moreover, they presented this information as information already known to the peoples of the world. Then, too, the trials had a particular lesson for the German people: that men chosen as leaders may not be trusted, that absolute power may be misused. This lesson reached a sizeable minority of Germans. Others were brought to express abhorrence of war for the misery it brings to common men.+

+ The Fortune Poll (Nov.1945) reported that 36% of the U.S. public believed that Germany had learned a lesson from the war, 46% thought that she would again try to rule the world, 11% felt the answer depended on some contingency, and 7% expressed no opinion.

ATTITUDE TOWARD LICENSED NEWSPAPERS IN SOME AMERICAN OCCUPIED AREAS

Report No. 34

(Supplement to Report No.21)
Opinion Surveys Unit
Office of the Director of Information Control
OMGUS (Rear) APO 757

TABLE I

TETRACHORIC CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS AND WEIGHTED SCORES BY CITIES

A. Correlation between dislike of paper and dissatisfaction because of insufficient coverage.
B. Correlation between dislike of paper and charge Nuernberg trial reports are incomplete and untrue.
C. Correlation between like of paper and like of local governmental administration
D. Correlation between charge paper contains propaganda and charge paper prefers a political party.
E. Weighted scores.

Population	A.	B.	C.	D.	E. Poor (C-6)	Fair (7-9)	Good (10-12)	Very good (13-16)
Ansbach	.21		.16	*	10%	29%	41%	20%
Aschaffenburg	.35	.35	.62	.25	24	31	33	12
Augsburg	.18	.18	.16	.33	22	28	33	17
Bad Reichenhall	.28		.33	.31	18	18	29	35
Bamberg	.52		.18	.54	18	37	32	13
Bayreuth	.55		.53	.80	11	23	34	32
Berlin	.27	.08	-.03	.52	14	24	42	20
Coburg	.42		.43	.53	13	21	42	24
Darmstadt	.05	.37	.46	.27	34	32	27	7
Garmisch-Partenkirchen	.26	.25	.10	.79	8	17	35	40
Giessen	.30	.27	.24	.10	29	22	35	14
Heidelberg	.31		.28	.60	21	32	32	15
Heilbronn	.33		.33	.19	15	33	36	16
Hof	.42	.34	.39	.34	24	36	29	11
Ingolstadt	.22	.03	.27	.34	17	26	40	17
Karlsruhe	.23		.28	.07	30	28	31	11
Kassel	.52	.32	.43	*	26	31	30	13
Kempten	.27	.17	.15	.59	38	31	27	4
Landshut	.23		.32	*	18	34	33	15
Marburg	.32	.05	.37	.0	49	26	21	4
Munich	.30	.24	.18	*	18	24	30	28

* Too few cases in one cell to carry out operation

TABLE I, cont'd

Population	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.: Poor (0-6)	Fair (7-9)	Good (10-12)	Very good (13-16)
Nuernberg	.20		.21	.41	18%	27%	42%	13%
Passau:	.35	.27	.47	.61	5	21	43	30
Regensburg	.43	.14	.23	.62	24	37	30	9
Rosenheim	.40		.29	.46	12	18	34	36
Stuttgart	.13		.28	.20	15	29	39	17
Ulm	.30		.24	.11	18	34	37	11
Weiden	.20		.17	.40	24	30	36	10
Wiesbaden	.22	.24	.28	.34	26	26	30	18
Wuerzburg	.46		.17	.47	27	34	32	7
Wetzlar	.07	.01	.34	.20	35	23	31	11

TABLE II

SOME CORRELATIONS BETWEEN DISSATISFACTION WITH NEWSPAPERS AND CHARGE THAT PAPER IS BIASED IN FAVOR OF A POLITICAL PARTY

City	Coefficient (Tetrachoric)
Marburg	.62
Darmstadt	.40
Giessen	.38
Regensburg	.37
Wetzlar	.34
Passau	.32
Garmisch-Partenkirchen	.29
Hof	.26
Kempten	.20
Berlin	.14
Ingolstadt	.08
Aschaffenburg	.08
Augsburg	-.07

TABLE III

RELATION BETWEEN 1) CERTAIN BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS
2) CERTAIN ATTITUDES
AND LIKE-DISLIKE OF NEWSPAPERS WITHIN THE LAENDER

	Expressed degree of liking: Very much, Much	Fair, Poor	No Opinion	Cases	Excluding No opinion	
SEX						
Wuerttemberg-Baden						
Men	50%	46%	4% 100%	605	52%	48%
Women	49	38	13	539	56	44
Bavaria						
Men	56	39	5	1912	59	41
Women	53	33	14	2225	62	38
Hesse						
Men	32	60	8	802	35	65
Women	33	52	15	989	39	61
AGE						
Wuerttemberg-Baden						
Under 30	42	44	14	158	49	51
30 - 39	47	45	8	257	51	49
40 - 49	50	41	9	285	55	45
50 - 59	50	41	9	193	55	45
60 and over	54	39	7	172	58	42
Bavaria						
Under 30	48	41	11	746	54	46
30 - 39	52	37	11	1019	58	42
40 - 49	55	34	11	1097	62	38
50 - 59	62	31	7	828	67	33
60 and over	57	36	7	593	61	39
Hesse						
Under 30	32	55	13	358	37	63
30 - 39	32	55	13	414	37	63
40 - 49	31	58	11	510	35	65
50 - 59	34	54	12	345	39	61
60 and over	37	51	12	267	42	58
RELIGION						
Wuerttemberg-Baden						
Catholic	52	41	7	355	56	44
Protestant	48	42	10	738	53	47
Bavaria						
Catholic	58	43	9	2739	64	36
Protestant	54	37	9	1434	59	41
Hesse						
Catholic	54	37	9	540	59	41
Protestant	39	51	10	1206	43	57

TABLE III cont'd.

	Expressed degree of liking: Very much, Much	Fair, Poor	No Opinion	Cases	Excluding No Opinion	
EDUCATION						
Wuerttemberg-Baden						
7 years or less	51%	40%	9%	100%	253	56% 44%
8 years	52	38	10		514	58 42
9 to 11 years	45	47	8		245	49 51
12 years or more	40	55	5		108	42 58
Bavaria						
7 years or less	61	28	11		1581	69 31
8 years	54	37	9		1396	59 41
9 to 11 years	47	44	9		855	52 48
12 years or more	45	49	6		316	48 52
Hesse						
7 years or less	too few cases					
8 years	36	51	13		1152	41 59
9 to 11 years	25	65	10		363	28 72
12 years or more	23	67	10		218	26 74

How Much Propaganda In Newspapers?		(No Opinion added here)		Tetrachoric Correlation
Wuerttemberg-Baden				
None	52	48	271	
Some-Great deal, No Opinion	48	52	896	.06
Bavaria				
None	61	39	1738	
Some-Great deal, No Opinion	51	49	2673	.16
Hesse *				
None	30	70	415	.03
Some-Great deal, No Opinion	26	74	1049	

* Frankfurt and Fulda excluded for technical reasons

National Socialism Bad Idea or Good Idea Carried Out?				
Wuerttemberg-Baden				
Bad idea	54	46	469	
Good idea, No opinion	46	54	685	.12
Hesse				
Bad idea	36	64	940	
Good idea, No opinion	30	70	904	.08
Bavaria				
Bad idea	61	39	2093	
Good idea, No opinion	50	50	2284	.17

TABLE IV

COMPARISON OF SAMPLE OF NEWSPAPER READERS
WITH SAMPLE OF GENERAL POPULATION
WITHIN THE THREE LAENDER

	Amzone		Bavaria		Hesse		Wuerttemberg-Bader	
	Read-ers	Popu-lation	Read-ers	Popu-lation	Read-ers	Popu-lation	Read-ers	Popu-lation
Education								
7 years or less	27%	37%	38%	53%	2%	1%	22%	37%
8 years	43	41	34	25	65	72	46	42
9 to 11 years	21	15	20	15	21	18	22	15
12 or more years	9	7	8	7	12	9	10	6
Religion								
Catholic	52	53	66	71	31	26	33	32
Protestant	48	47	34	29	69	74	67	68

TABLE V con't

Bavaria	Rank in Reader Popularity	Licensee	Position on Paper	Origin of Licensee	Religion of Licensee	Party of Licensee
Ansbach Prot., CSU-SPD	6	Wilhelm Wiedfeld Wilhelm Mehl	Ed-in-Chief Bus.Mgr.	Worked in Berlin 'til '44 Bavarian-Nuremberg	Catholic Protestant	CSU-member-left wing FDP-member
Aschaffenburg Cath., CSU	23	August Graef Jean Stock (resigned Dec.45)	Pub/Ed.	Bavarian-northern Bavarian Bavarian-Wuerzburg	No affil.- Cath.leaning	SPD-member SPD-member
Hof Prot., SPD-CSU	26	Hans Seidel Tibor Yost	Pub. Exec.Ed.	Bavarian Hungarian; 25 yrs in Germany	Protestant Catholic	SPD-member Lib.-no party
Regensburg Cath., CSU	24	Karl Fr. Esser	Pub/Ed.	Non-native; lived in Regensburg since 1910; born in Rhinish Palatinate	Left church in 1926	SPD-member
Wuerzburg Cath., CSU	17	Heinrich Merkel	Pub/Ed.	Silesia; lived in Bavaria since before 1933	Cath($\frac{1}{4}$ Jewish)-not active	Lib.-no party
Cath., CSU		Richard Seubert (dead)	Chief-Ed.	Worked in Ludwigshafen, Dortmund, Jena; Bav.-36	?	SPD-member
Weiden Cath., CSU	15	Anton Doehler Viktor v.Gostomski	Ed. Pub.	Bavarian Non-native Bavarian; came there '45 studied and worked in Berlin	Protestant Catholic	SPD-member Lib.no party
Kempten Cath., CSU	18	Kaspar Rathgeb	Pub.	Wuerttemberg;grad.of U.of Munich; worked in Bav.	Catholic	CSU-member
		Hans F.C. Falk	Ed.	Bonn-came to Bavaria '46	Protestant	SPD-pref.
Bamberg Cath., CSU	13	August Hans Brey	Ed-in-Chief	Hannover;non-native Bav; came there in 1933	Protestant	SPD-member
		Georg Wirth Walter Meiss	Bus.Mgr. Techn.Mgr.	Bamberg-born Solingen-born	Catholic Protestant	CSU-pref. KPD-member

TABLE V

CHARACTERISTICS OF LICENSES

Bavaria	Rank in Reader Popularity	Licensee	Position on Paper	Origin of Licensee	Religion of Licensee	Party of Licensee
Munich Cath., CSU & SPD	3	Edmund Goldschagg	Ed-in-Chief	Non-Bavarian	None	SPD-member
		Franz Schoenmgh	Cultural Ed.	Not native Bav.; studied at University of Munich	Catholic-ardent	CSU-pref.
		Aug.Schwingenstein	Pub/Bus.Mgr.	Bavarian by birth	Catholic	CSU-member
Garmisch Cath., CSU	2	Anton Lutz	Ed.	Bavarian		Bayr.Volkspartei (CSU)
Augsburg	19	Joh.Wilh.Naumann	Pub.	Bavarian	Catholic-ardent	CSU-pref.
		Kurt Frenzel	Ed-in-Chief	Born Dresden, lived there 'til Nazis came, then KZ camp and Austria; came to Bavaria 1945	Protestant	SPD-member (anti Hoegner)
Passau Cath., CSU	1	Hans Kapfinger	Ed /Pub.	Bavarian	Catholic	CSU-member
Ingolstadt Cath., CSU	22	Josef Laokas	Ed.	Born in Rhineland - came to Bavaria after 1935		CSU-leaning
Bad Reichenhall Cath., CSU	66	Josef Felder	Pub/Ed.	Bavarian	Catholic	SPD-member
Rosenheim Cath., CSU	4	Ernest Haenisch	Ed-in-Chief	Prussian came to Bav.late worked in Berlin	No.affil.	SPD-member
		Leonhard Lang	Pub.	Bavarian-Ingolstadt	Catholic	SPD-member
Coburg Prot., SPD	4	Peter Maslowski	Ed/Pub.	Berliner; came to Bavaria in 1945 to take this position exiled in France under Nazis	No affil.-formerly Cath.	Socialist-no party

TABLE V, cont'd

Bavaria	Rank in Reader Popularity	Licensee	Position on Paper	Origin of Licensee	Religion of Licensee	Party of Licensee
Landshut Cath., CSU	10	Georg Fix Rich. Schlochauer	Ed. Pub.	Native Bav. Bavarian-Mainfranken	Catholic Jewish	CSU-member-left wing SPD-member
Bayreuth Prot., SPD	9	Julius Staeger	Pub./Ed.	Native of Bayreuth	Protestant	SPD-member
Nuremberg Prot., SPD	8	Jos.Eduard Drexel	Ed.	Native Bavarian (?)	Catholic	Lib.-no party
Wuerttemberg-Baden						
Heidelberg Prot., CDU	12	Rudolf Agricola Theodor Heuss Hermann Knorr	Ed-in-Chief Ed. Pol.Ed.	Ladenburg/Neckar Born in Wuerttemberg Neckargemuend	? ? Prot.-ardent	KPD-member DVP-member SPD-member-l.w.
Karlsruhe Prot., Cath., CDU	10	Walter Schwerdfeger Wilhelm Baur	Ed-in-Chief Ed.-Local	Berliner-imported for paper Baden-native	? ?	SPD-member CDU-member
Ulm Prot., Cath., CDU	20	Johann Weisser Paul Thielemann Kurt Max Fried	Pol.Ed. Bus.Mgr. Cult.Ed.	Native W.-B. Stuttgart since '33 Ulm since '27; Born in Magdeburg	? Protestant Protestant	DVP-member DVP-member DVP-member
Heilbronn Prot., SPD	20	Herm.Schwerdtfeger Paul Distelbarth	Pol.Ed. Ed-in-Chief	(?) Native	No affil. No affil.	No party-SPD symp. No party
Stuttgart Prot., SPD	14	Karl Ackermann Henry Bernhard Josef Eberle	Ed. Ed. Feuilleton	W.-B. native Dresden;came to WB '45 (?) W.-B. native	? ? ?	No party-SPD r.w.symp. DVP-member Pro-KPD; not member

TABLE V cont'd

Hesse	Rank in Reader Popularity	Licensee	Position on Paper	Origin of Licensee	Religion of Licensee	Party of Licensee
Marburg Prot., LDP	27	Hermann Bauer Karl Bremer	Ed. Ed.	Native Marburger Saxony	Protestant Free-thinker	LDP-member SPD-member
Darmstadt Prot., SPD	30	Joh.Seb.Dang Paul Redemann	Cult.Feuilleton Pol.Ed.	Native Darmstadt Worked in Hamburg and abroad	Catholic No affil.	No party SPD-member
Giessen Prot., SPD	29	Julius Hahn* Adolf Weller	Ed. Bus.Mgr.	Worked on Ausless 1921-32 Native of Giessen	Jew	Non-conformist SPD-member
Kassel Prot., SPD	27	Hugo Berning now out Fritz Schmidt now out Wolfgang Bartels Wolfgang Foeschl Gustav Roemer	Ed.-in-Chief Local News-Feuilleton Bus.Mgr.	Non-native Non-native Non-native Hessian Not native Hessian Kassel before 1933	 No affil. No affil. No affil.	CDU-member KPD-member SPD-member Left-no Party LDP-member
Wetzlar Prot.,	31	Josef Huesch Karl Eifinger	Ed.(?) Bus.Mgr.	Wetzlar since 32 Hessian? Mainz:worked there thru 33	Cath-mild Free-thinker (former Cath)	SPD-symp. SPD-member
Wiesbaden	25	Fritz Otto Ulm Georg A. Mayer	Ed.-in-Chief Ed.	Native Former foreign correspondent and gvt. official	No affil. No affil.	SPD-member No party-centr. leanings
Frankfurt Rundschau		Carlebach Gerst Rudert Gerold				KPD Property, butleft w. KPD SPD
Neue Presse		Stenzel Berning				CSU-left w. Pro CDU, favors centrum revival

*Removed since study was made

RESTRICTED

ATTITUDES OF TRADE UNION MEMBERS

Report 35
Opinion Surveys Unit
Office of Director of Information Control
APO 757
US ARMY

RESTRICTED

ATTITUDES OF TRADE UNION MEMBERS

Introduction

Trade Union members were specially interviewed about some trade union problems during the course of a regular survey of a cross-section population representative of people living in the American Zone and the American and British sectors of Berlin. The regular opinion poll involved questioning of 3400 people as a miniature population of these two areas. The questioning was done by German field workers under the supervision of U.S. civilian personnel. During the interview, people were asked if they now belong to a trade union, if they had belonged to one before 1933, or if their spouse belonged at either time. If the answer to one of these questions was in the affirmative, a supplementary questionnaire was introduced. In all, 527 people were polled. The data below were analysed by the Opinion Surveys Unit and is reported to the Intelligence Branch of ODIC.

A previous report relative to the problem is available at ODIC or at the Surveys Headquarters, ICD, OMGGUS (Rear), APO 757. This report ("German Attitudes Toward Trade Unions") primarily explored attitudes of the general population toward unions. The present study elaborates detail of attitudes of members of "one of the few promising bases for strengthening democratic ideas and patterns in German society."

II. Summary

1. New members of trade unions come more heavily from Catholic areas, and from Bavaria, than do former members who have rejoined. They contain a larger proportion of women than formerly and the group tends to be more conservative, politically, than are rejoined members.

2. The primary inducement to taking up membership in a trade union is the prospect of an improvement in wages and working conditions. But social pressure of fellow workers is not a minimal force.

3. Largely, union members were uninformed about some matters which might aid them to direct more intelligently their organized activities.

4. Practically all unionists would like to have their organizations tied in with similar organizations throughout Germany.

5. And nearly everyone was unable to articulate any disadvantage in a central organization of all unions. Only a small minority spoke for craft or trade unions as opposed to broadly based vertical-type organizations. When queried about vertical-type unions within industries, only a small minority held that these were preferable to a common union of all workers.

6. A surprisingly large minority (45%) of all polled could not explain or express what democratic procedures might be resorted to in order to resolve differences of opinion which could arise among union members.

7. New members were more cautious in expressing confidence in their leadership than were men who had rejoined after the 12 year lapse. The new members seemed to be less well acquainted with their leaders and, perhaps, somewhat more conservative on the whole than their leadership is.

8. Whereas a large majority thought free bargaining for wages and hours would help the development of trade unions, only a slightly smaller majority believed that legal standards for wages and hours would do the same good. Few spoke for limitations on bargaining.

9. Higher wages and better working conditions were underscored by most as a chief objective of trade unions. Only a small minority spoke out for radical changes in the economic positions of employer and employee. Nor did many think that reeducation or reorientation programs were highly important as union objectives. Only few, too, charged the unions with responsibility for checking the revival of an armament industry.

10. A solid majority opposed both church and political party influence upon union activities.

TRADE UNION GROUPS ...

The four groups considered here are;*

1. People who were members of unions before 1933 and have since rejoined. For convenience they are called the Rejoiners (37%).

2. People who did not belong to a union in the days of the Weimar Republic, but have recently become members. They are designated hereafter as the Newcomers (27%).

3. Those who were trade unionists before 1933, but for one reason or another have not renewed their membership in a union. Abstainers is the designation applied to them (36%).

4. A fourth group which will be briefly described at the end of the report are the spouses of union members, past or present. They are almost entirely women, and are included in the percentages above as they answered questions on their husband's trade union affiliations.

THE GROUPS COMPARED ...

The Newcomers, that is those who have joined a union for the first time are in certain respects different from people who have rejoined and from those who have abstained from joining. For example ... they are younger, they are somewhat better educated, there are more women among their ranks, and especially in contrast to the Rejoiners they are politically disinterested, but with a slant toward conservatism.

The Newcomers are like their more experienced fellow members, and conversely unlike the Abstainers, in two important respects ... they make more money on the average and more of them are in jobs they were trained for.

Finally, the Newcomers and the pre-1933 unionists differ from the Rejoiners in that more of them are Bavarians and, consequently, more of them are Catholics.

A break-down of group characteristics is presented on the following page.

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*These proportions are not claimed to be highly reliable. Some tendency was noted on the part of interviewers to omit the supplementary questionnaire when time was pressing or at the conclusion of a long day's work. Lack of personnel and adequate transportation prevented adequate checking. The results of the interviews published infra are considered to be sound and reliable.

Proportions under 40 years of age

... 65% of the Newcomers
... 18% of the Rejoiners
... 17% of the Abstainers

Among the Abstainers, 46% are over 50, as are 35% of the Rejoiners, and only 16% of new members.

Proportions with 8 years or more schooling

... 79% of the Newcomers
... 72% of the Rejoiners
... 62% of the Abstainers

Number of women members.

... 28% of the Newcomers
... 8% of the Rejoiners
... 15% of the Abstainers

Political affiliation

Favor leftist parties ...
... 59% of the Newcomers
... 79% of the Rejoiners
... 65% of the Abstainers

Favor none of the parties.
... 18% of the Newcomers
... 5% of the Rejoiners
... 10% of the Abstainers

Newcomers and Abstainers vote, respectively, 14% and 17% for CDU/CSU as against a 9% vote from Rejoiners.

Proportions receiving RM 190 or less a month

... 48% of Newcomers
... 45% of Rejoiners
... 52% of Abstainers

Proportions whose incomes are sufficient "to get along"

... 59% of the Newcomers
... 64% of the Rejoiners
... 43% of the Abstainers

13% of present union members as against 41% of the Abstainers are in jobs "lower" than those they trained for.

Religious affiliation

Catholic ...
... 44% of Newcomers
... 29% of the Rejoiners
... 41% of the Abstainers

Protestant ...
... 49% of the Newcomers
... 56% of the Rejoiners
... 48% of the Abstainers

Division by Laender

	Newcomers	Rejoiners	Abstainers
Bavaria	43%	27%	49%
Hesse	11	21	19
Wuerttemberg-Baden	25	28	11
Berlin	21	24	32

MOTIVES FOR JOINING A UNION ...

The three groups were asked why they had joined a union. To the Rejoiners, force of habit made the strongest appeal -- over half of them said they signed up again because they had formerly belonged to a union. The arguments of fellow-workers induced almost half of the Newcomers to join. Second most potent appeal to both these groups was to get better wages and working conditions. (This was probably also the chief talking point used by fellow workers to sign up new members.) More than half of the pre-1933 unionists also claimed this was the reason they had formerly joined -- an appeal which apparently has now lost its force.

Relatively few in all the groups said they had joined out of compulsion.

"What or who induced you to join a union?"

	Rejoiners	Newcomers	Abstainers
Used to belong	53%	-	19%
To get better wages and working conditions	38	39%	53
Inducements of fellow-workers	17	48	23
Otherwise lose my job	4	12	7
Other reasons	1	4	2
Can't say	-	-	1

Percentages total more than 100 as more than one answer was possible.

These data indicate that membership drives in Germany as elsewhere are most successful when the frustrations of poor working conditions or low wages are reinforced through directed action. In this light the large minority (four in ten) who are postwar members in the hope of bettering their conditions is probably symptomatic of the degree of economic pressure felt by German workers today. The plurality of new members who say fellow workers induced them to join are probably referring to the last and decisive link in a chain of motivation. Among former union members, only 18% were opposed.

Public meetings as a means of increasing union membership ...

Large majorities in all three groups were of the opinion that public meetings should be held in order to get new members for unions. Seven in ten of present union membership and whopping eight in ten of former members voted for the idea. Surprisingly enough, though, a fourth of today's unionists vetoed the idea, despite the fact that the occupation powers permit such meetings.

INFORMATION ABOUT UNION AFFAIRS ...

There is an amazing lack of information on basic facts of union rights in Germany today. On only one question -- the form of organization which is permissable -- does a majority in all three groups answer correctly. But on such a fundamental matter as to whether German unions may bargain collectively, large majorities of all three groups are either misinformed or do not know. And the degree of misinformation on whether any union member is permitted to hold office reaches colossal proportions.

These findings, especially as applied to the present membership, can only mean a passive participation in union activities. Also to be inferred from them is that, if people who are now or have been union members know so little about them, the public at large must be even less well-informed.

The questions and the replies for the three groups follow:

"As far as you know can trade unions be organized only on a craft basis or only on an industrial basis?"

	Rejoiners	Newcomers	Abstainers
Only on craft basis	17%	12%	8%
Only on industrial basis	13	5	9
Either or both (correct)	62	61	44
Don't know	8	22	39

"Do you believe that today unions are bargaining with employers for higher wages and shorter hours?"

Yes	56%	59%	43%
No (correct)	34	27	31
Don't know	10	14	26

"Can anyone, as long as he is a member of his union hold office in the union?"

Yes	90%	83%	70%
No (correct)	6	6	3
Don't know	4	11	27

ATTITUDES TOWARD ORGANIZATION AND OBJECTIVES OF TRADE UNIONS ...

Organizational problems ...

Extension of the base of union activities through all of Germany receives tremendous support from the three groups.

"Would you be in favor or would you oppose it, if unions should cover all parts of Germany, if this were permitted by the Military Government?"

	Rejoiners	Newcomers	Abstainers
Favor	94%	84%	91%
Oppose	4	8	5
Don't know	2	8	4

Note that whereas the Newcomers gave strong support to the idea more of them were doubtful than is true of the other two groups. This is a possible reflection of their more conservative bent already referred to.

Opinions on a central organization of trade unions for all Germany tend to be favorable, though as yet fairly inarticulate. Asked to cite the advantages or disadvantages of the scheme, 39% felt unable to mention any advantage and 45% could not name a disadvantage. At the same time, 34% of all those interviewed claimed there were no disadvantages, while no one went so far as to say nothing was to be gained. Thus about eight in ten found nothing strongly objectionable to a central organization of trade unions in Germany.

Most frequently cited argument by those who could name disadvantages was that one or another of the trade groups might find their interests compromised in a larger group (15%). They tended to feel that workers' interests diverge sharply on job or craft lines. Less frequently mentioned arguments were that it would be difficult to control actions of union officials in such a broad organization and that such weakened control might mean a repetition of the dangers encountered during the Third Reich.

Proponents brought up two advantages. The one most frequently stated (42%) was that the common interests of all workers would be served by such a united front. The other, getting 14% mention, was that there would be a reduction in friction among labor groups by a program formulating coordinated standards and policies.

From the foregoing it is clear that ...

broadly based vertical-type unions find favor with a large part of German trade unionists. Results of another question give further evidence of this. Respondents were asked : "In your opinion, how should unions be organized -- should there be industrial unions or one single union, that is a union of all workers?" Replies, as shown in the table below, are quite similar in all groups, though people who are union members for the first time, tend to lend stronger support to a common

union than do the other two groups. This is the way, the three groups vote on the question:

	Rejoiners	Newcomers	Abstainers
Industrial unions	22%	12%	21%
Common union	69	75	70
No difference	6	8	5
No opinion	3	5	4

These best informed about present possibilities in union organization favor a common union more so than do the misinformed or uninformed. Thus ...

75% of the people who correctly say that unions may be organized either on a craft or industrial basis,

as against

67% of those who are misinformed on the matter, and
56% of those who cannot say, favor a common union.

... Democratic methods of solving union problems remain foreign to many German trade unionists. As shown in previous reports, a residue of authoritarian practices continues to find acceptance. Notwithstanding, a majority does offer suggestions which conform to democratic principles and practice.

Queried, "Naturally there are differences of opinion on how a union should be organized. How do you think these differences should be settled?", the replies divided thus:

... 8% said there should be no differences of opinion
... 1% said the government should settle the matter
... 36% could offer no suggestions
... 55% suggested various democratic steps: e.g. meetings, free discussions in which each worker could participate, voting open to all members, discussions led by union representatives and leaders, clarifications by the press, etc.

Trade union objectives ...

Economic and social betterment of the worker was considered the main job of trade unions by almost all members, past or present. Many of these people spoke in general terms: "raise the standard of living of workers; represent the rights of workers;" but about a third of them were specific, saying "increase wages; lower hours; provide for vacations; social insurance; provide residences."

Few conceived of additional duties as organized labor's primary task. For example, only 8% of the combined groups saw labor's main purpose as the furthering of democracy through collective action; and only 6% thought it was to educate union membership or German youth in democratic ways.

Present status of union membership has little bearing on this matter, though the Rejoiners -- those who have renewed membership since 1933 -- tend to give slightly larger votes to the "secondary" objectives of trade unionism than do the other two groups. The combined votes of the three groups on seven objectives frequently associated with unions ar are presented here, in the order of "first place" frequency.

"Which of these activities of trade unions do you consider as most important? Which is in second place? Which is least important?"

	Most	Second	Least
Securing higher wages and better conditions for workers through collective bargaining	49%	14%	2%
Preventing rearmament	13	16	15
Constructing a political force through a united workers' movement directed toward furthering democracy	8	14	8
Securing worker representation in management of business and industry	7	15	15
Educating union members and youth on a democratic basis	6	14	4
Socialising the means of production ...	2	7	9
Cooperation with present government in elimination of monopolies trusts	2	6	13
No opinion	13	14	34

These votes show some of the ideological contradictions besetting organized labor in Germany today. First the emphasis on "old-line" goals -- wages and conditions -- is ompressive enough to have satisfied the late Samual Gompers. Then, there is an interesting division on other goals. For example, the proportion assigning top rank to the three socialistic objectives -- socialization of industry, worker representation in management, elimination of cartels and monopolies -- is no greater than the proportions which give first place to the elimination of armaments or to democratic leadership and education as primary aims of organized labor. Indeed a third of all German trade unionists, as represented here, consider the socialistic aims least important of all. And even on the matter of cooperating to prevent rearmament as many rank it"least important" as rank it first.

Inspection of second and third choices puts trade union thinking in sharper focus. Note, on the foregoing table, that the votes for the second place divide quite evenly on five of the seven alternatives, but fall off on two -- socialization and the destruction of cartels. And significantly, the only aims which a fairly good-sized group considered least important were the socialization of industry, the prevention of rearmament and de-cartelisation.

These results underscore those of a previous report where it was said, "Unionists in the American Zone are non-radical for the most part ..." By the same token, they show the emphasis which German labor today puts on immediate goals to the disadvantage of more far-reaching or sweeping changes. In this respect German unionists would feel quite at home with an average union man in the U.S. whether of the AFL or CIO brand. Whether or not the program accepted by the majority of union people is courageous enough for the tasks facing present-day Germany is not so clear. Skeptics may take comfort in the fact that a minority of German labor is ready to assume broader responsibilities.

POSSIBILITIES OF GROWTH ...

Leadership ...

Quality of union leadership, always important, becomes even more so in the case of Germany where the rank and file exhibit so much misinformation and lack of information, as well as disinterest in anything but narrow union aims. For this reason, respondents were asked to evaluate their leadership. Abstainers were quite at a loss, naturally enough, but the other two groups did better. Opinions of Rejoiners were more decisive than those of the newcomers, who tended generally to be carefully moderate -- fewer of them were dissatisfied and fewer were satisfied.

"Do you think that the leaders of the local unions do a good, fairly good, or bad job?"

	Rejoiners	Newcomers	Abstainers
Good	56%	41%	24%
Fairly good	18	30	7
Bad	9	1	7
No opinion	17	28	62

Supporters and critics of union leadership were asked to give reasons for their position. By far the most popular argument (70%) by the partisans of present union leaders was that they had energy and drive in working for practical goals, e.g. wages and working conditions. A much smaller, but still appreciable minority (14%) praised them for having built unions out of nothing in a short time. Only a few (5%) commended them for the drive toward democratic ideals.

Critics of union leadership summoned up more diverse arguments. About a half (49%) said leaders had not yet had time to prove themselves, or that they did what they could but often found their hands tied. One in five (21%) complained that union leaders lacked energy, they were too old. Then almost as many (19%) criticized them for their radicalism, their support of KPD or SED. Only a very few (6%) claimed that their leaders were more concerned with serving the interests of employers than of labor.

Clearly, union officials have not cut too much ice as yet. Old time members give them a bare vote of confidence, while younger members stand by in a non-committal fashion, giving them only doubtful support. At the same time, people who may be considered to have more interest in trade union activities than the general public -- i.e. those who were formerly affiliated with a union -- are mainly unable to express any opinion.

Expansion of union activities ...

In view of the emphasis put on working conditions as a union goal, it is not surprising that organized labor in Germany -- as in other places -- favors wider bargaining powers. What is surprising, however, is the size of the minorities opposing free bargaining.

"Do you believe that unions would be helped very much, substantially, or only a little ... a) if free bargaining for wages and hours were possible?"

	Rejoiners	Newcomers	Abstainers
Very much	57%	58%	59%
Substantially	15	16	21
Only a little	15	12	8
No help	6	5	7
No opinion	7	9	7

Somewhat less popular is the idea of legal regulation of hours and wages, but here too substantial majorities support the proposition.

... b) if certain standards for wages and hours were established by law?"

Very much	29%	27%	29%
Substantially	34	33	32
Only a little	18	19	16
No help	12	11	16
No opinion	7	10	7

On the other hand few (21% in all three groups) thought that legally limited bargaining for wages and hours would really help unions. And about a half or more in each of the three groups either said such action would be no help or withhold judgment.

The role of Military Government ...

German unionists are also convinced that they have had aid and encouragement from MG. Queried on the help received from that

source, a solid majority (more than six in ten of all three groups) answered affirmatively. Almost no one gave a completely negative reply, though nearly one in seven denied that MG had had any influence. Among Newcomers, one in five held this view.

"Have the actions of Military Government, in your opinion, helped or hindered the growth of trade unions?"

	Rejoiners	Newcomers	Abstainers
Helped	68%	58%	62%
Hindered	4	2	1
No influence	17	20	7
No opinion	11	20	30

Appreciation of MG help was in nearly every case based on the realization that without MG there would have been no unions in Germany today. A few people, however, qualified their statements by saying that quicker growth could have been encouraged. The few who criticized MG in relation to union activities held mainly that restrictions on free movements by individuals hampered union organization.

A second question on MG activities polled opinions on whether or not unions would be benefitted by the attendance of local MG officials at their meetings, and so on. Again a healthy majority of all groups (64%) felt this offered at least "substantial" help. There were no group differences on this question.

People who thought MG had helped trade unions were much more positive than others that unions would benefit by the presence of local MG officials at meetings, etc. They voted 72% in favor of the proposition as against a 55% by those who felt MG had either hindered or not influenced the growth of unions.

INSTITUTIONAL INTERACTION

Organized labor wants no repetition of the days of the Weimar Republic when both the Church and political parties played an important part in its affairs. Asked whether the church should exert an influence on union affairs, there was an overwhelming negative vote (81%). And 72%, when queried, replied that political parties should play no part in trade unions. There was no difference in attitudes of the three groups on either of these questions.

People who thought the church should have a voice in union

matters were much more ready to concede a role to political parties also. Nearly half of them so maintained, whereas only a third of those who favored interaction between parties and unions wanted to give the church a place in union matters. Only 7% would give both institutions an influence, while 62% voted against both.

WOMEN'S KNOWLEDGE OF UNION AFFAIRS ...

As already stated, part of the sample consisted of spouses of union members, the great proportion of whom were wives of men who either belonged to a union now or had formerly been members.

The outstanding finding which emerges from their replies is the lack of knowledge about union affairs. Obviously husbands do not talk over trade union questions with their wives.

Here are the don't know or no opinion votes from wives on some of the important questions.

... 14% can't say why their husbands joined a union. The comparable vote among union members was negligible.
... 35% do not know whether collective bargaining is permitted.
... 30% do not know if any member of a union may hold office in that union.
... 39% are unable to say whether unions can be organized along craft or industrial lines.
... 26% cannot select first or second choices among the seven listed union objectives, and when it comes to stating which objective is least important
... 45% fall back on "No opinion".
... 66% have no idea whether leaders of local unions are doing a good, fairly good, or bad job.
... 31% do not know whether collective bargaining would be any help to unions, and on the other related questions, wages and hours set by law, and legal limitations on collective bargaining, the don't know vote is 33% and 40% respectively.
... 50% have no opinion on whether the actions of military government have helped or hindered union development.
... 29% cannot say if unions would be helped if local MG officials attended their meetings, etc.

It is well known in public opinion polling that women tend more than men to take refuge in no opinion answers. But the proportions cited here are uncommonly large, especially if interest in matters important to a family is assumed. The inference must be, therefore, that men do not have too much interest in them either. Another inference may be drawn: the general public probably knows even less about trade union development than do the people most concerned -- which is to say they know very little.

THE GERMAN PEOPLE AND SOCIAL CLASSES

Report Number 36
Opinion Surveys Unit
Office of The Director of Information Control
OMGGUS (Rear) APO 757

THE GERMAN PEOPLE AND SOCIAL CLASSES

Preface ...

This brief report is a first attempt to explore German class-consciousness. Historically, class differences have had great hold on the German people -- the centuries' long predominance of the Junkers, and Hitler's concept of the Elite are cases in point. Probably more important is the place of the middle class. As is well known National Socialism found its greatest strength numerically among frustrated, disgruntled middle class people. The findings presented here indicate not only a significant cultural displacement in the German middle classes, but, more important, a continuance among them of the dissatisfactions which in the past worked to the advantage of anti-democratic ideas.

Studies now in progress will yield further information on this subject.

Interviewing for this study was done in June 1946, but it is thought that the findings are still pertinent. Personal interviews were conducted with 1485 Germans in the three Laender of the American Zone. The sample represents a true cross-section of the various population groups in the Zone.

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SELF-RATINGS AND INTERVIEWERS' RATINGS COMPARED ...

To gauge class-consciousness among the Germans in the American Zone, people were asked which class they thought they belonged to: upper, middle, worker or lower. As a further check, interviewers rated respondents on a socio-economic scale, that is gave an expert's judgment of their social plus economic status.

It is important to note the difference between the two scales. Socio-economic status is determined with reference to an individual's income, education, home environment, and so on. "Class", on the other hand, is a cultural concept based on birth, education, and breeding. It is both more intangible than socio-economic status and more rigid. To illustrate: a down-at-the-heel scion of an aristocratic family, living in a tenement, classifies himself as upper class, and would be so considered by others in a class-conscious society; judged by his living quarters, income, education and so forth, he might very properly be ranked low on a socio-economic scale. Thus the two scales are not strictly comparable. They do, however, complement each other, and taken in combination give greater pertinency to the findings.

The overall agreement of the two estimates is marked ...

The relative rigidity of German society is demonstrated to some extent by the similarity of the overall results. Here is the way the two groups rank:

	Self-Classification		Interviewers' Estimate	
Upper	2%		1%	
Middle	45		41	
Worker	51)	53	55)	56
Lower	2)		3)	

But cross-analysis of the two estimates show ...

some interesting divergencies. When a comparison is made between what a given individual says is the class to which he belongs and where the interviewer places him, it is only the lower end of the scale that high correspondence is found. Thus ...

... 9 out of 10 of those rating themselves "lower" class were likewise ranked by the interviewers.

... 8 out of 10 of those rating themselves "worker" class were so rated by interviewers.

BUT ONLY ...

... 6 in 10 of the people who said they were "middle" class got the same ranking from interviewers. (Nearly all the remainder were down-graded by interviewers.)

... 3 in 10 of the self-styled "upper" class were agreed on by interviewers to be so.

This is the pattern when the self-estimates are combined with those made by the interviewers:

Classified by self and interviewer similarly:	
A. Upper	1%
B. Middle	27
C. Lower or worker	41
D. Classified by self as worker, by interviewer as lower	11
E. Classified by self as middle, by interviewer as lower	16
F. Other divergent classifications and failures to estimate	4
	100%
Total interviews	1485

Aside from the "worker" class which is a somewhat anomalous term, and thus probably contains lower as well as middle class people, the only appreciable population group where disagreement exists is that which calls itself middle class but which the interviewers ranked as lower class. This group warrants further analysis.

Groups E and B compared ...

A comparison was made between Groups E and B listed in the foregoing table to see if people who felt themselves middle class but were observed to be on lower status differed from those whose self-rating coincided with that of the interviewers. Of particular interest was to ascertain whether any maladjustments arising from a conflict of fact with fancy were apparent.

The two groups differ markedly in some respects. Group E, downgraded by the interviewers, contains more women and more Bavarians (thus more small town people) than Group B does. This group too was more frequently composed of people whose income came from skilled or semi-skilled jobs; whereas white-collar workers, professional people, independent businessmen and government employees made up the bulk of Group B. Nearly a fifth of the breadwinners in Group E were unemployed. On the other hand, there were more former NSDAP members in Group B than in Group E; and also more well educated people -- in fact three times as many in Group B had had the equivalent of some college education.

Attitudinal differences also exist. However, it is impossible to say that these differences reflect any psychological disturbance arising from a conflict in status. Rather they are owing to a difference in population characteristics. On the whole, the people of recognized middle class status were more alert, more critical and more frequently voiced opinions on most of the questions asked them. But on a key question -- whether or not the occupation powers are justified in reducing the German standard of living -- the two groups held similar views. Apparently at the time this study was made, dissatisfaction with the economic situation was generalized and wide-spread. People whose social aspirations are higher than warranted by fact were no more critical in outlook or more pessimistic over Germany's future prospects than were the non-dislocated groups.

The following table shows the two groups compared on some attitudinal questions.

COMPARISON ATTITUDINAL RESPONSES OF TWO GROUPS.

	Groups E	Group B
Interested in politics	11%	26%
Blame German civil government for food difficulties	13	35
Blame MG for food difficulties	23	31
Think denazification is too harsh	19	29
Expect to be penalized under Spruchkammer system	19	25
Believe no truth lies in charge that entire German people is responsible for war because they allowed Nazis to come to power	75	82
Think National Socialism was a good idea, only badly carried out	47	49
"Are the Allies justified or not justified in imposing these limitations (amount and type) on German industry?"		
Justified	29	30
Unjustified	40	56
No opinion	31	14
"What about the limitations on your standard of living -- do you believe that they are justified or unjustified?"		
Justified	32	34
Unjustified	52	51
No opinion	15	14

OPINIONS OF NEWSPAPER READERS

Report Number 37
Opinion Surveys Unit
Office of the Director of Information Control
OMGUS (Rear) APO 757

NUMBER OF NEWSPAPER READERS ...

In a poll taken during the first two weeks of November 1946, a total of 3423 people in the American Zone and in the American and British sectors of Berlin, representing a true cross-section of the population, were queried on newspaper reading.

... Berliners, more than people in the three Laender, tend to be newspaper readers. And there are relatively fewest readers in Hesse, though there, too, coverage is extensive. The comparative figures are as follows:
... 91% in Berlin
... 85% in Wuerttemberg-Baden
... 83% in Bavaria
... 79% in Hesse

... Berlin's advantage over the American Zone disappears, however, when it is compared with large cities in the Zone. In them newspaper readership is proportionately as great as in Berlin. This relationship of city size to readership explains in part why Wuerttemberg-Baden has more readers than the other two Laender, since in that Land there are more people living in fairly large cities (10,000 - 100,000 in population) than is true in Hesse or Bavaria.

But even in small villages in Wuerttemberg-Baden, more people claim to read papers than do so in the other two Laender. In Hesse, for example, about three in ten people in villages under 1000 and an equal proportion in towns of 2000-5000 claim to be non-readers. Comparative figures for Bavaria are 20% and 19%, and for Wuerttemberg-Baden, 14% and 18%.

OPINIONS REGARDING THE NEWSPAPERS ...

Nearly half of the respondents in the American Zone and seven-tenths in Berlin express satisfaction with their newspapers. Asked: "Do you think the newspaper is very good, good, fairly good, or poor?" answers fell this way:

	AMZONE	BERLIN
Very good	5%	20%
Good	43	51
Fairly good	37	23
Poor	6	2
No opinion	9	4

There are also inter-zonal differences as to the quality of the press. Most satisfaction is expressed in Bavaria -- least in Hesse, where half of the population rates the newspapers either only fair or flatly condemns them. The Laender votes are:

Newspapers are:	Bavaria	Hesse	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Very good	5%	5%	4%
Good	46	33	41
Fairly good	35	42	38
Poor	5	8	8
No opinion	9	12	9

In cities ranging from 10,000 to 100,000 in population, people tend to consider their newspaper "fair" rather than better than fair. In every other population group examined the reverse is true -- more consider the local press good or very good than think it fairly good.

Political domination of newspapers . . .

Respondents were also asked whether or not they thought that their newspapers were influenced by the local government. A large majority in Berlin (77%) deny this to be the case, and in the American Zone the tendency was in the same direction. Votes denying political interference range from a low of 48% in Wuerttemberg-Baden, 54% in Hesse, to 60% in Bavaria. Only small minorities claim newspapers are influenced by local government --11% in Berlin, 14% in Bavaria, 17% in Hesse and 21% in Wuerttemberg-Baden. City size appears to have no influence on these attitudes.

... This type of comment is encountered more frequently of course among dissatisfied than among satisfied newspaper readers. While only one in ten (9%) of those who consider their newspaper very good accuse it of being politically dominated; three in ten (29%) of those rating a paper "poor" hold this view. And the ratio is two to one between the group which thinks the press only fairly good and the most satisfied group. In Wuerttemberg-Baden, a large minority (29%) of those who think the newspapers only fairly good or poor support the charge of political influence by local government.

... Those who felt that the newspapers are too much under the thumb of the politicians were asked: "Do you think that the newspaper is not critical enough of local government?" About half of this minority agreed that the press was too uncritical. Indications are, therefore, that bolder political comment on the part of newspapers would find support among a fairly good-sized group of people.

... The results of the findings presented here confirm those of last summer's study of newspaper readers. In that study, a close relationship was found between dislike of a newspaper and the charge that the newspaper was politically dominated. The evidence from the two studies underscores the proposal that the press should be strongly encouraged to maintain a critical attitude toward local government -- reporting facts and important political information to their readers.

RESTRICTED

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF CHANGES IN JOB STATUS

Report Number 38
Opinion Surveys Unit
Office of the Director of Information Control
OMGGUS (Rear) APO 757

RESTRICTED

INTRODUCTION

This preliminary study investigating the extent of changes in jobs in German society is based upon the results of a study conducted by the Opinion Surveys Unit, OMGC, during the latter half of October 1946. A total of 3,266 interviews were made — 2,860 in the American Zone and 406 in Berlin. Berlin results are always shown separately in the tables and are not included in general breakdowns. The sample was scientifically constructed to yield a cross-section of the present day German population, based on the most reliable data available. Since the accuracy of results are dependent upon the number of persons responding to a specific question, breakdown tabulations are subject to a somewhat larger degree of error than the results of the entire Zone.

The following categories were used to determine a given individual's occupation: a) Professional; b) Independent Businessman; c) Official; d) Independent Craftsman; e) Clerk; f) Skilled Worker; g) Semi-Skilled Worker; h) Unskilled Worker; i) Farmer; j) Living on Own Means; k) Other. In this survey "farmer" includes both farmers and farm laborers. The classification "other" occupations cover: a) Persons on Relief; b) Living on Savings; c) Housewives; d) Students; and e) Apprentices. It is impossible to analyze specific groups within this category in the present report. This, however, will be done in a later study.

To obtain these results, the respondent was asked by the interviewer to state both the vocation of the "Family Breadwinner" and the occupation he was now in.

The tables appended to the report are arranged to present those occupations with higher social and economic status first.

THE PROBLEM OF CHANGES IN OCCUPATION

Since 1914, Germany has undergone a number of major crises. Among them are the First World War and the defeat of the monarchy; the formation of the Weimar Republic; the post-war depression and the inflationary period; the formation of the Third Reich; the Second World War and the subsequent defeat of the Third Reich; and now the military and first-hand control of Germany by foreign powers.

The relatively rigid class structure characteristic of the period of Kaiser Wilhelm inevitably weakened under these successive shocks A case in point is the rise of such men as Hitler and his followers from obscurity to positions which would be denied them in a more class-conscious society. On the other hand, the education system and other factors perpetuated class lines by denying large numbers opportunities for higher

positions. Volks- and Berufsschulen designed for the masses could not prepare students for the Universities. Conversely, the Hoeheren Schulen tended to preserve higher positions in the government and military forces for members of the socio-economic classes able to afford such an education.* Furthermore, marriage within class lines tended to continue in spite of the rise and fall of differing ruling elements.

THE FINDINGS

The Professional Group Demanding better education and more specialized training, this group includes many whose services are essential to the well-being of the society. The shock to the German economic system caused by the defeat and the Occupation has lessened the demand for specialized skills not essential to society during this period of crisis. De-Nazification has undoubtedly contributed to the dislocation of this group. Sixty (53%) of the 112 queried are reported to have continued in their former profession. Changes reported in this category have been downward.**

7% have become clerks
4 have become skilled workers
4 have become unskilled workers
25 report "other" as their present occupation

The Independent Businessman The high rate of survival of this group, the majority of whom are probably small shopkeepers, reflects their essential role as a medium of distribution in the social scheme. In the ANZON, three out of four independent businessmen still continue their former occupation. Of the changes reported, most admit a loss of independent status.

6% have become clerks
4 now live on "their own means"
8 report "other" as their present occupation

Unlike other economic groups which have reported a down grading in status not one has become either a farmer or farm laborer and only 2 persons out of 128 have become "unskilled workers."

*School Report in the Soviet Zone (ICIS) No.61, 28 September 1946
**See tables appended to report

The Official Attrition has naturally been highest in this group. The abolishment of Nazi bureaus and de-Nazification of bureaus necessary to the present administration have caused more than half of this group to report a change in occupation. Furthermore, many of the administrative positions formerly filled by Germans are now administered by Military Government. In the ANZON only 40% of the "officials" still continue their former occupation. The incidence of attrition was higher among the better educated officials. This can be attributed to the higher incidence of Party membership among the better educated members of this class. Only a few members from other socio-economic groups report changing over to this category. By and large most "officials" have moved to occupations with lower status:

19% are unskilled workers
7 are clerks
27 have "other" occupations

Independent Craftsmen Most members of this group have been able to continue their former profession. 70% of the respondents report no change in the occupation of the "Family Breadwinner". Those who have, generally, reported downgrading:

4% are clerks
4 unskilled workers
2 semi-skilled workers
11 report "other" occupations

2% of this group have become "independent businessmen".

The Clerks With the disruption of government, business and industry, this group is among the harder hit with only 59% continuing in their former occupations. Berlin reports a survival of only 2 in 10. However, a small proportion of this group have been able to report a rise in status.

2% have become independent businessmen
1 have become officials

But many have moved downward in status:

13% have become unskilled workers
3 have become either farmers or farm laborers
16 report "other" occupations

Skilled Workers Considerable changes of occupation are reported for this group. Only 50% have retained their former status. About 1 in 10 have moved to higher occupations:

6% have become independent craftsmen
5 have become clerks
2 have become officials or have their own business

But many have moved downward in status:

10% have become unskilled workers
4 have become semi-skilled workers
4 have become farmers or farm laborers
16 are in other occupations

Semi-Skilled Workers About half of this group (54%) report no change in occupation. About 1 in 20 have risen in status:

4% have become clerks
1 have become independent craftsmen
1 have become skilled workers

However, more report downgrading in status:

12% have become unskilled workers
5 have become farmers or farm laborers
4 now live on their own means
19 report "other" occupations

Unskilled Workers There has been relatively little change in this group. Three out of four (74%) report no change. This is in part due to the absence of restrictions, because of party membership, on members of this group. About one in five report a rise in status:

4% have become farmers or farm laborers
3 live on their own means
2 have become semi-skilled workers or independent craftsmen
13 report "other" occupations

This group has acted as a repository for many of the people who have been displaced from former occupations. Berlin reports an increase of 12% in the numbers of unskilled workers. Many of the better educated Germans (especially among the officials) have been forced into this group which is probably due to the higher incidence of Party membership among them. The increase in size of this particular group is a strong indication of the degree of disintegration in German society today. Proportionately more of the new additions to this category were formerly clerks, skilled and semi-skilled workers and skilled craftsmen than in other occupations. It emphasises the dependence of these groups on a normal economy.

Farmers and Farm Laborers Least change of all has occurred among the members of this group. Almost 9 in 10 (86%) still continue their former occupation. Few people have transferred from other occupations to the farm, but those who have tend to be young (18 to 29) and from small villages (less than 2,000 population). Generally, they possess allied skills and . . .

come from the "independent craftsmen" and the "skilled workers" group or from the "semi- and unskilled workers" group. Probably most of them join the farms as laborers rather than becoming farm owners. In the larger towns, a decrease in the "farmers and farm laborers" class is reported.

Living on Own Means Only one in 10 of this group still continue to live on their own means. One in 10 report such occupations as clerks or independent craftsmen. About 3 out of 4 report "other" occupations.

Other Included in this classification are a) Persons on Relief; b) Living on Savings: c) Housewives: d) Students: and e) Apprentices. Eight in 10 still report "other" occupations. Some of the members in this group have become clerks (8%) while others have become unskilled workers (2.5%) or independent craftsmen (2.5%). Proportionately, this group has received the largest numbers who have reported a change in occupation. On a percentage basis, those professions demanding most education and training now report "other" occupations. The growth of this group with that of the "unskilled worker" group illustrates again the strain on German social and economic [illegible].

CONCLUSION

Certain basic needs -- food, housing and clothing -- continue whether the economy or the society is stable or unstable. On the other hand, those groups catering to more specialized demands of society usually suffer when the society is faced by a major crisis. Hence evidence of stress among various groups in German society today is strongest in highly specialized groups. The basic strata of society which cater to its fundamental needs have continued relatively unaffected by the defeat or the occupation. With few exceptions, changes in occupation have been in a downward direction. The recovery from the down-grading experienced by the more specialized occupational groups is dependent upon such imponderables as the length of stay of the Allies in Germany, the amelioration of the De-Nazification program, the energy of the future government of Germany, the reconstruction of basic and consumer goods industries, etc. The effects which the German economy will feel under the continuation of these changes will be real and persistent.

TABLE ILLUSTRATING OCCUPATIONAL CHANGES IN THE ANZON

Vocation of Family Breadwinner:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
Sample Size: 2,858											
Present occupation of Family Breadwinner:											
Professional	53%	1%	-	-	-	-	-	1%	-	-	-
Independent Businessman	1	77	-	3	3	1	-	1	-	2	1
Official	-	1	40	-	1	1	-	-	*	-	-
Independent Craftsman	1	-	*	70	-	6	1	1	1	3	2.5
Clerk	7	3	7	-	5	5	4	1	1	6	8
Skilled Worker	4	1	1	-	2	50	1	-	*	-	-
Semi-Skilled Worker	1	-	2	1	3	4	54	1	1	-	1
Unskilled Worker	1	1	19	-	13	10	12	74	2	-	2.5
Farmer	1	-	*	1	3	4	5	1	86	-	-
Living on Own Means	2	4	3	2	2	3	4	3	2	13	5
Other	25	8	28	11	16	16	13	13	7	76	80
No Answer	1	1	1	-	-	*	-	1	*	-	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than 1%

A: Professional
B: Ind. Businessman
C: Official
D: Ind. Craftsman
E: Clerk
F: Skilled Worker
G: Semi-Skilled Worker
H: Unskilled Worker
I: Farmer
J: Living on own means
K: Other

ECONOMIC STATUS ON THE BASIS OF FORMER PG'S
(ANZON ONLY**)

	Former PG's***	Non PG's
Sample Size	939	2,038
Occupation of Family Breadwinner		
Professional	4	2%
Independent Businessman	12	6
Official	12	5
Independent Craftsman	8	8
Clerk	16	14
Skilled Worker	14	17
Semi-Skilled Worker	7	9
Unskilled Worker	9	11
Farmers	11	22
Living on Own Means	2	2
Others	1	2
No Answer	3	3
Part Membership and Educational Standards		
7 years or less of school	31	41
8 years of school	40	41
9 to 11 years of school	13	13
Over 12 years	10	5
No Answer	1	*

* Less than 1%
** These results are taken from CIAC Opinion Survey Number 32 held in September 1946
*** Includes former PG's among respondents and respondents' families

OCCUPATIONAL CHANGES ON A REGIONAL BASIS

	All ZOF		Bavaria		Hesse		Wuerttemberg-Baden		Berlin	
	A**	B**	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Sample Size	(2869)		(1565)		(669)		(623)		(406)	
Economic Background of Family Breadwinner										
Professional	4%	2%	3%	1%	6%	3%	6%	4%	6%	2%
Ind. Businessman	5	4	4	5	5	4	3	3	3	3
Official	7	3	7	3	7	4	5	3	7	2
Ind. Craftsman	8	7	7		8	7	9	9	7	11
Clerk	14	12			17	14	16	15	29	19
Skilled Worker	22	12		11	23	11	24	13	30	18
Semi-Skilled Worker	10	7	10	7	11	8	7	8	10	7
Unskilled Worker	5	13	5	12	5	10	6	14	7	19
Farmer	20	21	23	25	15	14	18	19	*	*
Living on Own Means	*	3	*	4	*	3	*	2	-	1
Others	3	16	2	15	2	22	6	12	1	18
No Answer	2	*	4	*	1	*	*	*	-	-

* Less than 1%

** A - Vocation
B - Present occupation

RESTRICTED

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OCCUPATIONAL CHANGES BASED ON CITY SIZE IN THE AMZON

	Under 2,000		2-5,000		5-10,000		10-100,000		Over 100,000	
	A **	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Sample Size	(1120)		(413)		(233)		(519)		(515)	
Economic Background of Family Breadwinner										
Professional	2%	1%	2%	2%	5%	2%	7%	3%	7%	4%
Ind. Businessman	3	2	4	3	5	4	7	7	6	6
Official	4	2	6	2	6	1	10	6	10	5
Ind. Craftsman	8	6	8	10	10	7	8	8	7	7
Clerk	8	5	9	9	17	14	21	19	25	23
Skilled Worker	19	9	27	13	29	17	24	15	25	15
Semi-Skilled Worker	9	6	11	8	14	10	9	7	8	7
Unskilled Worker	5	12	6	15	4	14	6	11	4	11
Farmer	37	41	22	20	9	6	4	2	1	1
Living on Own Means	*	2	*	3	*	6	-	4	1	3
Others	1	14	4	16	2	19	3	18	4	17
No Answer	4	*	1	1	-	-	1	-	2	1

* Less than 1%

** A - Vocation
B - Present occupation

RESTRICTED

OCCUPATIONAL CHANGES ON THE BASIS OF THE EDUCATION OF THE RESPONDENT IN THE AMZON

	7 yrs or less		8 years		9-11 yrs		12 & more yrs	
	A **	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Sample Size	(1069)		(1283)		(356)		(144)	
Economic Background of Family Breadwinner								
Professional	1%	1%	1%	1%	11%	5%	36%	19%
Ind. Businessman	2	2	4	4	11	10	8	5
Official	4	2	5	2	13	8	26	12
Ind. Craftsman	9	9	9	7	6	7	1	2
Clerk	8	6	14	12	35	28	13	17
Skilled Worker	21	11	29	15	11	8	5	1
Semi-Skilled Worker	11	6	12	9	2	3	1	1
Unskilled Worker	7	12	3	12	2	10	-	10
Farmer	32	35	17	17	2	2	2	3
Living on Own Means	*	4	*	3	*	3	-	1
Others	1	12	3	18	6	15	7	28
No Answer	4	*	2	*	1	1	1	1

* Less than 1%
** A - Vocation
B - Present Occupation

RESTRICTED

OCCUPATIONS CHANGES ON THE BASIS OF THE AGE OF THE RESPONDENT IN THE AMZON

Age in years:	18 - 29		30 - 39		40 - 49		50 - 59		60 - 69		70 & over	
	A **	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Sample Size	(598)		(699)		(705)		(427)		(305)		(121)	
Economic Background of Family Breadwinner												
Professional	3%	1%	5%	3%	4%	3%	3%	2%	4%	2%	2%	2%
Ind. Businessman	3	3	5	5	4	4	5	5	4	4	5	3
Official	3	2	5	2	7	3	10	6	9	4	11	2
Ind. Craftsman	4	4	6	6	8	8	12	12	11	8	6	5
Clerk	18	17	15	13	14	13	16	13	14	6	10	5
Skilled Worker	25	15	28	16	23	13	17	9	21	7	23	4
Semi-Skilled Worker	10	7	9	8	11	8	10	7	6	3	17	4
Unskilled Worker	6	12	5	11	7	17	4	11	4	6	3	3
Farmer	22	25	18	17	18	19	18	20	18	22	18	16
Living on Own Means	-	1	*	1	*	1	*	2	1	11	-	18
Others	3	13	3	18	2	11	2	12	3	27	2	38
No Answer	3	*	1	*	2	*	3	1	5	*	3	-

* Less than 1%
** A - Vocation
B - Present occupation

RESTRICTED

OCCUPATIONAL CHANGES ON THE BASIS OF THE SEX OF THE RESPONDENT (ARIZONA ONLY)

Sex of Respondent:	Male		Female	
	A **	B	A	B
Sample Size	(1223)		(1622)	
Vocation of Family Breadwinner				
Professional	5%	3%	4%	2%
Ind. Businessman	5	5	4	4
Official	7	4	6	3
Ind. Craftsman	10	10	6	5
Clerk	13	11	16	13
Skilled Worker	24	12	22	11
Semi-Skilled Worker	3	8	10	6
Unskilled Worker	4	11	6	12
Farmer	21	22	20	20
Living on Own Means	*	3	*	3
Others	1	11	3	20
No Answer	2	*	3	1

* Less than 1%

** A - Vocation
B - Present occupation

RESTRICTED

TABLE COMPARING FORMER AND PRESENT OCCUPATIONS
OF THE PRINCIPAL "BREAD WINNER" IN RESPONDENT,S FAMILY (AMZON ONLY)

Status of Respondent:	Employee		Employer		Housewife		Independent: Student Daughter		Farmers		On Relief Pensionaire Unemployed	
	A **	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Sample Size	(906)		(938)		(487)		(139)		(192)		(196)	
Economic Background of Family Breadwinner												
Professional	3%	1%	4%	3%	3%	2%	17%	14%	-%	-%	5%	*%
Ind. Businessman	2	1	8	9	4	4	6	9	-	-	3	1
Official	7	5	4	2	11	5	4	*	-	-	15	2
Ind. Craftsman	2	2	14	15	8	6	17	25	1	0.5	4	*
Clerk	24	24	11	6	16	14	9	5	2	-	19	2
Skilled Worker	30	20	23	11	25	13	18	7	3	0.5	24	1
Semi-Skilled Worker	12	12	9	5	9	7	4	3	5	0.5	14	2
Unskilled Worker	8	20	4	8	6	13	4	3	0.5	2	5	3
Farmers	9	9	19	19	14	14	16	17	83	93	5	3
Living on Own Means	-	1	*	4	*	3	-	6	-	1.5	*	13
Others	1	5	2	18	3	18	2	11	-	2	5	71
No Answer	2	-	2	*	1	1	3	-	5.5	-	1	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than 1%
** A - Vocation
B - Present occupation

RESTRICTED

STATUS OF RESPONDENTS ON A REGIONAL BASIS

	AMZON	Bavaria	Hesse	Wuerttemberg-Baden	Berlin
Sample Size	(2360)	(1565)	(669)	(626)	(406)
Status of Respondent					
Employee	31%	30%	28%	37%	42%
Employer	8	9	7	8	7
Housewife	42	40	49	38	35
Ind.: Student, Daughter	5	5	4	6	6
Farmer	8	9	6	7	-
Unemployed	2	3	2	2	2
Pensionnaire	1	1	*	*	1
On relief	3	3	4	2	7
Others	-	-	-	-	-
No Answer	*	*	*	-	-

* Less than 1%

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

Status of Respondents on Rural Urban-Basis

	Under 2,000	2-5,000	5-10,000	10-100,000	Over 100,000
Sample Size	(1180)	(413)	(233)	(519)	(515)
Status of Respondent					
Employee	24%	29%	35%	33%	40%
Employer	9	9	8	7	7
Housewife	42	45	44	37	42
Ind.: Student, Daughter	5	3	5	7	4
Farmer	15	8	-	1	1
Unemployed	2	2	4	4	2
Pensionnaire	*	*	1	1	2
On Relief	3	4	3	5	2
Others	-	-	-	-	-
No Answer	-	-	-	*	*

* Less than 1%

RESTRICTED

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENT

	7 yrs or less	8 years	9-11 yrs	12 or more
Sample Size	(1069)	(1283)	(356)	(144)
Status of Respondent				
Employee	24%	32%	45%	39%
Employer	9	7	10	11
Housewife	43	45	35	17.5
Independent: student, daughter	5	3	4	17.5
Farmer	13	6	*	-
Unemployed	1	3	2	10
Pensionnaire	1	1	2	2
On Relief	4	3	2	2
Others	-	-	-	-
No Answer	*	-	-	1

RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENT

	Cath.	Prot.	Other
Sample Size	(1486)	(1278)	(92)
Status of Respondent			
Employee	30%	31%	46%
Employer	8	8	11
Housewife	42	42	29
Independent: student, daughter	5	4	9
Farmer	8	8	-
Unemployed	3	2	1
Pensionnaire	1	1	1
On Relief	3	4	3
Others	-	-	-
No Answer	*	*	-

* Less than 1%

STATUS AND AGE OF RESPONDENT

Age in years	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70 & over
Sample Size	(598)	(699)	(705)	(427)	(305)	(121)
Status of Respondent						
Employee	47%	32%	32%	24%	19%	4%
Employer	2	6	10	15	12	6
Housewife	32	51	45	44	35	25
Ind.: Student, daughter	5	3	4	5	7	11
Farmer	10	4	8	7	10	14
Unemployed	2	2	2	3	3	7
Pensionnaire	*	-	*	*	4	7
On Relief	2	2	1	2	10	26
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-
No Answer	*	-	-	-	*	-

STATUS AND SEX OF RESPONDENT

	Men	Women
Sample Size	(1223)	(1622)
Status of Respondent		
Employee	52%	15%
Employer	17	2
Housewife	*	73
Ind.: Student, daughter	7	3
Farmer	12	4
Unemployed	5	1
Pensionnaire	2	*
On Relief	5	2
Others	-	-
No Answer	*	*

* Less than 1%

R E S T R I C T E D

REACTIONS TO AND PENETRATION OF INFORMATION MEDIA IN VIENNA

14 January 1947
Report 39
Opinion Surveys Unit
Office of the Director of Information Control
OMGGUS (Rear) APO 757

R E S T R I C T E D

REACTIONS TO AND PENETRATION OF INFORMATION MEDIA IN VIENNA

INTRODUCTION

During the latter part of November 1946 a cross-section sample of the residents of the American and British Zones of Vienna was interviewed about some problems of particular concern to Information Services Branch. The sample was a true cross-section representing, in miniature, the adults living in these sectors. In all, 1499 persons were questioned. The questioning was done by native Austrians under the professional direction of members of the Opinion Surveys Unit of OMGUS, cooperating with USFA ISB.

THE FINDINGS

Radio and Newspaper Coverage ...

As previously reported (22 October 1946 and 14 December 1946) a very large majority of the adult population listens to the radio or reads a newspaper. This study found as many as 80% of the population saying that they were radio listeners, and the same proportion claiming to read a newspaper "regularly." In addition, nearly all the rest of the people (17% more) said they read a paper "occasionally".

The Wiener Kurier remained the most widely read newspaper (52%). Its closest competitors were the Arbeiter Zeitung (33%) and the Kleine Volksblatt (28%), while the Weltpresse and Neues Oesterreich definitely trailed. Among the other newspapers only the Volksstimme (7%) had many readers.

Attitudes of the Movie Audience ...

A majority (57%) of these Viennese said they go to the movies. Among those who did not claim to do so the most frequent accounting for such failure (27%) was an expressed disinterest in this type of entertainment or, what amounted to the same thing, a complaint that there was "no time" available for such activity. A few (2%) said they did not go to movies because they were afraid of the walk home in the dark. More (9%) said they could not afford to buy tickets, and others (7%) complained of age or illness, hearing or seeing difficulties.

Pictures being shown currently in Vienna are not well received by movie-goers. Everyone was asked: "What do you think of the current movies?" More of the movie audience (39%) are dissatisfied by the

films shown then think they are "all right" or "very good" (32%). A fairly large proportion (29%) express comments about the movies which cannot be classified as generalized replies. Many of these people say that the different shows are so spotty -- some poor, some good, some very good -- therefore it is not possible to generalize. But among this group the largest proportion prove to lack discernment of any kind. It is concluded that many of these people are only irregular movie-goers.

Non-moviegoers, in the large, (89%) hold no opinion on the virtures of current films. Among those who do, at least as many are critical (7%) as are satisfied (4%).

... The chief criticism voiced about the current films (24%) is that foreign films present language difficulties and subtitles are annoying. This becomes generalized, in some comments, into an objection to all foreign films. On the other hand, some people (10%) redirect their interest and express admiration for the "good, old films" that used to be shown. Another type of objection to the current films is the criticism held by a few (7%) that these productions are superficial and tasteless to a Viennese who looks for something meaningful, something with psychological depth. Russian films were characterized by some (5%) as "propaganda vehicles," and American films were said by about as many (3%) to be "exaggerated."

Favorable comments among movie-goers were in praise of American films (9%), the "highly cultured" German movies (7%), and the "lively, exciting" films of the various occupying powers.

The Vienna Philharmonic ...

Everybody was also asked whether they had heard the Vienna Philharmonic orchestra either on the radio, or through attendance at a concert. The orchestra appears to have a large audience.

Four in ten people (39%) claimed to have heard the Philharmonic on the radio, and about one in ten (11%) had attended a concert during the past year. (Five % of the people had both heard it on the radio and attended a concert. Thus, a total of 45% had listened to the playing of the orchestra.) However, the majority (55%) of Viennese had neither heard the program on the radio or attended a concert. Among non-radio listeners, of course, the proportion not hearing the program was much larger (79%), while only half the radio listeners (49%) had not heard a concert.

... Those who had heard the program were asked: "Did you like the concerts?" Half those people (51%) praised the program highly, answering "very much," and about one-third more (31%) said the

playing was "good." Few (11%) said they were only "fair" and the remaining small minority (7%) held that they did not like the concerts at all.

Those who had heard the Philharmonic on the radio were not as frequently pleased with its performance as were those who had attended a concert. Still a large majority (79%) of the radio listeners thought the program at least "good," while practically all (91%) of those who attended a concert answered similarly. This finding, however, probably should not be interpreted as reflecting adversely upon radio broadcasts of the concert. Rather it emphasizes the attractive power of the radio. For it can be granted that those who do not like the Philharmonic would rarely make the effort to attend a performance. On the other hand, through radio broadcasts, new supporters of the Philharmonic are undoubtedly won from a group of people unfamiliar with the orchestra.

... Those who had heard a Philharmonic concert in the past year were asked: "Whom would you like to have as permanent director of the Philharmonic?" Most people were unable to name any specific person. Among those with opinions (232 people) half (50%) named Furtwaengler. About one in ten (11%) spoke for Clemens Kraus or Josef Krips. Fewer voted for Bruno Walther (9%), or Dr. Boehm (4%) or Knappertsbusch (5%). Clearly, the popular choice among those who were most interested in the Philharmonic, and were able to express a preference, was Furtwaengler.

Attitudes Toward Denazification ...

The cross-section population was also questioned about their sentiment toward denazification in two media fields -- the movies, and the Vienna Philharmonic. In both instances, only about one-fifth of those questioned stood for denazification.

... In regard to the movies, half the people (52%) thought films should be shown even though the actors appearing in them were former members of the NSDAP or allied organizations. Every one was asked: "As you undoubtedly know, some films are not shown today because the actors appearing in them were in the NSDAP or an allied organization. Do you think that such films should be shown or not?"

It is important, however, to note that people opposed to showing such films were more firmly convinced of their position than those in favor of showing them. Thus, just as many people (37%) felt "very strongly" that the films should NOT be shown as felt (36%) "fairly strongly" about this matter. On the other hand, among those who supported the showing of the pictures only about half as many (22%) felt "very strongly" in favor as felt "fairly strongly" (39%).

This relationship held among movie-goers as well a non-goers. The chart below shows that people who disapproved the showing of films in which PGs acted were more firmly resolved in opposition when compared with the intensity of feeling of the majority who supported the showing of the films. The chart also shows that more movie-goers, generally, hold decided views on the subject than do non-goers.

	Movie-Goers		Non-Goers	
	Approve showing of films 525 cases	Disapprove 206 cases	Approve 257 cases	Disapprove 132 cases
Feel very Strongly:	8 / 24%	13 / 38%	6 / 19%	12 / 36%
Fairly Strongly:	14 / 41%	13 / 38%	15 / 34%	11 / 32%
Unimportant:	12 / 35%	8 / 24%	16 / 47%	11 / 32%

... In regard to the Vienna Philharmonic, everyone was also asked: "Do you think that former PGs should be let out of this orchestra?" The same proportion (52%), as supported the showing of movies with former PGs in the cast approved the continuation of PG members of the Philharmonic. Importantly, strongest opposition to denazification of the orchestra was voiced by those most familiar with the Philharmonic....whether through the radio or through attendance at concerts. In addition, attitudes toward denazification were also related to degree of satisfaction with the performance of the orchestra. Three in four (75%) of those who thought the concerts were "very good" said that PGs should play on, but fewer (63%) of those who thought they were "good," and still fewer (40%) of

those who thought them only fair or poor hold the same position. Among people who had not heard a concert, either on the radio or in attendance, a plurality (41%) supported continuation of the players, but just as many (40%) felt unable to commit themselves on the proposition.

This evidence appears to support the interpretation that the Philharmonic is more important to Viennese than is denazification of the orchestra, with a possible consequent disruption of quality of performance. But before this interpretation, which emphasizes music for music's sake and raises the possibility of discordant strains jangling sensitive Viennese ears, is accepted, one must also account for the fact that almost to a man those who oppose denazification of the orchestra also support the showing of films in which PGs act. And the reverse of the picture is true -- a similarly large proportion of those who support denazification of the orchestra also support denazification of the films. (See table below) Evidently, to some real extent, musical criticism is influenced by political thinking. This interpretation, pointing to a generalized sentiment toward denazification, is supported by the finding that the people who neither hear the Philharmonic on the air nor attend concerts, side in the main with those who oppose denazification of the orchestra. It is concluded that opposition to denazification in these media is motivated more by local pride, and opposition to "Allied interference," than it is by support of the artistic quality of PG performers.

"Do you think that former PGs should be let out of this orchestra (Vienna Philharmonic)?"

"As you undoubtedly know, some films are not shown today because the actors appearing in them were in the NSDAP or an allied organization. Do you think that such films should be shown or not?"	Yes, let out	No, let play	No opini
Should be shown	10%	84%	24%
Should not	82	6	10
No opinion	8	10	66
	100%	100%	100%
Number of interviews	304	779	416

MEDIA ACTIVITY

The media activity of Viennese was examined in regard to four possibilities -- readership of newspapers, listening to radio, attendance at movies and concerts. Only one in a hundred people (1%) was found who does none of these things. Through the combined impact of all four media, then, practically the entire adult population is eventually reached.

The most popular single activity is reading the newspaper. One in ten persons (11%) report doing this regularly, but nothing else. This group is supplemented by another fraction (3%) which only reads a newspaper, but that only occasionally. Very few people (1%) simply listen to the radio, or go to movies, or attend concerts.

When two activities are indulged in, these prove in nearly all instances to be radio listening and newspaper reading (27%). A tiny minority (4%) only reads papers and goes to movies, and fewer still (2%) combine two other media activities.

The most popular combination of three media is radio-movies-newspaper (41%). A few (3%) listen to the radio, read a paper, and attend concerts, while only a negligible proportion (1%) combine three of the four possibilities differently.

Very few (6%) participate in all four activities.

... Examination of the population characteristics of these various media activity groups provides a useful insight for those directing reorientation programs in Austria. Men prove to be more active than women in touching sources of information. This is particularly true of movie attendance. Yet the patterns of activity do not largely vary between the sex groups. The largest difference is to be found among those who listen to the radio, read a paper and attend movies -- 44% of the men, and 38% of the women do all three.

... Among socio-economic status groups, however, appreciably different patterns can be seen. None of those whose status was said to be Upper Middle, or higher, engage in no activities, and less than one in ten (8%) merely read a newspaper regularly. Those whose status is Lower Lower, or on relief, however, more frequently (25%) fall into one or the other of these limited activity groups. At the other end of the scale, about one in four (28%) of the high status people concern themselves with all four activities or with combinations of any three, except the popular paper-radio-movie grouping. Among the lowest class group nearly no one (3%) does the same.

... Education and age groupings show differences similar to those found among status groups: the better educated, and the younger groups, are much more active than the poorly educated, or older people, in coming into contact with various media of information.

But the best-educated (college) group is much more likely to attend a concert than the most active age group (under 30 years). When the activity of more refined groupings is examined, emphasis is given to this finding. For old, but better educated, people tend to participate in more media activities than do the young, but poorly educated. For example, over half (52%) the people over 60 who had had at least nine years education engage in at least three media activities, while only about four in ten (43%) of those under 40 who had had only seven years schooling do the same. And none of the 43% had attended any concerts, while of the 52%, one in three (18% of the total) had gone to a concert. The extremes of activity are seen among the well-educated young (under 30) and the uneducated old (over 60). Of the former seven in ten (71%) indulge in at least three activities, while only one-fifth (22%) of the latter do the same.

... Attitudinal characteristicsof the various media activity groups reveal that the least well disposed groups are those representing people of the upper classes, the better educated and young -- those groups which participate in all four functions, or attend concerts in addition to indulging in two of the other three activities. These two groups oppose most strenuously (70%) denazification of the Philharmonic, and approve most strongly (64%) showing films in which Nazi actors appear. On a more generalized basis, a large majority (79%) of these people (with opinions) say that the Allies have hindered Austrian reconstruction, as opposed to less than half (47%) of the least active people (with opinions) who also hold this view. On the question of whether Nazism was a bad idea, or a good idea badly carried out, less than half (48%) of the most active (with opinions) said Nazism was a bad idea, while a large majority (69%) of the inactive (with opinions) said the same.

It can be concluded that these data indicate the potential power of the three basic media of information -- radio, newspaper and movie. (Attendance at concerts scarcely adds any independent coverage of the population, e.g. no one attended a concert and nothing else.) And in touching nearly the entire population through one medium or another it can be seen that some groups must feel a reinforcing influence if the reeducative direction of media content is consistent. On the other hand, those least touched -- the old and poorly educated, the poor, the women -- are those who need to be aroused from apathetic disinterest in community affairs. If brought to express articulately their dispositions toward public affairs they would provide a healthy counterpart to type of sentiment more frequently expressed by the young, the better educated, the well-to-do, and the men. For, in spite of the probable cumulative effects of the separate media, it is within these latter groups where still more understanding of our outlook, and appreciation of our efforts, would be welcome. Whereas the relatively untouched need stimulation and redirection, the very active need more frequently redirection of thinking.

Previous studies have shown that the Wiener Kurier appeals to a middle class, rather better educated, white collar, young and middle-aged groups. It is evident, then, that coverage of those people who rely upon the newspaper alone for information about daily affairs is not performed by the Kurier. In order to reach these isolated people, a separate newspaper suggests itself. But since the problem is that of stimulating the thinking of these people, as well as an information problem, there are undoubtedly more successful long-term programs which could be instituted.

Effective approaches to the people missed by the Kurier at the other end of the social scale could be inferred from the data above. It is indicated that social entertainment features, such as concerts, sophisticated theater, big-name lectures, and musicales, might provide effective frames within which to present delicately (as tone, mood, atmosphere) thoughts about democratic ways and democratic beliefs.

MEDIA ACTIVITY GROUPS

Questions: Do you read a newspaper?
Do you go to movies?
Do you listen to the radio?
Have you heard the Vienna Philharmonic, during the past year, on the radio or at a concert?
(Attendance only considered below)

No activities at all	1%
Read a paper occasionally	3
Read a paper regularly	11
Listen to the radio	1
Go to the movies	*
Go to concerts	-
Read paper, attend concerts	1
Read paper, go to movies	4
Read paper, listen to radio	27
Listen to radio, attend concerts	*
Go to movies and concerts	*
Listen to radio, go to movies	1
Read paper, listen radio, go to movies	41
Read paper, listen radio, go to concerts	3
Listen radio, go to movies and concerts	*
Read paper, go to movies and concerts	1
All four activities	6
	100%
Total interviews	1499

* Less than 1%

R E S T R I C T E D

AUSTRIAN ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES AND ATTITUDES TOWARD ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

21 January 1947
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R E S T R I C T E D

AUSTRIAN ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES AND ATTITUDES TOWARD ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

INTRODUCTION

Under the direction of OMGUS ODIC Opinion Surveys Unit personn a cross-section population of the American and British Zones of Vienna was interviewed during the latter part of November 1946. In all, 1499 persons were questioned. This sample population was scientifically constructed and represents a true cross-section of part of the Vienna population.

MATERIAL DIFFICULTIES OF THE POPULATION ...

Everyone was initially asked: "What gives you the greatest care and worry at present?" More than one reply was frequently given. On the average, 1.7 replies were given by each respondent. This proportion of mentions is markedly similar to proportions found in Germany (U.S. Zone) on questioning sample populations there. The implications are that Viennese ar not much better off than are German residents insofar as the multiplicity of problems facing them is concerned. Only one in a hundred Viennese said he had no care or worry which impressed him.

Food was the problem which beset a majority (54%) of the Viennese. Other mentions by significant minorities were: former NSDAP membership (25%), fuel (19%), clothing and shoes (18%), unemployment (11%) housing (10%), health (8%), and business difficulties (5%). Many other types of replies were also given (15%), such as worry over missing PsW, lack of goods to buy on the market, education of the children, marital difficulties, difficulties as an evacuee, lack of recreation facilities, or feelings of insecurity.

Most of these cares or worries, it is apparent, stem from economic difficulties. It is this type of problem, too, which affects those who were members of the NSDAP. Indeed, the proportion which mentions difficulty on this score is nearly three times the proportion (8%) of registered Nazis within the adult population of Vienna. Undoubtedly, former membership in the Party has affected entire families beyond the particular individuals directly concerned. And it has affected them in such a fashion as to debilitate the economic advantages felt previously.

Over and above the bare majority which complained about the food situation as a main care and worry are others who feel definite distress in this direction. Questioned directly: "How are you making out with food?", most (87%) people said that they were making out badly. Only one in a hundred persons said they made out well, and the rest (12%) said they did fairly well. So generalized were the responses that people who had initially said that their chief worry was over food did not, in any larger proportion, say that they were making out "badly" with food when compared with those who had mentioned other chief worries.

... At the same time, a large majority (67%) consider that the ration card system is being handled fairly. The few who said they made out at least "fairly well" with food were slightly more inclined to say, also, that they thought the ration card system justly handled. However, when the comments of the mino ity (27%) which denied this are considered it is seen that mo of these people were merely under the impression that the dis tribution is unfair for some groups rather than being poorly organized. Very few (6%) made the latter criticism. The groups about which complaints were most frequently made are: the "normal consumer," the white collar worker, youth and children old and pensioned, or the sick and disabled. From these data it is concluded that the system itself is very widely accepted as fairly handled, but that significant minorities feel that they should be given special consideration.

Nearly everybody (88%) admitted, too, that their ration cards were honored at the stores. Among those who had encountered difficulties getting rationed food, more than half (55%) spoke of the impossibility of getting potatoes. Other hard to get foods mentioned by this group are: chocolate and sweets (19%), fruit (15%), fish (2%). A few (7%) added that fuel was not al- ways available when they had coupons for such material. These figures strongly indicate that the distribution system is publicly recognized to be well organized. Among the total popu- lation only small minorities maintain that they had difficulti getting potatoes (7%), sweets (2%), or fruit (2%).

... The sample population of Viennese was also asked about its sho and clothing supplies for this winter. The margin of adequate dress was found to be very slim for about half the population. A bare majority (51%) say they have enough clothing of the typ essential for the winter. An equal proportion claims to have only one pair of shoes, while a few more (4%) have no wearable shoes at all.

These overall figures minimize, however, the seriousness of th shoe situation. Not only do four in ten of the persons inter- viewed (41%) say they have no winter shoes, but the lack of winter shoes is particularly acute among those who have only one pair of shoes to wear. This lack of appropriate heavy shoes which can stand the wear and tear of winter weather is less fr quent among those who have two pairs of shoes and does not occur at all among those with three or more pairs. .

The only relief, as far as concerns the future is the fact tha many respondents (63%) say they have shoes in a non-wearable condition which could be repaired. The tables below show some of the constellations of the situation.

SAMPLE CENSUS OF SHOE DISTRIBUTION

No shoes to wear	4%
No winter shoes	41
One pair winter shoes	42
Two or more pairs winter shoes	13
	100%

No shoes at all	1%
No wearable shoes	3
One pair, non-winter shoes	30
Two pair, non-winter shoes	9
3 or more pair, non-winter shoes	2
One pair winter shoes	21
One pair winter shoes, one pair non-winter	17
Three pair, one winter, two non-winter	4
Two or more pair shoes, at least 2 winter	13
	100%

			of which % are - winter shoes
No shoes to wear		4%	
0 to repair	21%		
1 to repair	38		
2 or more to repair	41		
	100%		
One pair of shoes		51	43
0 to repair	39%		
1 to repair	38		
2 or more to repair	23		
	100%		
Two pair of shoes		33	72
0 to repair	33%		
1 to repair	46		
2 or more to repair	21		
	100%		
Three or more pair of shoes		12	90
0 to repair	42%		
1 to repair	27		
2 or more to repair	31		
	100%		
		100%	

... Lack of shoes is basic. However, if an individual has ny shoes at all the kinds of shoes he has is not so important a the cut and style of clothing which, more than shoes, marks th status of an individual. The lawyer cannot appear in court in a carpen ter's work clothes, although he can appear in court in the stur work shoes of the carpenter. The answer of various population groups were examined as to their responses to the quest on: "D you have enough clothing to make out with in the winter, that just the clothing which you absolutely need and not that which you would like to have, but don't absolutely need?" Anal sis in dicates that both psychological and economic conditions influen the replies.

Although the well-to-do, in general, less frequently than the poor said they did not have enough clothes for the winter some particular groups within the well-to-do indicated specialized problems. Such a group is that doing or dependent upon profes- sional work where station and prestige may often be indicated t dress. Although practically no variation could be observed amor various segments of men as opposed to women, young peop e much more frequently than their elders, indicated clothes difficult Young people living in "poor" homes, then, seem to be experien ing the greatest difficulties. However, the well-to-do in the middle-aged group (over 50) indicated that they were not as wel off in clothes as poorer people in their own generations. Indee the very old (over 70) as a group tended to express dissatisfac tion with their clothing supply nearly as frequently as did their counterpart status groups among the very young.

Percent Having Enough Clothing for Winter
By Population Groups

Occupation	%	Sample
Craftsman & Skilled Worker	73	924
Independent Businessman	72	146
Managerial and Officials	63	100
Professional	58	113
Gov't Office Workers	52	115
White Collar	51	346
Laborers	47	132
Semi-Skilled	37	87
Sex		
Men	52	549
Women	51	948
Education		
7 years	45	216
8 years	48	943
9 - 11 years	61	165
12 and more years	62	175

Percent Having Enough Clothing for Winter
By Population Groups
(cont'd)

Party Preference	%	Sample
KPO	33	45
SPO	44	653
OVP	58	365
No Opinion	57	398
Age and Economic Status		
Under 30		
* U-UM	53	17
LM	46	57
UL	46	96
LL and OR	31	93
30-39		
U-UM	78	14
LM	58	45
UL	43	128
LL and OR	47	73
40-49		
U-UM	79	19
LM	62	68
UL	48	152
LL and OR	43	92
50-59		
U-UM	50	18
LM	65	63
UL	53	128
LL and OR	44	113
60-69		
U-UM	69	13
LM	76	34
UL	60	75
LL and OR	55	89
70 or older		
U-UM	33	3
LM	62	13
UL	49	37
LL and OR	62	52

* U - Upper
UM - Upper Middler
UL - Upper Lower
LL - Lower Lower
OR - On Relief

Those people who claimed to lack essential clothing (approximately half of all respondents) were queried as to their essential needs. Overcoats were mentioned by the largest proportion (41%). Next (36%) came underclothing of various types -- with a three to one vote for more than one set of underclothing, and with a smaller proportion saying one set would do.

Significant minorities also expressed a need for winter dresses (28%), stockings (24%) (nearly always two or more pair), men's suits (17%), sweaters (7%), socks (6%), work clothes (6%), trousers (3%). A few others (5%) named items such as hats, glov night clothes, etc. The basic nature of nearly all the expresse desires is impressive and gives confidence that the replies mad to the question represent real needs.

PUBLIC RECOGNITION OF THE BLACK MARKET ...

No one of the 1499 people interviewed denied that a black marke exists in Vienna. More, on the contrary almost everyone (83%) said it was widespread and serious. And large majorities (76%) held that the black market adversely influences the economic situation and is responsible for certain goods shortages on the open market (72%). When these attitudes are considered against the backdrop of the strains and stresses of life in Vienna today, government presents a convenient scapegoat. For the argume could be drawn either that the Austrian government is not handling the situation effectively, or that the Allied Powers are hampering proper governmental regulation of the black market. Thus, when people were asked: "In your opinion, are the authorities doing everything possible to eliminate the black market?", more (50%) said they were NOT than said they were doing everything possible (40%).

... Important correlations exist between responses to the four questions on the black market. People who think the authorities are <u>not</u> doing everything possible to eliminate the black market also believe strongly (almost six in ten on the average) that i is widespread and serious, or is responsible for goods shortage or adversely affects the economy. In contrast, those who feel that the authorities are doing all they can tend to take a more sanguine view of the entire black market situation, voting affi atively on the average less than four in ten on each of the questions. People who withhold judgment on what the authorities are or are not doing also are inclined to do the same on all aspects of the black market situation, but even among them one in ten view the situation seriously.

Respondents who consider one aspect of the black market as serious are also more likely than not to recognize other implic tions. Thus when answers to the three questions are combined -- seriousness of the black market, its responsibility for goods shortages, its influence on the economy -- this pattern emerges

... 58% accept all three propositions
... 23% agree to two out of the three
... 12% accept only one of the three
... 7% deny all three of the propositions

The interrelationship between the groups holding the coincident attitudes described above and the groups dissatisfied with government handling of the black market situation is extremely marked. A majority (59%) of those who accept all three serious implications of the black market hold that not enough is being done to eliminate the black market. On the other hand, only a small proportion (14%) of those wo accept one of the three greve implications of the situation likewise condemn the authorities. Within the total population interviewed these figures are, respectively, 34% and 1 with the larger proportion representing those concerned and worri and ready to condemn government for failure in a serious matter.

Question A: "In your opinion, are the authorities doing ever thing possible to eliminate the black market?"
Question B: "Do you think that the black market has any influence upon the economic situation?"
Question C: "Do you think that the black market is responsib for the facht that you cannot buy many things that you used to be able to buy?"
Question D: "Do you think that the blak market in Vienna is widespread and serious or unimportant?"

	Question A			
	Yes	No	No Opinion	Sample
Question D				
Widespread and serious	36%	57%	7%	1236
Unimportant	64	26	10	139
No opinion	52	9	39	124
Question C				
Responsible	38	54	8	1077
Not responsible	44	47	9	315
No opinion	50	14	36	107
Question B				
Yes	38	55	7	1144
No	47	44	9	178
No opinion	47	24	29	176

	Question C			
	Responsible	Not Responsible	No opinion	Sample
Question B				
Yes	82%	14%	4%	1144
No	24	70	6	178
No opinion	53	15	32	176
Question D				
Widespread and serious	90	6	4	1236
Unimportant	69	21	10	139
No opinion	45	12	43	124

	Question D			
	Widespread	Unimportant	No opinion	Sample
Question B				
Yes	89	6	5	1144
No	63	27	10	178
No opinion	59	11	30	176

The replies to Question B, C, and D were combined so that one group was made up of those who said that the market was widespread and serious, influenced the economy, and is responsible for goods shortages (Group I below). Any two of these replies are shown as Group II; just one reply is shown as Group III, and those who made none such replies are Group IV.

	Question A			
	Yes	No	No opinion	Sample
Group I	35%	59%	6%	86
Group II	43	46	11	341
Group III	49	34	17	183
Group IV	57	14	29	100

Question: "In your opinion, is the economic reconstruction of Austria hindered or furthered by the Allies?"

	Hindered	Furthered	Both, to some extent	No opinion
Group I	46%	25%	19%	10%
Group II	48	23	14	15
Group III	32	23	17	28
Group IV	29	21	12	38

Socio-Economic Status	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV	Sample
Upper Class and Upper Middle	38%	35%	15%	12%	84%
Lower Middle	53	29	11	7	234
Upper Lower	65	20	10	5	617
Lower Lower	60	17	15	8	433
On Relief	29	34	21	16	79

Nor is such condemnation restricted to the Austrian authorities. For within the large group which worries about the effects of the black market nearly half (46%) said also that the Allies had hindered rather than helped Austrian reconstruction. Among the smaller group somewhat fewer (29%) also viewed Allied efforts askance.

... Such criticism, and such concern, were centered disproportionately within segments of the lower class and the lower middle class. It was not marked among the members of the population on relief -- for these people tended most frequently to hold no opinion on the problem. Nor, was it marked among the members of the upper classes who, generally, were not seriously concerned about the implications of the black market and were generally satisfied with steps taken in control

It can be concluded, then, that where economic distress seriously disrupts the standard of living of Viennese -- among the poorer elements -- there is greatest inclination to lay economic ills at the door of the "black market" and, further, to blame government eventually for failure in this respect. It is also apparent, that most of the resentment arising on this ground is directed against the Austrian government, although some small

portion of it is reserved for the Allies. Possibly the latter arises partly from the feeling that the Allies deter the Austrian government from effective operation and full control of the Austrian economy, and partly from the belief that without an occupation force there would not be a constant black market supply source from Army dumps and petty exchanges by soldiers of PX goods for shillings.

ATTITUDES TOWARD INTERNATIONAL TRADE ...

In war-torn Europe, international trade is much more than a component part of an integrated economy -- it is a vital source of goods normally supplied through domestic channels. Europeans today do not look to other countries to send them exotic fruits or other luxury items, but rather eagerly look for some of the critical raw materials needed to get industry started and, probably more important in the minds of the general public, finished consumer goods and foods not yet adequately produced or distributed in Europe.

In this situation, the sample of Viennese was asked two questions: "Do you think it is very important or fairly important - a) that goods are exported? -- b) that Austria import more goods?" A majority of the people questioned felt that both exports and imports are "very important." However, more people urged that imports be made (61%) than expressed great interest in exports (51%). Indeed, a small proportion of people (5%) volunteered the statement that goods at all should be exported, while only 7 people in the 1500 questioned suggested that there should be no imports.

In view of the fact that more people want an import than an export trade, it is interesting to find that more people tend to be satisfied with steps being taken to increase imports (56%) than with the steps being taken to increase exports (5?%). The question inquiring into satisfaction with import moves was phrased even more strongly than that referring to exports. The questions were read in this order: "Are you satisfied or not satisfied with the steps being taken to increase exports?" and, "Do you think that everything possible now is really being done to increase imports?" The implication of the data is that dissatisfaction with steps taken to increase exports is rather on the grounds that TOO MUCH is being done, while dissatisfaction with steps taken to increase imports is on the ground that TOO LITTLE is being accomplished.

Yet many Viennese exhibit sophisticated appreciation of some of the necessities of world trade. Those who consider that exports or imports are very important are more likely to approve the steps that are being taken to increas both than are the people who think that such trade is only fairly important. Moreover, an equally solid majority of those who think either that imports or exports are very important are satisfied with steps being taken in either direction. In other words, those people who recognize the importance of world trade to Austria at this time undoubtedly also recognize that trade consists of a give and take arrangement.

... Similarly, satisfaction with steps in one direction is highly correlated with satisfaction with steps taken in the other direction. Among those satisfied with export encouragement, 86% are satisfied with the encouragement of imports; among those dissatisfied with export moves, 67% are dissatisfied with what is being done to increase imports. To put this relationship in context, it needs to be kept in mind that nearly half the people (44%) expressed satisfaction on BOTH question, while only one in ten people (10%) expressed dissatisfaction on BOTH. As many as 25% of all the people failed to express an opinion to BOTH questions. The dissenters, then, were not many, while an appreciable proportion could be said to be ignorant about these affair Among some characteristic population groups, whose answers to these questions were examined, only political party preference tended to show some significance. One-fifth (22%) of the followers of the KPÖ, one-tenth (11%) of those who associated themselves with the SPÖ, but less than one-tenth (7%) of the ÖVP supporters expressed dissatisfaction with the encouragement of both exports and imports.

Supporters of various political parties scarcely varied, however in their responses to the other set of questions which asked the people to evaluate the importance of exports and imports. But other group differences were discovered. Education groups showed marked differences. A solid majority (61%) of the college educated said that both imports and exports are very important, but only one-fifth (22%) of those with 7 years or less schooling agreed. Among the latter one in four (26%) thought both were only fairly important, while only one-tenth (11%) of the best educated group agreed.

But even larger differences appeared among socio-economic status groups. More of the upper classes (67%) maintained the great importance of both exports and imports than did members of the poorest group (37%) or the people living on relief (19%). And the poorer elements in the population spoke more insistently for imports than for exports -- 36% of those on relief, 24% of the Lower Lower class, 18% of the Upper Lower class, 16% of the Lower Middle class, but only 10% of those still better off.

THE VIENNA FAIR ...

The Vienna Fair received very widespread approval. Nearly everyone (98%) had heard or read about the Fair. And a very large proportion, (86%) of those who had, thought it was a good idea. The few who raised objections, saying that the Fair was a "bad idea" centered their remarks around the theme of the importance of imports as opposed to exports. Most of these people held that "everything was for foreign trade with nothing for us to buy." A small proportion of the dissatisfied commented about "poor organization," that the goods displayed were too costly, that the fair merely provided counters across which exhibitors could trade among themselves.

The trend of thought of the few objectors to the Fair is seen i sharper focus when their attitudes toward the Fair are related to their opinions on international trade. Most (79%) of those who thought the Fair a bad idea also thought that imports are very important, while fewer (59%) of those who thought the Fai a good idea agreed. At the same time, fewer (48%) of those who scorned the idea of the Fair were satisfied with steps taken t increase imports than were those who held the Fair to be a goo idea. Among the latter a solid majority (60%) were satisfied with import encouragement. But also fewer (41%) of people dissatisfied with the Fair were satisfied with export encouragemer while more (55%) of the people who approved the Fair held that export encouragement was well done. Again the interpretation i apparent that most people in this Viennese population are ready to grant that international trade -- in both directions -- is a necessity. But a few Viennese stubbornly cling to the thought that trade should be organized in a one-way fashion to the bene fit of the Austrians. Fortunately, those who hold the latter view make up a minority never larger than one-fifth of the popu lation, while those who maintain consistently such a position are probably no more numerous than one in twenty people.

GOOD WILL ...

It is often said that confidence between buyer and seller is th foundation of mutually satisfactory trading. Respect of the Viennese for the power and authority of the United States, for the history-making importance of American position in the world today should not be minimized. Such respect and confidence in the United States is at a high level in Austria -- higher, probably, than it is in many other countries. Naturally, such regard is not only important from the point of view of trade but also from a wider outlook. But, especially, from the economic standpoint should this regard be viewed in the light of the data above which show that pressure behind Austrian economic ministers moves them to seek imports and to minimize, to some extent, exports.

The question asked this miniature population in this respect was: "Which country, in your opinion, will have the greatest influence on world events during the next ten years?" The question has been held to provide a test of popularization, toward either Russia or toward the United States, which some observers have maintained is a generalized characteristic of populations through the world today. The interpretation has been offered that people in some countries have already resolve this problem, in the main. It is also maintained by some that people in other countries are divided on the proposition but that a movement is being pressed for a solution which will find most people in the world agreed on one or the other alignment.

Data from seven countries and the American Zone of Germany were gathered at diverse times. Pertinent evidence from some countries gathered at dates later than those shown below deny any large changes in the particular constellations of attitudes revealed in these figures.

ATTITUDES TOWARD GENERAL ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

.... Size and adequacy of family income

.... Attitudes of the population toward taxes

.... Confidence in the currency

.... The outlook for the economic future

Report Number 41
15 January 1947
Opinion Surveys Unit
Office of the Director of Information Control
CINCUS (Rear) APO 757

INTRODUCTION

This report presents the results of a few questions asked in a survey of the German population conducted by the OMGUS Opinion Surveys Unit, during the first part of November, 1946.

The results are based on a total of 3423 interviews -- 3022 with persons in the American Zone, and 401 in Berlin. The cross section is constructed so that it represents a miniature of the German population in the American Zone and in the American and British Sectors of Berlin.

Throughout the report, Berlin results are shown separately, and are not included in any of the detailed breakdown tabulations of the AMZON sample.

In general, breakdown tabulations in this report are based on samples large enough to assure considerable accuracy. Results for the AMZON, however, are naturally subject to a smaller degree of error, in view of the total number of interviews.

Earlier studies on similar subjects released by the Opinion Surveys Unit are:

Report, "Income, Expenditures and Currency Holdings of the German Population and Attitudes Toward General Economic Problems," dated 10 December 1946.

Report, "German Knowledge About and Attitudes Toward Inflation," dated 8 November 1946.

Report, "Income and Expenditures of German Families in the American Zone, Winter 1946, "dated 25 March 1946.

Tabulations by occupation groups as presented in this report do not include the answers of those respondents who either were unemployed or whose present occupation could not be categorized.

SUMMARY

The highlights of the report are summarized as follows:

1. Monthly family income appears to have dropped about RM 20 and RM 30 in the American Zone and Berlin respectively between July and November. The median average income at the latter date was RM 129 and RM 199 per month in the respective areas.

2. More families (40%) claim that their income is inadequate to meet necessary living expenses than at any other time since November 1945. In Berlin, 48% of the people interviewed have difficulty making ends meet.

* * *

3. More than half the people interviewed either object to certain taxes or say that some taxes are too high. Zonal respondents were concerned principally with levies on tobacco and alcohol, while Berliners objected most to the taxes on income, wages, and property.

* * *

4. Confidence in the continued value of the Reichsmark has suffered a constant decline. Berliners remain the more optimistic with 50% saying that the mark would be worth as much in six months, but only 39% of the Zonal respondents think so.

5. As far as confidence in the two types of money in circulation in Germany today -- Allied military and the German Reichsmark -- most people say there is no difference. Whether this signifies equal confidence in both or a lack of confidence in either cannot be definitely established.

* * *

6. The German people tend to hold optimistic views on the economic outlook for the American Zone -- 45% of those interviewed in the Zone and 61% in Berlin say things will improve. An additional 22% and 18% respectively believe that conditions will at least remain the same, while only one in four persons in the Zone and 13% in Berlin think that "Things will get worse."

THE FINDINGS

FAMILY INCOME PER MONTH

Comparison with results of an earlier survey reveals that from July to November 1946, German family incomes declined. A precisely accurate measure of this change is not possible owing to some differences in the questions and codes used, but it appears reasonable to assume that monthly incomes per family in the American Zone and in Berlin have actually dropped approximately RM 20 and RM 30 respectively.

According to the present survey the median average monthly income per family is RM 129 in AMZON and RM 199 in Berlin. The earlier study [1] showed incomes of RM 170 and RM 251 respectively.

Wuerttemberg-Baden again leads with the highest monthly income of RM 150. Hesse and Bavaria, however, reverse their positions with a median income of RM 140 in the former, and RM 123 in the latter -- compared with RM 175 and RM 165 respectively in July.

The pattern of monthly income by occupation and city size groups remains unchanged. Professional and business people continue to lead with monthly incomes of RM 287, while farmers remain the lowest monetary income group averaging RM 95 per month. Residents in cities of 250,000 or more population report a monthly income of RM 168, while those in villages under 1,000 earn only RM 97 per month.

Families in which women are today the chief breadwinners reported a lower income than those in which men answered the question. This is probably due to one or more of several causes: (1) unmarried women, (2) broken families (PW's, killed in action, separated by the war), and/or (3) families in which women are today the breadwinners for some other reasons.

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[1] See report, "Income, Expenditures and Currency Holdings of the German Population and Attitudes Toward General Economic Problems," Opinion Surveys Unit, USIC, 10 December 1946.

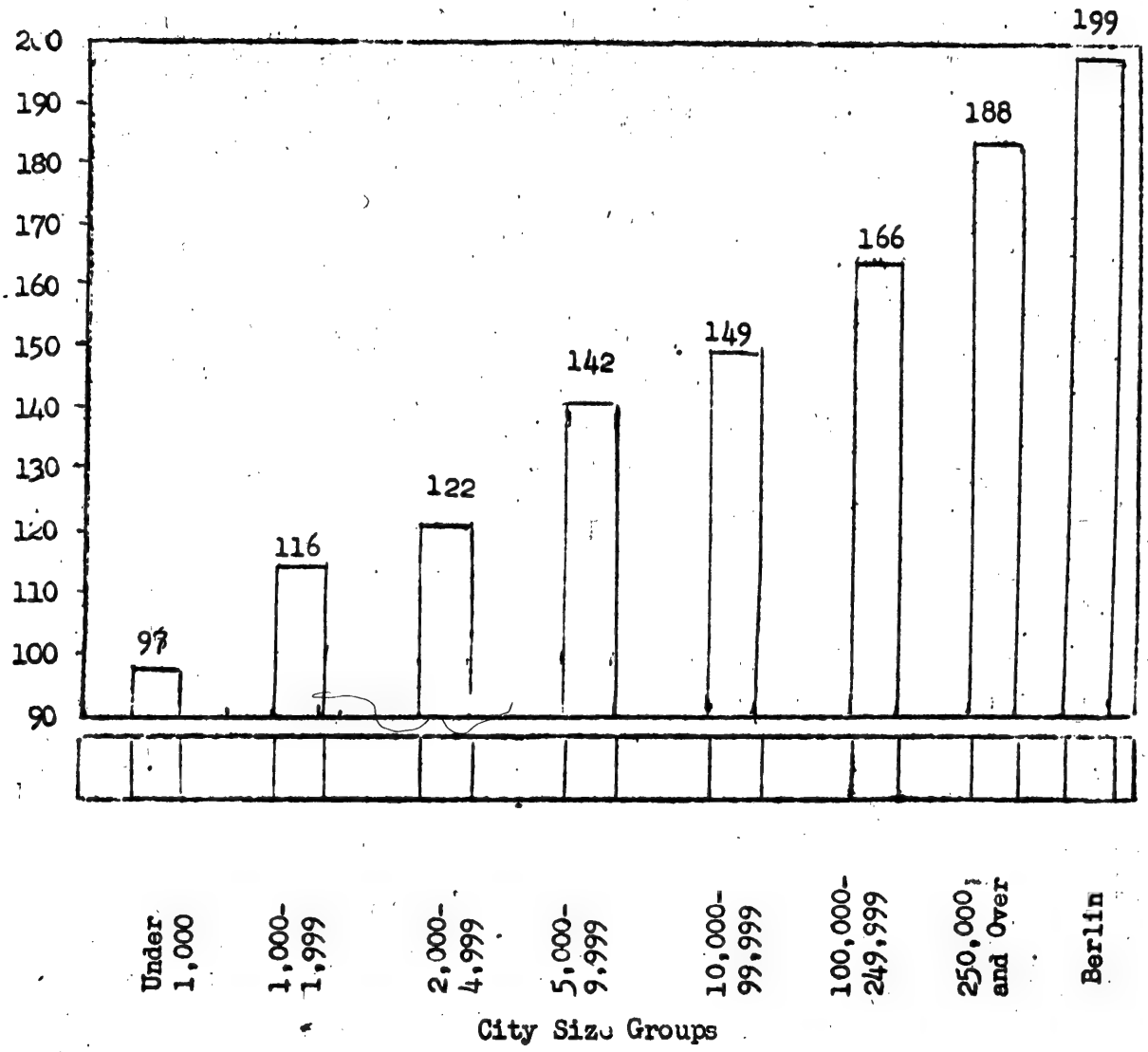
Both age and education have a bearing on income. Maximal income among age groups is found among persons between 40 and 59 years of age. Family incomes of older people are the lowest, while younger people -- those under 40 -- report incomes placing them between the two groups. Income divides sharply along educational lines, with the relatively poorly schooled (8 years or less) having far lower incomes than the better educated (9 or more years).

The following table shows the distribution of monthly income among families in the American Zone. Detailed tabulations of the income of other groups will be found in the Appendix.

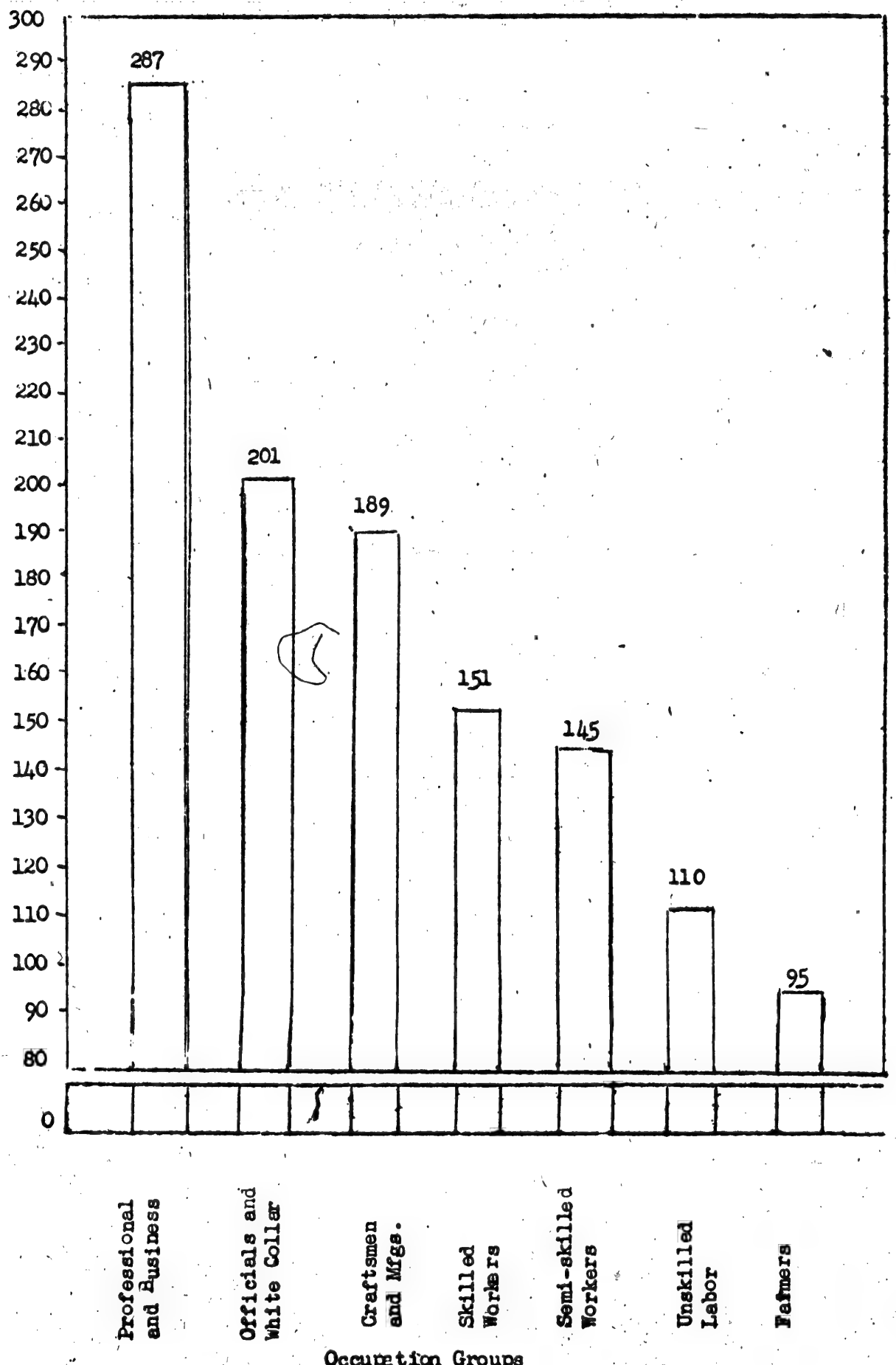
"How much is the income of your family per month?"

	AMZON
Sample	3022
No income	12%
RM 70 or less	13
71 - 120	20
121 - 160	13
161 - 200	16
201 - 250	7
251 - 350	8
More than 350	7
No answer	4
	100
Median	RM 129

FAMILY INCOME BY CITY SIZE GROUPS



FAMILY INCOME BY OCCUPATION GROUPS



ADEQUACY OF FAMILY INCOME

Queried whether the income of the German family was sufficient to meet necessary living expenses, 4 in 10 respondents in the American Zone and half the Berliners say, "No, it is not."

This supports the view that there has been an actual decline in family incomes as the proportion now claiming their income to be inadequate is greater than at any other time since November 1945.

The following tables chart the trend of several studies in the American Zone and Berlin:

"Is your family's total income high enough to cover necessary living expenses?"

American Zone:

	Nov. 1945	Jan. 1946	Feb. 1946	March 1946	May 1946	July 1946	Nov. 1946
Sample	331	972	993	991	1504	1524	3022
Yes	67%	67%	71%	68%	71%	68%	60%
No	33	32	29	31	29	32	39
No answer	-	1	*	1	*	*	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Berlin:

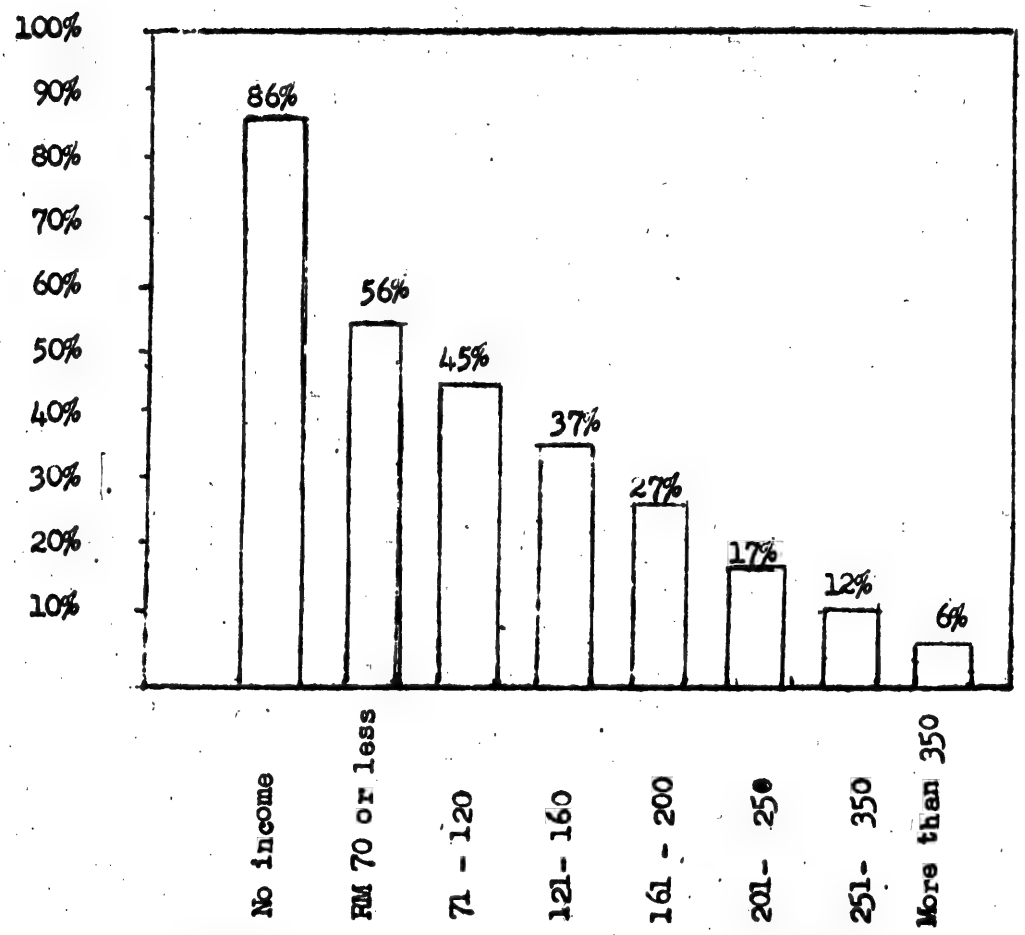
	May 1946	July 1946	Nov. 1946
Sample	194	198	401
Yes	80%	61%	52%
No	20	39	48
No answer	-	-	*
	100	100	100

As expected, families in the low income groups have more difficulty making ends meet than do those with high incomes. Inadequacy of income is directly proportionate to amount of income as shown in the following chart. Yet residents in medium and large sized cities report greater difficulty than do persons living in smaller towns and communities. Others having difficulty are Hessians, women and persons in the working class. (See table in Appendix).

* Less than 1%

FAMILY INCOME AND EXPRESSED INADEQUACY

(To Cover Necessary Living Expenses)



Median average monthly income per family

How to make ends meet ...

The question naturally arises — how then do these people (who say their income is inadequate to meet necessary living expenses) get along. In the Zone, residents rely principaly on savings. But savings are probably beginning to run low, as the proportion claiming they "cannot" get along, or who buy only absolute necessities has increased during the past months. More people are also relying on the aid of friends, relatives and welfare organizations. Berliners, however -- having a market available — tend to rely more strongly on barter and the sale of personal property than on other methods to eke out their living. However, a larger proportion of Berliners than Zonal residents say they are unable to make ends meet. And in Berlin there are fewer people able to draw on savings than in the Zone.

The question and replies to a series of studies in American Zone and Berlin follow:

"How are you able to buy everything you need?"

American Zone

	Nov. 1945	Jan. 1946	Feb. 1946	Mar 1946	May 1946	July 1946	Nov. 1946
Sample	331	972	993	991	1504	1524	3022
"Cannot"	5%	3%	2%	3%	2%	5%	7%
Savings	25	23	23	23	22	23	26
Other means**	2	7	3	4	3	5	7
No answer	1	*	1	1	4	1	*
	33	33	29	31	31	34	40

Berlin

	May 1946	July 1946	Nov. 1946
Sample	194	198	401
"Cannot"	1%	7%	13%
Savings	5	19	10
Barter (selling of personal property)	8	11	18
Aid of friends, relatives, welfare organizations	6	5	7
Part-time work, rent rooms	-	2	2
No answer	2	-	*
	22	44	50

(Some columns total more than the proportion saying their families' income is inadequate to meet necessary living expenses, because some respondents gave more than one answer to this question.)

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* Less than 1%
**Includes bartering, selling of personal property, and relying on friends, relatives and welfare organizations.

ATTITUDES TOWARD TAXES

Slightly more than half the people interviewed in both Berlin and the American Zone, feel that certain taxes are either not fairly apportioned or too high.

In general, the higher the income the greater the objection to present taxes. One exception occurs among residents in the various Laender. In Bavaria where low incomes are more frequent than in the other two Laender, there is most objection to present taxes. Fifty-two percent of Bavarians say taxes are not fairly apportioned and/or should be lowered in contrast to 49% of the respondents in Wuerttemberg-Baden and 44% of those in Hesse.

Among other groups, however, the relationship between monthly income and the desire for lower taxes holds true. Professional and business people, residents in the large cities, persons with more than eight years education, and those in the middle age groups (between 40 and 59) all of whom tend to be in the higher income bracket are most critical. Women with 33% "no opinion" vote, display either disinterest or lack of information about taxes. Men consequently object much more strongly to them (69%) than do women (39%).

Here is the question and the results for the American Zone and Berlin:

"Nobody likes to pay taxes, of course, although most people recognize that taxes are necessary to keep the government operating. Are there any particular taxes or are there taxes on some particular item which you feel are not fairly apportioned or which should be lowered?"

	AMZON	BERLIN
Sample	3042	401
Yes	52%	52%
No	26	30
No opinion	22	18
	100	100

Which taxes should be lowered ....

Berliners, having access to a reputedly flourishing black market -- at least in cigarettes, offer slight objection to the tobacco tax. This holds also for alcohol. Conversely, these two items lead the long list of taxes considered objectionably hi h by respondents in the American Zone.

Berliners, enjoying considerably higher incomes than zonal residents, object most to tax rates on wages, income, property and for community support. Zonal objectors, however, rank these taxes after those on tobacco, li uor and other items classified as "luxury" in the present German economy.

The following table gives the question and complete results for the American Zone and Berlin:

"Which taxes should be lowered?"

	Zonal	Berlin
Sample	3022	401
Tobacco	25%	6%
Alcohol, luxury items	16	4
Income taxes, personal property taxes	14	14
Taxes on wages, community taxes	11	23
Sales tax	4	3
Taxes on necessities (food, matches)	4	2
Taxes on land, real estate, house rent, homes	3	*
Church tax	1	5
Trade taxes	1	1
Others -- vehicles tax, dog tax	*	1
All taxes	2	9
No opinion, no answer	1	*
	82	68

(Columns total more than 52%, the number saying taxes should be lowered, because respondents indicated more than one item on which they considered taxes too high.)

* Less than 1%

CONFIDENCE IN THE CURRENCY

Confidence in the continued value of the Reichsmark has suffered a constant decline since April of last year when it reach its highest level when 54% in the American Zone felt that the mark would be worth as much in six months as it was at that time.[1]

In November 1946, a 43% plurality in [illegible] thought that the mark would drop in value within the next six months. Berliners are more optimistic, with half the respondents saying the mark would hold its value, although there too, optimism has declined.

It is rather surprising that even more people do not expect a downward drop in the value of the mark, in view of discussion in both American and German official circles of a possible revaluation of the currency.

The following table gives the results for both the American Zone and Berlin:

"Do you think that the Reichsmark will be worth as much in six months as it is today?"

	American Zone	Berlin
Sample	3022	401
Yes	39%	50%
No	43	43
No opinion	18	7
	100	100

In general, opinion on the future value of the mark is not crystalized, though certain groups, particularly those lower in the socio-economic scale, appear more optimistic than the more prosperous city dwellers. Thus Bavarians, many of whom live in villages, villagers generally, semi-skilled and unskilled workers and farmers, and people without incomes or with very small ones tend to feel somewhat more strongly than others that the mark will hold its value.

* * *

1 See report, "German Knowledge About and Attitudes Toward Inflation," Opinion Surveys Unit, OMGUS, 8 November 1946.

As to confidence in Allied military money versus the German Reichsmark, the Reichsmark has a slight edge in Berlin, while in the Zone both get about equal support. The significance of the results is not, it is suggested, in the proportion favoring one money over the other, but in the fact that 55% in the Zone and 46% in Berlin say there is no difference between the two. It is impossible to hazard a guess as to whether these people, in saying there is no difference between their confidence in the two monies, signify equal confidence in both or a lack of confidence in either. The fact that those groups which feel most strongly that the Reichsmark will decline in value within the next six months, or fear that economic conditions will get worse tend also to avoid expressing greater confidence in one money or the other, lends credibility to the latter hypothesis. (These tables are shown in the Appendix.

Comparison with an earlier survey (April 1946) shows that while confidence in the two currencies remain unchanged among residents in the Zone, Berliners have completely reversed themselves — previously the Allied mark was favored by a considerable margin.

The results of the two studies follow:

"In which money do you have more confidence — in allied military money or in the German Reichsmark?"

	Amzon		Berlin	
	April 1946	Nov. 1946	April 1946	Nov. 1946
Sample	1501	3022	199	401
Allied money	22%	16%	34%	21%
German mark	20	17	13	30
No difference	45	55	49	46
No opinion	13	12	4	3
	100	100	100	100

THE OUTLOOK FOR THE ECONOMIC FUTURE

Optimism characterizes opinions on the economic outlook for the American Zone of Germany -- with 45% of those interviewed in the Zone and 61% in Berlin saying things will improve. Add the group which feels conditions will at least remain the same, and there are 67% in the Zone and 79% in Berlin indicating that at least conditions will not get worse. Only one in four respondents in AMZON and 13% in Berlin are frankly pessimistic -- "Things will get worse," they say.

These results suggest that efforts of American Military Government directed toward the economicalunification of Germany may have buoyed German hopes. As is well known no other occupying power has argued as strongly as the United States for the principal of economic unity for Germany enunciated in the Potsdam agreement.

(It should be noted that this survey was conducted prior to the merger of the British and American Zones, though negotiations were of course underway, and its effect has no bearing on these findings.)

According to previous surveys the low point in optimism about economic conditions was reached in March 1946. A study made just before Christmas 1945 shows that the German people were then more optimistic about future economic conditions than at any other time.

"Do you believe that economic conditions in the American Zone will improve or get worse in the next six months?"

	AMZON:				Berlin:
	Dec. 1945	Feb. 1946	March 1946	Nov. 1946	Nov. 1946
Sample	466	984	991	3022	401
Improve	78%	52%	37%	45%	61%
Get worse	7	20	38	24	13
Remain the same	10	16	16	22	18
No opinion	5	12	9	9	8
	100	100	100	100	100

Question: "How much is the income of your family per month?"

	Region:		
	Bavaria	Hesse	Wu-Baden
Sample	1722	671	629
No income	11%	17%	10%
RM 70 or less	15	10	9
71 -120	22	19	16
121 - 160	14	10	16
161 - 200	16	14	18
201 - 250	7	6	8
251 - 350	7	8	10
More than 350	6	8	8
No answer	2	8	5
	100	100	100
Median	RM 123	120	150

EDUCATION:

	Less Than 8 years	Eight Years	9 - 11 Years	More Than 11 Years
Sample	1257	1245	344	168
No income	7%	15%	15%	25%
RM 70 or less	17	11	7	2
71 - 120	23	21	12	8
121 - 160	15	14	10	8
161 - 200	17	16	13	13
201 - 250	7	6	10	4
251 - 350	7	8	12	11
More than 350	3	4	17	26
No answer	4	5	4	3
	100	100	100	100
Median	RM 123	121	172	177

CITY SIZE

	Under 1,000	1,000-1,999	2,000-4,999	5,000-9,999	10,000-99,999	100,000-249,999	250,000 and over	Berlin
Sample	790	544	418	227	504	206	333	401
No income	15%	12%	11%	12%	12%	10%	8%	7%
RM 70 or less	18	17	15	10	8	6	4	9
71 - 120	26	20	22	17	18	15	12	10
121 - 160	11	13	17	18	14	14	11	9
161 - 200	12	14	15	18	20	21	20	15
201 - 250	5	6	6	9	8	10	10	15
251 - 350	4	7	9	8	9	10	15	17
More than 350	3	6	3	6	7	10	18	17
No answer	6	5	2	2	4	4	2	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Median RM	97	116	122	142	149	166	188	199

OCCUPATION:

	Professional and Business	Officials and White Collar	Craftsmen and Mfgs.	Skilled Workers	Sâmi-skilled Workers	Unskilled Labof	Farmers
Sample	174	452	288	384	151	350	569
No income	13%	1%	3%	4%	3%	5%	9%
RM 70 or less	2	4	4	4	4	13	24
71 - 120	8	9	16	18	24	39	23
121 - 160	3	10	9	30	30	23	10
161 - 200	9	25	19	27	27	13	12
201 - 250	6	16	11	8	8	3	4
251 - 350	15	20	14	7	4	2	4
More than 350	37	14	16	1	-	-	3
No answer	7	1	8	1	-	2	11
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Median	RM 287	201	189	151	145	110	95

SEX:

	Men	Women
Sample	1315	1701
No income	8%	16%
Rs. 70 or less	9	15
71 - 120	18	21
121 - 160	17	11
161 - 200	18	14
201 - 250	8	6
251 - 350	10	7
More than 350	10	4
No answer	2	6
	100	100
Median	Rs. 153	108

AGE:

	29 and Under	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 - 59	60 and Over
Sample	633	705	744	472	463
No income	15%	15%	10%	7%	12%
Rs. 70 or less	10	11	8	11	27
71 - 120	21	19	19	22	19
121 - 160	15	12	16	14	10
161 - 200	14	17	17	20	10
201 - 250	7	9	7	5	7
251 - 350	5	7	11	10	7
More than 350	6	7	8	7	5
No answer	7	3	4	4	3
	100	100	100	100	100
Median	Rs. 121	132	148	143	95

Question: "Is your family's total income high enough to cover necessary living expenses?"

	Yes	No	No Answer	
Region				
[illegible]	60	39	1	= 100%
Berlin	52	48	-	
Bavaria	60	39	1	
Hesse	57	41	2	
[illegible]-Baden	63	37	-	
City Size				
Under 1,000	66	33	1	
1,000 - 1,999	62	36	2	
2,000 - 4,999	61	38	1	
5,000 - 9,999	60	40	*	
10,000 - 99,999	56	44	*	
100,000 - 249,999	54	46	*	
250,000 and over	54	45	1	
Occupation				
Professional & Business	77	21	2	
Officials & White Collar	72	28	*	
Craftsmen & Mfrs.	83	16	1	
Skilled Workers	62	38	*	
Semi-skilled Workers	64	36	-	
Unskilled Labor	46	53	1	
Farmers	75	24	1	
Education				
Seven years or less	68	32	*	
Eight years	54	45	1	
9 - 11 years	58	41	1	
12 years or more	52	46	2	
Sex				
Men	64	35	1	
Women	58	41	1	
Age				
29 and under	59	39	2	
30 - 39	53	47	*	
40 - 49	65	35	*	
50 - 59	66	34	*	
60 and over	61	38	1	
Monthly Income				
DM 70 or less	44	56	*	
71 - 120	55	45	-	
121 - 160	63	37	-	
161 - 200	73	27	-	
201 - 250	83	17	-	
251 - 350	88	12	-	
More than 350	93	6	1	
No income	11	86	3	
No answer	77	14	9	

* Less than 1%

Question: Nobody likes to pay taxes, of course, although most people recognize that taxes are necessary to keep the government operating. Are there any particular taxes or are there taxes on some particular item which you feel are not fairly apportioned or which should be lowered?

	Yes	No	No Opinion	
Region				
AMZON	52	26	22	= 100%
Berlin	52	30	18	
Bavaria	56	23	21	
Hesse	44	32	24	
W.-Baden	49	26	25	
City Size				
Under 1,000	48	30	22	
1,000 - 1,999	50	23	27	
2,000 - 4,999	49	29	22	
5,000 - 9,999	46	34	20	
10,000 - 99,999	56	22	22	
100,000 - 249,999	62	18	20	
250,000 and over	63	19	18	
Occupation				
Professional & Business	70	17	13	
Officials & White Collar	60	24	16	
Craftsmen & Mfrs.	64	23	13	
Skilled Workers	55	24	21	
Semi-skilled Workers	60	25	15	
Unskilled Labor	50	23	27	
Farmers	50	30	19	
Education				
Seven years or less	54	26	20	
Eight years	47	27	26	
9 - 11 years	58	22	20	
12 years or more	69	19	12	
Sex				
Men	69	22	9	
Women	39	28	33	
Age				
29 and under	47	26	27	
30 - 39	53	22	25	
40 - 49	58	24	18	
50 - 59	57	28	15	
60 and over	45	31	24	

R E S T R I C T E D

Question: Do you think that the Reichsmark will be worth as much in six months as it is today?"

	Yes	No	No Opinion	
Region				
AMZON	39	43	18	= 100%
Berlin	50	43	7	
Bavaria	43	41	16	
Hesse	36	44	20	
W-Baden	31	48	21	
City Size				
Under 1,000	41	38	21	
1,000 - 1,999	43	39	18	
2,000 - 4,999	38	46	16	
5,000 - 9,999	39	44	17	
10,000 - 99,999	39	45	16	
100,000 - 249,999	30	52	18	
250,000 and over	33	46	21	
Occupation				
Professional & Business	33	46	21	
Officials & White Collar	38	49	13	
Craftsmen & Mfgs.	34	49	17	
Skilled workers	38	49	13	
Semi-skilled workers	47	38	15	
Unskilled Labor	38	40	22	
Farmers	42	37	21	
Education				
Seven years or less	41	39	20	
Eight years	37	44	19	
9 - 11 years	38	51	11	
12 years or more	41	44	15	
Sex				
Men	40	47	13	
Women	38	40	22	
Age				
29 and under	41	43	16	
30 - 39	39	43	18	
40 - 49	37	45	18	
50 - 59	39	43	18	
60 and over	39	39	22	
Monthly Income				
RM 70 or less	43	33	24	
71 - 120	34	47	19	
121 - 160	40	41	19	
161 - 200	40	45	15	
201 - 250	41	48	11	
251 - 350	35	55	10	
More than 350	40	47	13	
No income	40	36	24	
No answer	34	36	30	

Question: "In which money do you have more confidence -- in Allied military money or in the German Reichsmark?"

	Allied	German	No Difference	No Opinion	
Region					
AMZON	16	17	55	12	= 100%
Berlin	21	30	46	3	
Bavaria	18	16	53	13	
Hesse	11	22	58	9	
W-Baden	17	14	57	12	
City-Size					
Under 1,000	17	14	52	17	
1,000 - 1,999	16	20	49	15	
2,000 - 4,999	20	14	53	13	
5,000 - 9,999	14	20	54	12	
10,000 - 99,999	16	15	62	7	
100,000 - 249,999	11	21	61	7	
250,000 and over	13	21	58	8	
Occupation					
Professional & Business	14	9	72	5	
Officials & White Collar	13	19	61	7	
Craftsmen & Mfgs.	18	14	62	6	
Skilled Workers	17	22	52	9	
Semi-skilled Workers	14	25	50	11	
Unskilled Labor	17	17	54	12	
Farmers	18	13	48	21	
Education					
Seven years or less	19	14	51	16	
Eight years	14	22	54	10	
9 - 11 years	14	13	68	5	
12 years or more	14	15	63	8	
Sex					
Men	19	16	59	6	
Women	14	18	52	16	
Age					
29 and under	13	21	57	9	
30 - 39	15	19	55	11	
40 - 49	16	15	58	11	
50 - 59	19	15	54	12	
60 and over	19	14	49	18	
Monthly income					
RM 70 or less	18	15	44	23	
71 - 120	17	18	54	11	
121 - 160	20	16	55	9	
161 - 200	13	20	58	9	
201 - 250	18	21	54	7	
251 - 350	15	15	64	6	
More than 350	12	12	72	4	
No income	16	18	50	16	
No answer	13	18	48	21	

Question: "Do you believe that economic conditions in the American Zone will improve or get worse in the next six months?"

	Improve	Get Worse	Remain the Same	No opinion	
Region					
AMZON	45	24	22	9	= 100%
Berlin	51	13	18	8	
Bavaria	43	25	24	8	
Hesse	47	24	20	9	
W-Baden	46	23	18	13	
City Size					
Under 1,000	44	24	21	11	
1,000 - 1,999	43	24	22	11	
2,000 - 4,999	46	22	22	10	
5,000 - 9,999	47	26	20	7	
10,000 - 99,999	47	26	21	6	
100,000 - 249,999	45	23	22	10	
250,000 and over	41	26	25	8	
Occupation					
Professional & Business	30	40	20	10	
Officials & White Collar	43	30	21	6	
Craftsmen & Mfgs.	47	28	19	6	
Skilled Workers	46	25	21	8	
Semi-skilled Workers	51	20	21	8	
Unskilled Labor	45	21	24	10	
Farmers	40	24	23	13	
Education					
Seven years or less	45	21	22	12	
Eight years	48	24	20	8	
9 - 11 years	38	35	21	6	
12 years or more	25	40	28	7	
Sex					
Men	40	32	22	6	
Women	48	18	22	12	
Age					
29 and under	43	24	24	9	
30 - 39	44	26	22	8	
40 - 49	44	26	21	9	
50 - 59	45	26	18	11	
60 and over	48	20	21	11	

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THE TREND OF RUMORS

Report Number 42
5 February 47
Opinion Surveys Unit
Office of The Director of Information Control
OMGUS (Rear) APO 757

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INTRODUCTION ...

This report on the trend of rumors during 1946 in the American Zone of Germany and the American and British sectors of Berlin is based on results from four surveys conducted by OMGUS Opinion Surveys Unit. Berlin results, which are always shown separately, are available for only the last two surveys. The findings are based on scientifically constructed samples which represent true cross-sections of German society. Results of the earlier surveys are subject to somewhat greater error than those of the most recent study, since the latter is based on considerably more interviews.

The Distribution of Rumors ...

... To ascertain fears and apprehensions of German society as expressed in rumors, the following question was asked in all four surveys: "Have you heard any rumors recently which disturbed you?"

... German society today, subject to the vicissitudes of defeat and occupation, lends itself to dissemination and acceptance of rumors. As is well known, rumors thrive when the social atmosphere is disturbed, rising in number as the general or specific situation becomes more tense, falling off as it relaxes. This possibly explains the fluctation during 1946 in the incidence of reported rumors in the American Zone as noted in the following tables:

Proportion in American Zone Hearing Disturbing Rumors (1946)

	Heard Disturbing Rumors	Sample Size
February	33%	954
March	38	964
April	43	993
November	25	3,022

... Within the Laender, Hesse averages are consistently lower than those in Bavaria or Wuerttemberg-Baden.

Bavaria		
February	38%	466
March	44	485
April	54	504
November	25	1,722
Wuerttemberg-Baden		
February	31	250
March	35	245
April	36	250
November	32	629
Hesse		
February	23	238
March	30	236
April	24	239
November	19	671

... Considerable and inconsistent variation of the incidence of rumors is found in various communities. At certain periods large cities report more rumors than smaller communities, while at other times smaller communities may have a higher incidence of rumors. The spread of rumors from different points of origin probably accounts for these periodic variations.

Month in 1946	City Size	Heard Disturbing Rumors	Sample Size
February			
	Over 100,000	28%	175
	10 to 99,999	34	143
	2 to 9,999	46	182
	Under 2,000	29	454
March			
	Over 100,000	45	149
	10 to 99,999	38	175
	2 to 9,999	36	146
	Under 2,000	37	493
April			
	Berlin	34	199
	Over 100,000	34	169
	10 to 99,999	45	169
	2 to 9,999	43	180
	Under 2,000	45	475
November			
	Berlin	31	401
	Over 250,000	35	333
	100 to 249,999	31	206
	10 to 99,999	30	503
	5 to 9,999	18	227
	2 to 4,999	23	418
	Under 2,000	22	1,334

The Content of Rumors ...

... War Between America and Russia

Proportionately, this is the most important rumor encountered in all four polls. In February one out of ten persons mentioned this as a disturbing rumor (30% of total rumors), but by March and April 1946, one out of every three persons interviewed reported this. During this period four out of five of the rumors reported were about a war between America and Russia. The relation between the spread of this rumor in the spring of 1946 and the repercussion of Winston Churchill's speech at Fulton, Missouri, (5 March 1946) may be more than coincidental. By November, however, only one in five of the people interviewed mentioned it. Proportionately, it is most popular in larger communities and among the better educated and higher socio-economic classes.

... Revaluation of the Reichsmark

About one in ten (8%) of the people interviewed reported this rumor in February. Proportionately, it made up a fourth of the total reported rumors during that month. During March and April when war rumors were at their height very few people (less than ½%) mentioned having heard rumors about currency revaluation. By November 1946, when war rumors had declined from its Spring height, 17% of the total reported rumors concerned revaluation.

... Russia Will Take Over More of Germany

This is a consistent rumor found in all four surveys. In February it was reported heard by two out of every 100 persons interviewed and comprised 5% of the total reported rumors. The comparative figure for March and April was 2%. In November this rumor becomes particularized to "Russians are coming into the American Zone" and is 8% of the total mentioned rumors in the Zone. Interestingly, only one out of the 67 people who reported rumors in Berlin mentioned "Russia will take over more of Germany" and in November no one in Berlin said that they had heard it. A possible explanation for this difference may be the relatively greater political sophistication of Berliners as compared with Zonal residents.

... Food Rations Will Be Worse

Three per cent of the rumors reported in February and March 1946 concerned food shortages. By April the topic made up 6% of the total and increased again in November when it reached 9% mention. The high point in Berlin occurred in April 1946, when 8% of the respondents mentioned the rumor, but it declined sharply in November (1%).

... Housing Will Be Worse

Two types of rumors have been current about housing. One is that Americans will take over more homes; the other is that it will be necessary to share facilities with evacuees. In February, for example, 2% had heard that housing conditions would be worse because of American requisitions, and 1% said houses will be shared with evacuees. In March 8% of the rumors concerned Americans, and 1% the evacuees. In April, 4% mentioned Americans and scarcely anyone (2 out of 420) the refugees. At the same time, in Berlin, which had not received evacuees in significant numbers, one out of ten reported having heard rumors that housing will be requisitioned for Americans, but no one mentioned evacuees. In November 1946, rumors about increased housing shortages due to Americans declined to 2% of the total in Berlin, and 3% in the American Zone. At that time, 1% of the rumors reported in the American Zone referred to evacuee demands on housing. (This was confined primarily to communities under 2,000 in population.)

... Other Rumors

Other rumors recorded in these surveys are not constant. Some rumors are concerned with local conditions or current difficulties and thus are confined to particular areas or to specific times. For example, in November, 3% of the current rumors in the American Zone were about the shipment of technical workers to Russia, but in Berlin where deportation had occurred, the rate was 23%. Rumors about atrocities in the Russian Zone were reported in February 1946,

(12%), but not in later surveys. Rumors about the fate of PWs; that human flesh is sold on the black market; that more refugees are coming into the American Zone; that more Jews will come from Poland; that the defendents of the Nuremberg Trial were not put to death; etc., occur from time to time, but not in appreciably large proportions throughout the Zone.

Group Differences ...

Data from the November 1946 study were analyzed to ascertain what group differences, if any, occurred among the people reporting rumors. Results show a consistent pattern, with more of the relatively better informed and higher socio-economic groups not only reporting having heard disturbing rumors than other groups, but also with more emphasis on the "war with Russia" rumor. This is illustrated by the following breakdowns:-

... 36% of the people who claim an interest in politics report disturbing rumors, of which 62% were about a Russo-American war.

... 19% of those not interested in politics report rumors, of which 49% were about war.

... 27% of newspaper readers had heard rumors, of which 56% were about a war, in contrast to
.., 16% mention of rumors by non-readers, of which 48% were war rumors.

... 32% of those who consider themselves sufficiently informed about current news report rumors, of which 61% were about a war, in contrast to
... 19% mention by the uninformed, of which war rumors were 47% of the total.

..., 43% of the people with 12 or more years education reported rumors, of which 59% were about a war, but only
... 23% of people with 7 years or less schooling had heard rumors, of which 53% were about a war.

Finally, among occupational groups, the highest incidence of reported rumors occurred among the professional and academic groups (37%), and the lowest among unskilled workers (14%). And men reported more rumors than women ... 30% compared with 22%.

TABLE I

The Trend In Rumors

	American Zone								Berlin			
	February		March		April		November		April		November	
	A ****	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Sample	311	954	371	964	420	993	755	3022	67	199	123	401
War with Russia	30%	10%	85%	33%	80%	34%	55%	14%	60%	20%	55%	20%
Revaluation of RM	26	8	*	*	1	*	17	4	-	-	2	1
Russia will take over more of Germany	5	2	2	1	2	1	-	-	1	*	-	-
Russia will come into Amzon	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	2	-	-	-	-
Smaller food rations	3	1	3	1	6	3	9	2	22	8	2	1
Housing shortage												
due to Americans	2	1	4	3	4	2	3	1	9	3	2	1
due to Evacuees	1	*	1	*	*	*	1	*	-	-	-	-
Former PGs will suffer	2	1	1	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Inflation	13	4	*	*	1	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Technical workers to be deported to Russia	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	23	7
Eastern territories will be lost	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	*	-	-	1	*
Others ***	20	7	5	2	5	3	5	1	8	3	9	3
No Answer	2	1	1	-	3	2	2	*	1	*	-	-
Total **	104%	35%	103%	40%	102%	45%	105%	25%	101%	34%	104%	33%

* Less than 1/2%

** More than one rumor could be mentioned by respondents

*** Others includes: Human flesh sold on Black Markets; Americans will leave Berlin; many Jews will come from Poland; more refugees will come; Russians will take over Railroad station in Hof; Nuremberg defendants were not put to death; Russians or ler German plants to produce war material; electric production will cease and so will transportation; Nazis are active again, e.g. Saxony bomb attacks, etc.

**** A - Percentage of reported rumors

B - Percentage of total sample who reported rumors

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TABLE II

Regional Distribution of Rumors in November

	Bavaria		Hesse		Wbg.-Baden	
	A ****	B	A	B	A	B
Sample	428	1722	126	671	201	629
War with Russia	53%	13%	54%	10%	61%	19%
Revaluation of RM	15	4	21	4	16	5
Russia will come into Amzon	12	3	5	1	2	1
Food rations will be worse	9	2	6	1	9	3
Housing will be worse due to Americans	3	1	3	1	3	1
due to Evacuees	2	*	2	*	1	*
Silesia will go to Poland -- all Eastern territories will be lost	2	1	2	*	1	*
Technical workers will be deported to Russia	1	*	6	1	6	2
Russia will keep PWs for years	1	*	3	1	-	-
Basic Reform: Property will be expropriated	-	-	1	*	1	*
Others ***	5	1	6	1	5	2
No Answer	3	1	1	*	1	-
Total **	106%	26%	110%	20%	106%	33%

* Less than ½%

** More than one rumor could be mentioned by respondents

*** Others includes: Production of electricity will soon cease; Americans will leave Berlin to the Russians; British shall leave; pensions will no longer be paid; Jews will come from Poland; Russians will dismantle the Pognitz Plant; defendents at Nuremberg were not killed; many burglaries at present; MG will take over denazification; Czechs intend to occupy Upper Palatinate; Russians should occupy Neu Koelln; famine in the British Zone; what happened in concentration camps was only hate propaganda and will not agree with facts; young male population in the Russian Zone can't feel safe, etc.

**** A - Percentage of reported rumors
B - Percentage of total sample who reported rumors

Tables II to IX from November Survey only.

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TABLE III

Rumors According to Rural-Urban Distribution

	Under 1,000		1 to 1,999		2 to 4,999		5 to 9,999		10 to 99,999		100 to 249,999		Over 250,000		Berlin	
	A ***	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Sample	173	790	120	544	95	418	40	227	148	503	64	206	115	333	123	401
War with Russia	42%	9%	50%	11%	59%	13%	62%	12%	56%	17%	62%	19%	70%	24%	65%	20%
Revaluation of RM	25	5	21	5	13	3	13	2	17	5	13	4	6	2	2	1
Russia will come into American Zone	15	3	8	2	7	2	7	1	5	2	3	1	4	2	-	-
Smaller food rations	6	1	4	1	12	3	4	1	7	2	11	5	15	5	2	1
Housing shortage due to Americans	3	1	1	-	3	1	-	-	3	1	8	2	3	1	2	1
due to Evacuees	4	1	3	1	1	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Silesia will go to Poland -- Eastern territories will be lost	2	*	3	1	1	*	2	*	1	*	-	-	2	1	1	*
Technical workers to go to Russia	2	*	3	1	1	*	5	1	7	2	3	1	2	1	23	7
Russia will keep PWs for years	2	*	3	1	2	*	2	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	*
Basic Reform: Property will be expropriated	*	*	1	*	-	-	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	5	1	8	2	7	2	5	1	5	2	5	1	2	1	9	3
No Answer	3	1	2	*	2	*	2	*	1	*	2	*	3	1	-	-
Total **	109%	22%	107%	25%	108%	24%	102%	16%	102%	31%	107%	33%	107%	38%	105%	33%

* Less than $\frac{1}{2}$%

** More than one rumor could be reported by respondents

*** A - Percentage of reported rumors
B - Percentage of total sample who reported rumors

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TABLE IV

Incidence of Rumors Among Various Age Groups

Age In Years	Heard Disturbing Rumors	Sample Size
18 to 29	27%	633
30 to 39	27	705
40 to 49	26	744
50 to 59	23	472
60 to 69	23	345
70 or over	14	118

TABLE V

Incidence of Rumors According To Vocation of Family Breadwinner

Vocation of Family Breadwinner	Heard Disturbing Rumors	Sample Size
Professional or Academic	37%	130
Independent Businessman	35	112
Official	34	222
Independent Craftsman	25	287
Clerk	32	430
Skilled Worker	23	704
Semi-Skilled Worker	21	207
Unskilled Worker	14	157
Farmers and Farm Laborers	20	590

TABLE VI

	Education in Years			
	7 or under	8 years	9 to 11 yrs.	12 or over
Sample	1,256	1,246	344	168
Heard Rumors	23%	22%	36%	43%
Heard No Rumors	77	78	64	57
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Reported Rumors	A ***	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Sample	285	1,257	273	1,245	123	344	73	168
War with Russia	53%	12%	56%	12%	57%	21%	59%	26%
Revaluation of RM	17	4	19	4	16	6	8	4
Russia will come into Amzon	11	2	8	2	4	1	4	2
Food rations will be worse	6	1	11	2	10	4	7	3
Housing will be worse due to Americans	4	1	2	*	6	2	1	*
due to Evacuees	*	*	3	1	-	-	4	2
Silesia will go to Poland -- all Eastern territories will be lost	1	*	2	*	3	1	3	1
Technical workers will be deported to Russia	2	*	1	*	7	2	7	3
Russia will keep PWs for years	1	*	2	*	1	*	-	-
Basic Reform: Property will be expropriated	-	-	*	*	-	-	3	1
Others	7	2	3	1	4	1	7	3
No Answer	3	1	2	*	1	*	1	*
Total **	105%	23%	109%	22%	109%	38%	104%	45%

* Less than 1%
** More than one rumor could be mentioned by respondents
*** A - Percentage of reported rumors
B - Percentage of total sample who reported rumors

TABLE VII

Question: "Do You Read Newspapers?"

	Newspaper Readers	Non-Readers
Sample	2,499	517
Heard disturbing rumors	27%	16%
Heard no disturbing rumors	73	84
	100%	100%

Reported Rumors	A ***	B	A	B
Sample	672	2,499	81	517
War with Russia	56%	15%	48%	8%
Revaluation of RM	16	4	19	3
Russia will come into Amzon	9	2	5	1
Food rations will be worse	8	2	11	2
Housing will be worse				
due to Americans	3	1	4	1
due to Evacuees	1	*	1	*
Silesia will go to Poland -- all Eastern territories will be lost	8	2	20	3
Technical workers will be deported to Russia	3	1	1	*
Russia will keep PWs for years	1	*	4	1
Basic Reform: Property will be expropriated	*	*	1	*
Others	5	1	6	1
No Answer	2	*	1	*
Total**	112%	28%	121%	20%

* Less than ½%
** More than one rumor could be mentioned by respondents
*** A - Percentage of reported rumors
B - Percentage of total sample who reported rumors

TABLE VIII

Question: "Do you ever think about politics or do you prefer to leave it to others?"

	Think about politics	Prefer to leave it to others
Sample Size	1,050	1,930
Yes, heard rumors	36%	19%
No	64	81
No Answer	-	*
	100%	100%

Reported Rumors	A ***	B	A	B
Sample	382	1,050	369	1,930
War with Russia	62%	23%	49%	9%
Revaluation of RM	13	5	20	4
Russia will come into Amzon	6	2	10	2
Food rations will be worse	7	3	10	2
Housing will be worse due to Americans	3	1	3	1
due to Evacuees	1	*	2	*
Silesia will go to Poland -- all Eastern territories will be lost	5	2	1	*
Russia will keep PWs for years	1	*	2	*
Basic Reform: Property will be expropriated	*	*	*	*
Others	6	2	4	1
No Answer	1	*	2	*
Total **	105%	38%	103%	19%

* Less than ½%
** More than one rumor could be reported by respondents
*** A - Percentage of reported rumor
B - Percentage of total sample who reported rumors

TABLE IX

Question: "Are you sufficiently informed about current events?"

	Yes, sufficiently informed	No, not informed
Sample	1,391	1,542
Yes, heard rumors	32%	19%
No	68	81
No Answer	-	*
	100%	100%

Reported Rumors	A ***	B	A	B
Sample	443	1,391	297	1,542
War with Russia	61%	20%	47%	9%
Revaluation of RM	48	15	19	4
Russia will come into Amzon	7	2	10	2
Food rations will be worse	8	3	8	2
Housing will be worse				
due to Americans	4	1	3	1
due to Evacuees	1	*	2	*
Silesia will go to Poland -- all Eastern territories will be lost	4	1	2	*
Russia will keep PW's for years	1	*	2	*
Basic Reform: Property will be expropriated	*	*	*	*
Others	5	1	6	1
No Answer	1	*	3	*
Total **	140%	43%	102%	19%

* Less than ½%
** More than one rumor could be given by respondents
*** A - Percentage of reported rumors
B - Percentage of total sample who reported rumors

R E S T R I C T E D

READERSHIP OF HEUTE, AMERIKANISCHE RUNDSCHAU AND NEUE AUSLESE

Report Number 43
5 February 1947
ODIC Opinion Surveys Unit
OMGGUS(Rear) APO 757

R E S T R I C T E D

INTRODUCTION ...

Policy-makers dealing with any aspect of the reorientation and reeducation of the German people are concerned with the impact of the American story as told in our overt publications. The readership, public acceptance and criticism of three U.S. published magazines -- Heute, Amerikanische Rundschau, Neue Auslese -- have been investigated and analyzed by the ODIC Opinion Surveys Unit. A total of 3423 Germans were interviewed throughout the American Zone and in the American and British sectors of Berlin. The sample was scientifically constructed and represents, in miniature, the adult population of these areas. All field interviewing by the ODIC Opinion Surveys Unit is carried out by a trained and supervised German staff. Interviews were conducted during the first two weeks of November 1946, as part of a broader study of attitudes.

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS ...

... The total readership of the three magazines constitutes more than half of all magazine readership in Germany today. This possibly reflects the highly favorable competitive position of the magazines rather than their true popularity.

Heute has the largest audience of the three, and also the broadest-based readership. Readers of the Rundschau and particularly of Neue Auslese come from the relatively high social strata. None of the magazines has a wide readership among the German masses.

... Circulation figures alone do not give the complete picture of the coverage of the magazines, as more than two people read each copy of the magazines. Most people have no complaints to make about the price of the magazines.

... Public acceptance of the magazines is high, though fewer people, in each case, say the specific magazine is "very good" than call it "good."

... Almost half of the readers of the magazines cannot articulate desired additional content, and those who do suggest a wide variety of topics.

... Indications are that most readers think sufficient coverage is given to U.S. affairs, though a considerable minority feels that in order to get a real understanding of America, more detailed accounts are required. But this probably is a theoretical criticism, rather than an expression of a felt want.

... A majority approves of the tone of the magazines. The dissenting minority bases its criticism mainly on the "foreign" aspect of the magazines as this is expressed in outlook and ideas.

... A minority thinks the magazines should be under German auspices. Majority opinion divides between sole American publication and joint U.S.-German publication.

... Heute gets general acceptance as a picture magazine. In general, readers of Amerikanische Rundschau and Neue Auslese are more critical than Heute readers. This probably is a function of socio-economic status (better educated, more sophisticated people) than of the comparative editorial content of the magazines.

MAGAZINE READERSHIP ...

Of the 3423 people interviewed, 14% report they are magazine readers. The combined readership of the three American sponsored magazines is 9% of the total; the remaining 5% read other magazines only. (More than a third of readers of the American magazines also see other periodicals.) There is of course overlapping in the magazine audiences of Heute, Neue Auslese, and Amerikanische Rundschau, thus the total readership of each in the American Zone is as follows:*

HEUTE	8%
NEUE AUSLESE	4%
AMERIKANISCHE RUNDSCHAU . .	3%

This is a good showing both as compared with total magazine reading in Germany today, and as compared with findings of Stateside magazine research.** However, the exceedingly favorable competitive position of the U.S. sponsored magazines in Germany as against indigenous periodicals must be taken into account if the true popularity of the three magazines is to be accurately measured.

Group characteristics of the readers ...

All three magazines are read in larger proportion by the relatively well-to-do, better educated, more articulate elements in the population than by their counterpart groups. This is of course generally true of magazine readers, anywhere, anytime-- but the indications are that it is particularly the case here. The higher the social status of the individual, the more likely he is to read one or more of the three magazines. Conversely, readership is somewhat less among middle class groups, and much less among the large mass of lower socio-economic people. This means, of course, that the people most in need of information are not being reached by the magazines. Possibly a case could be made for a magazine geared to the interests of this large group.

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* In December 1945, Opinion Surveys polled a small sample of people, asking directly about readership of Heute and Amerikanische Rundschau (but not about Neue Auslese). Then, 6% claimed to read Heute, and 7%, the Rundschau. The differences between these results and those reported above are not statistically significant, so it cannot be definitely stated that Heute is only holding its own, and the Rundschau has slipped somewhat, though the tendency may be in those directions. (Cf. Reported decline in readership in ODIC Weekly Intelligence Digest, ICIS #44, 1 June 1946)

** The three largest weekly mass circulation magazines in U.S., Life, Saturday Evening Post, and Colliers claim, respectively, audiences of 21%, 12%, and 10% of the U.S. population, 10 years of age and over. Readership studies of other magazines, e.g. the news weeklies and the women's group show smaller figures. However, unlike American published magazines in Germany, these audiences are attained in a highly competitive situation.

... But group differences exist among readers of the three magazines. Heute as compared with Amerikanische Rundschau and Neue Auslese has a broader based readership ... more of the poorly educated and less well-to-do, also more Bavarians and women, two groups frequently missed by the other two magazines, are among its readers. Rundschau readers, more than Heute readers are well educated, upper income people, as well as older people. Neue Auslese, in comparison with both, skims the cream of present German intellectual society.

Distribution of readers of American sponsored magazines as compared with those reading other magazines and with non-readers.

	Read Three Magazines				Read Others	Non-Readers
	H	AR	NA	Total		
By Region:						
Berlin	13%	11%	13%	15%	43%	9%
Bavaria	40	32	28	37	19	54
Hesse	25	36	32	25	12	20
Wuerttemb.-Baden	22	21	27	23	26	17
By Education:						
7 years or less	11	8	4	9	16	41
8 years	34	26	21	33	47	46
9 to 11 years	35	28	33	34	21	10
12 or more years	20	38	42	24	16	3
By Age:						
Under 30 years	26	25	22	25	25	19
30 - 39 years	27	21	24	25	20	23
40 - 49 years	29	29	29	29	23	25
50 years and over	18	25	25	21	32	33
By Sex:						
Men	65	74	68	65	42	40
Women	35	26	32	35	58	60
By City Size (excluding Berlin):						
Under 2,000	13	17	13	13	15	43
2,000-9,999	16	9	28	14	9	20
10,000 - 99,999	20	22	32	22	17	14
100,000 and over	38	41	27	36	16	14
By Vocation:						
Prof.& Business	25	32	34	26	16	6
Officials & White Collar	42	37	44	42	34	21
Craftsmen	11	9	8	10	15	9
Skilled Workers	15	15	9	15	17	26
Semi-Skilled	4	1	1	3	7	8
Unskilled	1	3	2	2	2	7
Farmers	*	-	-	*	5	20
None	2	2	2	2	4	3
By Monthly Income:						
RM 90 or less	22	22	21	20	16	34
RM 91 - 190	24	26	17	23	26	36
RM 191 - 290	21	13	22	21	27	19
RM 291 - 390	11	11	10	12	16	6
RM 390 and more	22	28	30	24	15	5
By Religion:						
Catholic (reg)	18	18	19	19	14	37
Catholic (irreg)	23	22	19	21	8	15
Protestant (reg)	14	15	14	15	16	15
Protestant (irreg)	36	34	37	36	52	30
Other	9	11	11	9	10	3

... Further analysis of the characteristics of readers of the three magazines shows that the periodicals tend to reach the people who are already politically oriented rather than those who claim dis-interest in political affairs. Thus, in response to the question: "Do you sometimes think about politics or do you leave that to others?", three-fourths (74%) of those who read the American sponsored magazines, but only one-third (32%) who read no magazines at all answer affirmatively. Moreover ... readers of the three magazines consider themselves better informed, politically. A huge majority (81%) of them answer "Yes" to the question: "Are you sufficiently informed about present day affairs?" But less than half of the non-readers so consider themselves. The preponderance of men (generally conceded to be better informed politically than women in present-day Germany) over women as readers of the three magazines lends further credence to this interpretation.

Also, reflecting the mainly urban coverage of the three magazines, more trade union members tend to read the magazines than to be non-readers. Thus, 16% of trade union members read one or more of the three magazines, and only 9% say they read no magazines at all.

... It is noteworthy, however, that most non-readers of magazines read newspapers (81%). Obviously, it is not inability to read that keeps these people away from the magazines.

... Finally -- to re-emphasize some of the findings presented in tabular form above -- certain groups are not reached by the three magazines or by any magazines: Bavarians (54% of non-readers); women (60% of non-readers); rural people (43% of non-readers); and people with 8 years of schooling or less (87% of non-readers).

Number of readers per copy ...

Circulation figures often do not represent accurately coverage of a magazine; number of readers per copy tells more. As indicated in the following table, Heute is passed along more frequently than are the Rundschau or Neue Auslese, and slightly more people read copies of Neue Auslese than of the Amerikanische Rundschau.

"In addition to you, how many people read this magazine?"

	Readers of:		
	Heute	Rundschau	Neue Auslese
Two or less	29%	46%	41%
Three	23	14	20
Four	19	18	15
Five	13	17	13
Six or more	16	15	11
100% =	241	92	126 cases

... The median average number of people seeing each magazine is 2.9 for Heute, 2.3 for the Rundschau, and 2.6 for Neue Auslese.

Mode of acquisition and attitudes toward price ..

In order to ascertain how people obtained copies of the magazines, readers of the three magazines were asked:

"Do you subscribe to this magazine, or do you buy it at a newsstand?"

	Heute	Rundschau	Ausiese
Subscribe	31%	19%	24%
Buy at newsstand	59	75	66
Borrowed, can't say, etc.	10	6	10
	100%	100%	100%

... Reasons offered for reading the various magazines are correlated with mode of their acquisition. Subscribers to each magazine, in the large majority, said that they read the magazine because they liked it, or specified a type of interest -- news about the world, news about America, the illustrations, interest in foreign authors, the objectivity of presentation. Among newsstand readers, however, large minorities reported that they read the magazines only because they are easiest to get. Practically the same proportion of newsstand buyers of Heute (42%), and the Rundschau (41%), offered this reason for reading, while fewer (30%) of the Ausiese readers accounted in this way for their action. Yet, even among newsstand buyers, a majority gave an accounting which indicates grounded interest in the publication. On this score, Ausiese readers seem to hold greater interest in their magazine than do the readers of the other magazines. It must be maintained, then, that the higher subscription rate of Heute represents an interest at a higher level among more of its readers than is true of the Rundschau. However, Ausiese readers can be said to be nearly as interested in their magazine even when they get it only on the newsstand as when they subscribe. The interpretation is offered that the largest proportion of sincerely interested readers is found among Ausiese readers, and the least among Rundschau readers.

... Little resistance was offered to the price of the magazines. Very large majorities of the readers of each magazine (Heute 87%, Ausiese 80%, Rundschau 76%) accepted the price as a fair expression of value considering the format in which the magazine was cast. One in ten (10%) of the readers of each magazine, however, preferred that the magazine be put out in a more simple form with a reduced price. Consistently, again, a somewhat lower vote of approval was given to the Rundschau.

READER OPINIONS OF THE MAGAZINES ...

To gauge opinions about the magazines, readers were asked several questions, some of which were general in nature, others of which concerned specific editorial criticism.

Acceptance is generally high ...

Queried, "What do you think of Heute (Amerikanische Rundschau) (Neue Auslese) -- is it very good, good, or fair?" the larger proportion in each case voted for "good," though appreciable groups said "very good." Only a few gave the faint praise of "fair" or withheld an opinion.

	Heute	Amerikanische Rundschau	Neue Auslese
Very good	34%	25%	39%
Good	56	61	48
Fair	8	9	6
No opinion	2	5	7

Opinions on magazine content ...

Several questions were asked to get at reader criticism of the three magazines. One question was: "What type of articles and information do you think is lacking in these magazines?" Replies of half of the readers (49%) either indicated no felt lacks or inability to voice a specific criticism. Nor was there any observable difference between readers of the separate periodicals to the question. And among the people who could particularize improvements there was little agreement. Thus ...

... 13% wanted more articles about conditions in the U.S.
... 10% felt there should be more treatment of the cultural fields -- art, music and literature.
... 7% spoke for more attention to German problems
... 7% asked for more articles on science or on natural science
... 4% wanted articles on economic affairs
... 3% a broader treatment of world affairs
... 2% asked for matters of interest to women
... 1% wanted news about the other occupation zones

The remainder (5%) spoke for a wide variety of topics including primarily sport news, religious affairs, and news articles in general.

... Readers of the three magazines were also asked: "What additional fields of interest would you like to have treated, or more fully treated?" Here, too, many were unable to specify suggestions -- especially was this the case with Heute readers, 41% of whom made no suggestions in contrast to 26% of the Rundschau readers and 29% of Auslese readers. Among those who did make requests for specific content, the most frequent mention was for articles on natural science (19%). Art and literature followed with a 12% mention. In descending order were requests for articles on economic affairs and reconstruction (10%), on foreign countries (6%), and political affairs (2%).

No one, it is to be noted, asked here for more articles on the United States. Other requests were for articles on medicine (6%), household and women's interests (4%), religious affairs (3%), social problems (3%). A few (2%) mentioned such topics as philosophy, sports, the nazi period or nazi methods.

... Asked directly, "Do these magazines present enough detailed articles about the United States to enable you to form an objective picture of conditions in America?", a large minority (32%) replied, "No." It is probably incorrect, however, to regard this as a vote for more informative articles about the U.S. Rather, as the context of the questions implies, these are people who think that in order to be well-

informed about the U.S., more detailed accounts are required. Whether or not they want to be so informed is another matter -- and, as already indicated, fewer of them when given the opportunity express such a desire.

A majority of readers, however, of the three American published magazines thought that enough coverage was given to U.S. affairs, though Heute and Rundschau readers (66% and 64%, respectively) were more of this opinion than were readers of Auslese (58%).

Of the people who thought more information was required in order to get an understanding of the U.S. nearly half (45%) urged more articles about daily life there. A smaller number (20%) asked for articles about economic conditions, job possibilities, labor-management strife, etc. Some (11%) suggested accounts of general social conditions and relations between peoples in the States. Others spoke for an interpretation of political affairs (10%); or cultural matters, such as the theatre, Hollywood, new books and authors (10%). A few (8%) wanted to read about youth in the States, or religious affairs, or treatment of the Negroes.

Pictures in Heute ...

Heute as a picture magazine is generally well received by its readers. Asked to state how they liked the pictures in comparison to the stories, three-fourths replied favorably, though only a third gave unqualified approval. Only one in ten thought the pictures poor, largely on these grounds: they were foreign to German taste and customs, they represented an abasement of American modes, they were too realistic, or they were too American.

Readers of all of the three magazines were somewhat more critical of the pictures than those who read only two of them, or read only Heute.

"How do you like the pictures in Heute compared with the stories, etc.?"

	Heute	Readers of: Heute & Rundschau or Auslese	Heute, Rundschau, Auslese	All Heute Readers
Very good	32%	38%	27%	32%
Good, OK	44	38	44	43
Fair	13	14	11	13
Poor	9	8	16	10
No opinion	2	2	2	2
Sample Size	146	50	45	241

"German" taste and problems of tone ...

Asked their opinions on the "tone" of the three magazines, the majority of readers (68%) regardless of magazines read spoke approvingly. Most frequent comment of the dissenting minority was the undue optimism of the magazines in light of present conditions in Germany.

"How do you like the general tone of the magazine -- is it too terse, does it scold too much, or does it present things in too rosy a hue?"

All right as it is	68%
Too rosy a hue	15
Too critical of Germans	3
Over-simplified	1
No opinion	13

... However, responses to another question indicate that few people are able to articulate possible changes in tone. Asked, "What changes would you suggest in Heute (Amerikanische Rundschau) (Neue Auslese) in order to make it suit your taste and the taste of others more closely?", large majorities were unable to specify suggestions. Those falling in this category for each of the three magazines are: 71% for Heute readers, 62% for Neue Auslese, and 60% for Amerikanische Rundschau.

Most frequent comment by those who do suggest changes is that not enough account is taken of German conditions, that this background seemed to be lacking as a base from which writers could view their subjects.

The only other comment, offered consistently, is the suggestion that more diverse material be included in the magazines. Each magazine, it was said, should carry material on art and culture, movies, entertainment features, and illustrated articles. In general, Heute readers made fewer suggestions for changes than did readers of the other two magazines. Rundschau readers made the most suggestions.

... Probing further, readers of the magazines were asked: "Do you get the impression from these magazines that they are presented from the point of view of foreigners, or do you really feel that the articles are written by Germans for Germans?" As noted in the following figures, more people tended to think the viewpoint was foreign than thought it German. However, there was a large "no opinion" vote for each magazine. Again, Heute readers were least critical:

	Readers of:		
Viewpoint is:	Heute	Rundschau	Auslese
Foreign	41%	51%	52%
German	35	23	23
No opinion	24	26	25

Among those who detected something "foreign" in the assumptions, standards, language, etc. of the periodicals, there was overwhelming agreement that it was the outlook and ideas which they had in mind. Only a few mentioned the tone or language. With this in mind, it is easily understandable why criticism of the Rundschau and Auslese was more frequent than that of Heute. The moral is that an article written in America and perfectly translated into the German idiom may strike a false note merely by using a different set of assumptions* regarding the most ordinary situations. A few false phrases of this type can vitiate a whole web of fine reasoning.

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* Sound assumptions about conditions in Germany today can be built up from careful reading of "The Trend of Cares and Worries in Germany" OMGUS, Opinion Surveys Unit, Report #29, 21 November 1946

Publication policies ...

Only a minority thought that the magazines should be under German control (20%). The remainder either advocated publication by the occupation forces (36%), or a cooperative venture -- i.e. joint occupation and German publication (34%). Readers of the three magazines did not differ on this.

Solid majority sentiment (63%) too, favored keeping political party affairs out of the magazines, though one-third (32%) did think that the parochial aims of all political parties should be served by the periodicals. Again, readers of the three magazines held similar opinions. Nor did adherents of any one political party differ in their views. Moreover, people who disapproved of all the existing parties -- usually a hypercritical group -- did not wish to exclude all party news any more frequently than did party followers. Evidently majority sentiment cuts across party lines and favors a continuance of non-partisan editorial policy.

Conclusion ...

The basic question in magazine research is "Does the magazine reach its largest potential audience?" Does it, in other words, serve its intended purpose? In this respect, the three magazines discussed in this report are not unqualifiedly successful ... they have not reached their maximal potential, despite their favorable competitive position. One reason for this interpretation is the relatively large number of people who by virtue of education, income or job status could be expected to be magazine readers, but are not. Thus of the non-readers, 13% have had 9 years or more education, 37% are in the upper job strata (professional, business and white collar) and 30% have monthly incomes of RM 190 or more. The fact, also, that 8 in 10 of the non-readers are newspaper readers must be taken into consideration. For, as already stated, this means that illiteracy is not an important reason for non-readership.

Some light on how the appeal of the magazines may be broadened is found in the criticisms of the readers. Recall, for example, that half of the readers of the Rundschau and Auslese think that the magazines are "foreign" in outlook and ideas, that 15% of the readers of the three magazines feel the viewpoint is too Pollyannish, that other critics say the German slant is lacking. Admittedly, of course, the magazines are designed to tell the American story -- but to Germans. That, by and large, they satisfy their present readers in this respect is apparent from this report. Consideration of the criticisms offered might well not only please the present magazine audience, but extend its scope and the effectiveness of this approach to Germans.

RESTRICTED

OPINIONS OF GERMAN COMMUNITY LEADERS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Report Number 44
February 6, 1947
ODIC Opinion Surveys Unit
OMGGUS(Rear) APO 757

RESTRICTED

INTRODUCTION ...

During the first two weeks of November 1946, in the course of a regular survey of the American Zone and of Berlin by the Opinion Surveys Unit of ODIC, 180 villages, towns, and cities were visited within the Zone. In each of these places one person was sought out who was recognized to be a "community leader." Specially briefed on this assignment, the German interviewers carried a special questionnaire into the community leaders' homes and asked them about their attitudes toward some international problems. Eight persons were interviewed in Berlin to give a grand total of 188 persons who were intensively interviewed on these problems.

SUMMARY ...

This group of German leaders looks out upon the world with a fairly consistent set of assumptions. The leaders feel that few Germans desired world hegemony in 1938 -- and these few consisted largely of those who would profit through position or material gain from such a rule. They agree, in the main, that the US should stay for another ten years, and think that we will stay that long. In general, they protest friendliness toward America and England, less toward France and least toward Russia. They insist that economic unification of the four Zones of occupation is basically important. A majority look toward the U.S. as leading the way in important world events during the next ten years, although a sizeable minority expect Russia to play this role. Many of them have been impressed by the Nuernberg Trials and by Secretary Byrnes' speech as important milestones during the past year. But the Trials, they feel, have not done too much toward establishing truly international law since the rule of law has been applied to Germany alone. Finally, they are evenly divided about the possibilities of another major war -- half think it is more likely than unlikely, half think it can be avoided. This dreary outlook is not enlivened by their anticipation of German efforts in the direction of international affairs.

Who Are Recognized to be Community Leaders? ...

The interviewers were asked to talk to people whose interest and activity in community affairs marked them apart as "leaders" within the separate communities. Qualifications for such a position varied markedly, of course, according to the social structure of the community itself. However, it is possible to generalize from the data.

Of the 188 community leaders, 185 were men. The three women interviewed, in Bavarian villages, were white collar workers -- one a school teacher, one a person with professional training. All three were employed.

The distribution of these people among religious affiliation groups reflected the cross-section nature of the sample. About half of them were Catholic (51%), the rest were Protestant (42%), adherents to minor sects or without church affiliation (7%).

They belonged to a rather narrow age range. Half of them were between 44 and 59 years of age, with one-fourth younger, and one-fourth older.

As active senior members of their communities it was to be expected that they held responsible positions through which they earned their livelihood. More than half (56%) were employers and one in eight (12%) were farmers. Government officials were represented in rather large proportion. More than one-fourth (27%) work for the German government. This represents an appreciable increase over the proportion trained for this work. Indeed, the group had shifted rather sharply away from some former occupations for which they had been trained, to other positions. Whereas three in ten (30%) were professionally trained people, only about one in five (22%) are now engaged in professional work. One in twelve were trained as skilled craftsmen, but less than 1% now are engaged in this type of work. An increase was found in those now working for the government (from 16% trained to 27% now engaged). And, finally, 5% were now unemployed but who had previously been employers or employees.

Their educational training was remarkably diverse. A plurality (41%) had college training, but a large minority (29%) had had only 7 years or less education. It is indicated that there is a not insignificant minority among Germany's present leaders who have not been formally trained for the work but who have had leadership thrust upon them.

An indication of the energetic activity of this group of people is given by the proportions who presently belong to a political party. Almost as many claimed membership (45%) as did not (55%). Among party members preference for particular groupings showed the right and center (55%) slightly overshadowing the left (45%). In fact the proportions are about those of the population at large.

Among the slightly larger group which did not belong to a party, the right and center were appreciably stronger because of the defection of an appreciable minority from politics altogether. One-fifth of the non-members said they wanted nothing to do with politics any more, that they were interested in no party, or in politics itself. These individuals tended to be slightly older than the group as a whole (the median average age of the whole group was 49 years, if this portion of it, 54 years). More of them, too, were well educated, and professionally trained, than were the entire group of community leaders. Nearly two-thirds of those who denied politics lived in Bavaria. The implications of these findings are that there is a fraction of the able and trained and active elements in the population who are failing to inspire respect for and confidence in political activities in Germany today. Comments of these men to this point portrayed an attitude of disillusionment which was so intense that the best that the various parties had to offer in the way of programs seemed flat and pale beside what was wanted. These men, too, indicated scepticism about the abilities of present party leaders. From their superior position as the better educated, better trained fraction of the population, they tended to "see nothing that is being accomplished," or not to find "leaders to be able and competent. We need men with integrity and political orientation."

Attitudes of Community Leaders ...

Each of the leaders was asked to estimate the proportion of Germans who wanted to rule the world in 1938. The question was put: "It is often charged that a large part of the German people wanted Germany to be given a chance to rule the world. How many Germans do you believe really wanted this, say in 1938?" A large proportion defended the German people from this charge by saying that only few Germans ever wanted such a thing. As many as three-fourths of the leaders said that less than 25% of the Germans ever wanted such a thing, and half of the leaders said that 10% or less had such designs. Comments made by those interviewed again revealed a desire to defend Germans, in general, against such a charge. About half (49%) of the leaders said that only the militarists, or the capitalists, or the profiteers, or the Prussians, or the Nazi leaders wanted to rule the world. One in five (20%) pointed out that the simple folk who seemed to be motivated by such a desire were, really, misled by their leaders and did not realize the implications of their actions. A few justified the desire by pointing to positive reasons ("Lebensraum") which should be recognized to support such an "honest" desire.

When asked whether they believed that these people (who wanted to have Germany rule the world) had learned their lesson from this war, or whether "they would support another German drive, if the occasion should arise?", a solid majority (66%) said they thought that the few whom they charged with the desire had learned a lesson. However, almost one-third (31%) thought that the people accused of having entertained thoughts of world supremacy would try again. In the eyes of these community leaders, then, very few Germans had wanted world conquest, and most of the leaders believed that even these few were now chastened citizens.

... The community leaders were asked to recall the two most important events which had occurred since the end of the war, either in Germany or outside Germany, and which would certainly live forever in their memories.

Four in ten of those questioned named the Nuernberg Trials as one such event. The next largest proportion spoke of the speech of Secretary Byrnes (30%). Other recollections, in order of mention, were: the treatment of the evacuees (17%), tests of the atomic bomb (11%), Paris Peace Conference (6%), collapse of Germany (4%), the first free elections (4%), and Churchill's defeat in the English elections (4%). A wide variety of other events were mentioned, but the total of mentioned topics did not average two per person. Possibly this highly intelligent and well-trained group of people was rather reluctant to reveal some memories, tucked away, especially those uncomplimentary to the Allies. For the interviewers reported that four of the 188 persons interviewed evaded answering the question and could not be brought to express a direct reply. It might also be said, however, that events such as the Nuernberg Trials hold no counterpart in implication for German people, and perhaps overshadowed other recollections.

The disposition of these people toward each of the four Powers shows interesting variations. Large proportions said they liked the Russians and French less than they did a year ago, whereas almost four in ten claimed to like the Americans better than formerly, as did three in ten, the British. However, over half claimed their feelings toward the British had not changed.

"Is you attitude toward the U.S. (England) (France) (Russia) friendlier or less friendly than it was a year ago?"

	U.S.	England	France	Russia
Friendlier	37%	28%	11%	3%
Less friendly	17	6	39	54
No change	45	64	45	37
No opinion	1	2	5	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Results of another question bear out the impression that among these German leaders there are many persons skeptical of inter-allied cooperation. Everyone was asked whether he thought the chances were that there would be another war within the next 25 to 30 years, or whether the chances were greater that war would be avoided. Just as many voted on the one side as on the other (47%) with a few (6%) unable to decide.

Yet, nine in ten (91%) leaders agreed that the Nuernberg trials had set up, as one of its most important results, an international legal basis for trying those who commit crimes against humanity or against peace. Evidently, some skepticism about the efficacy of such international law pervades the thinking of many of Germany's present community leaders. Basis for such skepticism can be read out of the comments made when queried to this point. A sizeable minority of those questioned (30%) offered the criticism that aggressors against peace and humanity in other countries were not being charged under the law which is being put into effect at Nuernberg. One is forced to conclude that an appreciable minority of the thoughtful and active leaders in Germany today feel that little progress has been made in preventing future wars, and that such legal arrays as erected at Nuernberg are constructed only for the particular situation without any thought or plan for a more general application.

Asked to estimate how much longer the Americans would occupy Germany, three-fourths said that it would be for at least ten years more if not longer. And one-fourth thought the Americans would occupy Germany for more than 20 years longer. The median average estimate was ten years. A large majority (76%) backed up their best guesses as to the duration of the American occupation with the assertion that the Americans "should" stay that long. Nor was there any variation among the proportions "approving" the stay of the Americans when the answers of those estimating various time-spans were compared. Just as many of those who thought the Americans would stay less than ten years, thought they should stay that long, as did those who thought the Americans would stay 20 years more.

Comments frequently made indicated that the Americans were welcomed to "combat Communism" or "to keep peace and order or watch political developments," or "to prevent war and insure peace." A few thought Americans were needed to teach democracy and to reeducate the youth. Comments made by those who thought the Americans should not stay as long as anticipated indicated that they felt that Germany could well control itself soon, that the costs of the occupation were too great, that responsibility could well be given over at this time so that economic unity could be achieved. In the main, qualifications offered indicated that the Americans were welcomed "until the world situation is clarified" -- that is, until it is made clear "what the others will do."

This apprehensive outlook of the German leaders interviewed was sharply revealed in their replies to the question: "In your opinion, which country will have the greatest influence upon world affairs in the next ten years?" A majority (55%) thought that America would play this role. Only 15% thought that Russia would do so and (21%) thought it would be America or Russia. In view of the anti-Russian outlook of this population, it must be concluded that fear by significant proportion of the leaders is expressed in these results. Uncertainty, doubt, insecurity, certainly mark their thinking on problems where such a basic assumption sits so uneasily.

For such an assumption must have an effect whenever German problems are considered. Hope for unification of the four Zones -- a basic German concern today -- is bolstered certainly by conviction that the Allies will work out real solutions to their mutual problems. The degree of concern over a matter such as unification of the Zones is revealed by the replies of the community leaders to the question: "Today a primary problem of ours (Germans) is the unification of the separate Zones of Germany. In your Opinion, which is more important to achieve first -- the economic or the political unity of these Zones?" A large majority (77%) considered economic unification was more important than political unification and 10% thought the two were inseparable. Another 10% spoke for political unity. Few had no opinion (3%). It is evident that the matter of unification is viewed by the leaders as involving human welfare and, larger, German reconstruction. It can be interpreted that they seem to be saying that "economic unity at least may be hoped for."

Very large majorities favor a United States of Europe and German participation in world affairs. More than eight in ten (82%) said they favored the proposal when asked: "It is often proposed that a central government be erected for all European countries. Would you favor such a step or not?" About the same proportion (85%) spoke for active participation in reply to the question: "What do you think would be best for Germany -- active participation in world affairs or no participation in world affairs?"

The interpretation is offered that a union of the European countries is primarily viewed as advantageous from the economic, political and military view. It is also probably accepted by some because it offers a plausible solution to the international struggles of Europe in addition to providing the possibility of German influence over an important bloc of nations. In addition, at this time, such a proposal would find adherants because every step in this direction would signal the approaching end to German subordination in continental and world affairs.

Traditional thinking along the lines of "power politics" was exemplified in the replies of the leaders to a question asking them to name the countries within Europe with which Germany should ally herself as a first step in the direction of a united Europe. The largest single reply (24%) stated simply "western European countries" and revealed the consistency of anti-Russian feeling previously discussed.

Many people, however, named specific countries. The table below shows the proportions suggesting each country:

France	33%
England	20
Belgium	16
Holland	16
Austria	13
Switzerland	10
Other (11 countries)	13
	121%

When the replies are considered from the point of view of groups of countries which were named a consistent tendency was revealed for the leaders to speak of power blocs led by the important European countries (to which Germany was allied) while other states were seen as satellite nations. In this regard, however, there was a notable exception -- Czechoslovakia was named by only three of the 188 persons questioned. The indication is, again, that these German leaders were firmly opposed to an alliance with eastern countries or countries oriented toward the east. On the contrary, the feeling was widespread that through an alliance with France, England, Belgium, Holland and Austria, a firm bloc could be formed which could easily dominate Europe and would be powerful enough to stand firmly in the international sphere.

The thinking of the leaders reflected to some extent the language of Nationalsocialism. Among the replies given to the question recurrent words exemplified the dominant propaganda of the Third Reich. Such words were used as "Heartland," "Germanic countries," "nordic nations," "drive toward the East."

Yet not all those questioned were willing to view the problem in the terms offered. An appreciable minority (15%) said that they did not like the idea at all and opposed it heartily. This position was most frequently justified on the grounds that Germany would compromise her position as a contender for inclusion within the larger system of a European bloc if she should first align herself with a smaller group. Germany, it was said, would end by being weaker than she might be if she should accept such a proposal as a "first step," since the second step would then be harder to achieve. There were some, too, who said that Germany, as the nation in the middle of Europe, was so located geographically that other nations needed to ally themselves with her rather than she with them. These few people proposed that Germany was peculiarly in a position to provide the core of any United States of Europe and so was obviously destined to control, in and of herself, such a union. This minority sentiment, however, was greatly overshadowed by the large majority who saw the problem as one to be solved in terms of German accretion of power in Europe and in the world.

Their Views on Peace ...

Finally, the community leaders were asked what steps they felt were necessary to be taken today, and in the long run, to implement Secretary Byrnes' enunciated policy of a lasting peace, proposed in contradistinction to a "soft" or "hard" peace. Some uncertainty about future contingencies was shown in the fact that only about eight in ten (82%) could propose long-run steps felt necessary, while nearly all of the group interviewed (95%) made suggestions about necessary steps today.

... Proposals most often made for today (55%) were economic in nature. They dealt with raising the standard of living, bettering working conditions, increasing the food ration, eliminating unemployment, speeding up the distribution and production of raw materials and finished products, enlivening international trade, or settling the currency problems in Germany. These people held that once such matters were settled and Germany were on a sound economic basis, peace could be considered on a realistic basis as ensured as "lasting." But a large minority group (33%) proposed that what was most needed was increased cooperation among the Allies. While this was not always stated bluntly, it could be inferred from such suggestions as "settle German boundaries," "lift zonal barriers," "give Germany just one peace treaty," "Settle the atom bomb problem," or, directly, "heighten the cooperation between the U.S. and Russia." A few others remarked about some policy and political problems which, they felt, need settlement today. They suggested: "teach democracy to us," "give Germany a central government," "make the denazification program more just," or "provide a new political reorientation for Europe."

... Suggestions made, for the long run, to achieve a lasting peace, emphasized again the need for inter-allied cooperation. No majority agreement was reached among these community leaders on any particular step, but a small plurality (29%) insisted that cooperation was basically necessary. This was frequently broadened to include "mutual understanding and confidence among the nations of the world." Long-run economic proposals, offered by a smaller proportion (16%), reiterated the desire for better standards of living, increased trade and import-exports, revitalization of German industry. The constant thread throughout the suggestions offered in the long term, however, was the expressed need for reconstruction of Germany. This felt need was voiced in various contexts, such as, "Germany should be united again to better her living conditions," or "Leave self-administration to the Germans," or "democratic steps need to be taken," or "Take us back into the family of nations," or "Establish a truly democratic country," or "Give us Lebensraum."

The implications of the findings on these two questions are that some leadership elements in German society are seriously restricted in their outlook upon international affairs. Nationalist sentiment confines their thinking within former frames. Little understanding of any real internationalism was exhibited. Rather, large proportions viewed progress as progress toward internal well-being of Germany as a nation (which was thought to predispose her away from war), and as progress toward making Germany again a powerful, and perhaps dominant, nation among nations.

RADIO LISTENING IN THE AMERICAN ZONE AND IN BERLIN

REPORT NUMBER 45
17 February 1947
Opinion Surveys Unit
Office of the Director of Information Control
OMGUS (Rear) APO 757

INTRODUCTION ...

This report on the radio audience summarizes results of a survey made during the last two weeks of October 1946 by Opinion Surveys, ODIC. Interviews were conducted with 3268 Germans in the American Zone and in the American and British sectors of Berlin. The sample is scientifically constructed and represents a true cross-section of the population. All interviews are made by a specially trained German staff. In the report, Berlin figures are shown separately, and wherever it is indicated, Laender breakdowns are given for the American Zone.

Summary of the findings ...

... A majority in all the Laender of the Zone and two thirds in Berlin are radio listeners.

... In each Land, the most frequently heard station is that of the Land metropolis, mainly because of good reception. In Berlin, the Russian sponsored station has the largest audience and for the same reason.

... Secondary listening covers diverse stations among which Radio Stuttgart is most popular. Leipzig, among non-Zonal stations is also heard by fairly large minorities.

... Laender residents tend to consider their local stations as best, but here again good reception plays an important part in forming judgments. Most of the radio audience find it difficult to name the station they like least.

... Radio listeners tend to be better educated, city people. Very old people listen less frequently than other age groups. Among occupational groups, farmers are underrepresented.

... Opinions on programs are quite consistent. Listeners tend to think their local stations have the best programs; they strongly prefer music of the lighter varieties, and most of them want at least half the radio time given over to music.

Factual news reporting gets the approval of the Zone, but Berlin favors commentaries. The Zone balances between "personalized" and impersonal reporting of the news, but Berlin prefers the former.

... "Stimme Amerika" covers three quarters of the Zone audience, but only a third in Berlin. The program reaches large proportions of the various population groups within that audience. Best liked part of the program are the news features.

... Radio listeners think that radio gives the most accurate news, but that the newspapers present the most complete news.

... A majority of Zonal listeners say radio does not propagandize too much, but Berlin strongly disagrees on this. Majorities in both places say radio is censored.

... Sunday and Saturday are the favorite listening days, among those with any preferences. Largest audience occurs between 1900-2000 o'clock.

RADIO LISTENING IN THE AMERICAN ZONE AND IN BERLIN ...

To ascertain the total number of adult radio listeners in the American Zone and in the British and American sectors of Berlin, people were first asked whether they listened to the radio, and if so whether they used their own radio or listened over someone else's radio. Results show that about half the people in the Zone and two-thirds in Berlin are radio listeners. As noted in the following figures, there is no inter-Land difference:

	Berlin	Bavaria	Hesse	Wuertt.-Baden	Total Amzon
Listeners	67%	51%	51%	50%	51%
Non-listeners	33	49	49	50	49
100% =	407	1565	669	627	2861 cases

Stations heard most frequently ...

Radio listeners in the Zone tend overwhelmingly to tune in the metropolitan station of their own Land. Asked which station they listened to most often, their answers fell this way in each of the Laender:

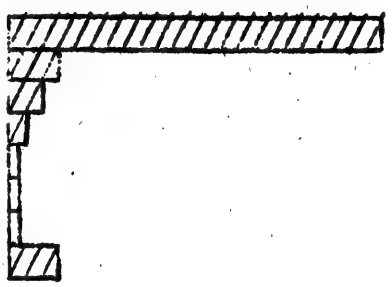
Bavaria ...

Munich	79%
Stuttgart	7%
Leipzig	6%
Frankfurt	2%
Others	6%



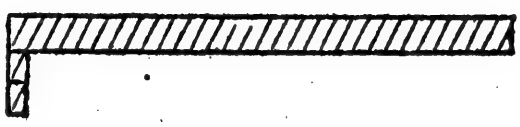
Hesse ...

Frankfurt	70%
Stuttgart	8%
Leipzig	6%
Hamburg	4%
Munich	1%
Luxemburg	1%
BBC	1%
Others	9%



Wuerttemberg-Baden ...

Stuttgart	93%
Munich	3%
Others	4%

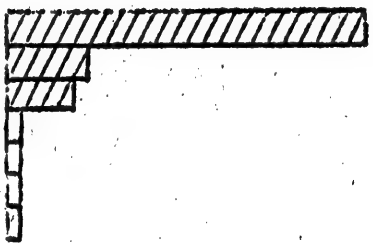


Predominant reasons for the ...

monopoly on local audiences in each of the three Laender is not the intrinsic popularity of the station, but rather the good reception. Nine out of ten listeners in each Land give this as their reason for tuning in on the metropolitan station most frequently. Thus if a rival station increased its power, or if better receiving sets were available, audiences might shift accordingly.

... This is illustrated in Berlin where the competition is somewhat greater than in the Zone. But in Berlin, too, the most powerful station has the largest number of listeners and, again, largely because of a clearer signal. "Most frequently heard" stations in Berlin are:

Berlin (Russian)	67%
Berlin (U.S.)	16%
Hamburg (British)	13%
Frankfurt	1%
BBC	1%
AFN	1%
Others	1%



Secondary listening ...

Queried on what other stations are listened to, people named a variety of outlets. Of special interest is the proportion in each Land who named their metropolitan station as also heard, as this gives the total Land coverage of each. When primarily and secondary audiences for each Land are combined:

... 80% of the Bavarian audience hear Radio Munich
... 83% of the Hessian audience hear Radio Frankfurt
... 98% of the Wuerttemberg-Baden audience hear Radio Stuttgart

... Of all the Laender stations, Radio Stuttgart has the largest audience outside its boundaries. Thus, 41% of Bavarian and 30% of the Hessian radio listeners say they sometimes hear Stuttgart. Radio Munich is occasionally heard by 12% of the Hessian and 24% of the Wuerttemberg-Baden audience. Radio Frankfurt numbers among its occasional hearers, 7% Bavarian and 11% of Wuerttemberg-Baden listeners. Only 2% of the American Zone audience say they also listen to AFN.

Of the stations outside the Zone, Leipzig is the only one with an important secondary following ... 22% in Bavaria, 15% in Hesse and 8% in Wuerttemberg-Baden sometimes tune in on that station.

Stations liked best ...

It is not surprising that votes for a favorite station parallel those for the "most frequently heard" outlet. People are not likely to tune in constantly to a station they actively dislike -- unless of course they are unable to get clearer signals from other stations. That this is partially the case in Germany today has already been shown in that most people give "good reception" as their main reason for tuning in a particular station most often. The fact that the vote of approval is in all instances lower than that for the primary audience is further evidence of the relationship between reception and listener loyalty. Further indication is the fact that when asked why they like a given station best, the argument of "good reception" again comes forward most frequently. The Laender and Berlin votes for best liked station are:

... 62% for Stuttgart in Wuerttemberg-Baden
... 57% for Munich in Bavaria
... 41% for Frankfurt in Hesse
... 40% for Berlin (Russian) in Berlin

... A clear signal is not of course the only reason for a station's popularity. Thus in Bavaria as many mention good programs (22%) and good music (20%) as the reception (23%). Comparable votes in Hesse are 14%, 17% and 26%. In Wuerttemberg-Baden, 14% speak of the good programs, 11% the music and 32% the clear signal. Berliners give a 32% argument for good reception, 15% for the programs and 12% for the music. Newscasts get about a 5% vote from all quarters and other reasons get infrequent mention or are vaguely phrased.

Most disliked station ...

In the Zone very few listeners are able to state what station they dislike most -- reflecting of course the fact that most do not hear many stations. Three quarters in Bavaria and Hesse and almost nine in ten (87%) in Wuerttemberg-Baden cannot express an opinion on this. In Berlin, 62% withhold judgment. However, in no case does an outside station get greater censure than the local one, even though that vote is usually quite insignificant. Stuttgart, for example, is liked least by 3% of the total audience in Wuerttemberg-Baden -- rivaling Berlin for that Land's scallion; Munich gets the disapproval of 6% of Bavarian and Frankfurt by 8% of Hessian listeners. Berliners (32%) say they like Radio Berlin the least of all stations heard.

Other stations which equal or nearly equal those mentioned as "most disliked" are Leipzig -- 6% of the total audience in Bavaria, 4% in Hesse, and 1% in Wuerttemberg-Baden. Berlin is mentioned by 3% in each Land.

Group characteristics of the radio audience ...

The extent of radio listening differs somewhat within different groups in the population. Thus, more than half of the men in the American Zone are radio listeners, but less than half of the women are. In Berlin, the proportion of each sex listening is greater, but the ratio of men to women is the same as in the Zone. Proportionately more of the better educated than of the poorly educated listen. This is also the case with large cities -- audiences are larger in them than in smaller places. Of occupational groups, farmers are proportionately less well represented than the others. There is no important difference between the number of Catholics and Protestants who listen to the radio, but in both denominations, people who attend church irregularly are more likely to be radio listeners than those who go to church regularly.

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	Per cent Radio Audience:				
	Bavaria	Hesse	Wuertt. Baden	TOTAL ZONE	Berlin
Men	58%	61%	56%	56%	76%
Women	48	45	43	44	66
18-29 years of age	55%	54%	52%	54%	84%
30-39 years	52	51	49	53	87
40-49 years	46	45	51	48	71
50-59 years	63	55	56	59	60
60 years and over	42	50	36	43	66
7 years education or less	47%	46%	45%	46%	60%
8 years education	52	47	47	48	68
9-11 years education	68	63	65	66	78
12 years education or more	76	66	63	66	79
Places under 2000 population	43%	35%	37%	40%	
2,000-4,999 population	56	48	37	50	
5,000-9,999 population	56	60	58	58	
10,000-99,999 population	60	62	55	58	
100,000-249,999 population	51	74	58	59	
250,000 population and over	71	78	70	72	
Catholic, regular churchgoer	47%	41%	38%	46%	68%
Catholic, irregular	59	58	58	58	72
Protestant, regular	50	40	33	43	73
Protestant, irregular	60	52	55	56	66
Employee	56%	57%	52%	55%	70%
Employer	74	58	65	69	67
Housewife	49	43	47	47	69
Farmer	42	39	26	38	-
Dependents, retired people, etc.	57	90	60	64	67

... Among political parties in the Zone, 60% of SPD, 47% of CDU/CSU, supporters, 44% of KPD, and 67% of supporters of all the remaining parties combined are radio listeners. Of those who do not approve of any political party, 50% are in the radio audience.

OPINIONS ON PROGRAMS ...

Asked directly which station in the American Zone has the best programs, Zonal respondents again tend to favor their local Land station. This is particularly true in Wuerttemberg-Baden and Bavaria, but less so in Hesse where a relatively large group is unable to make a comparison. Berliners of course find comparisons quite difficult as so few of them hear the Laender stations.

"Which station in the American Zone has the best programs?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	Wuertt.-B[illegible]n	Total Amzon	Berlin
Frankfurt	2%	38%	3%	10%	1%
Munich	70	3	6	41	2
Stuttgart	17	20	79	31	4
Stuttgart and Mun. or Frank.	3	3	1	2	-
Unable to compare	5	27	6	11	79
No opinion	3	9	5	5	14
Number of cases:	817	339	305	1461	279

Program preferences ...

Musical programs are strongly preferred both by Zone and Berlin audiences. This popularity is probably more than a love of music -- it is probably this plus a large dose of escapism from current difficulties and insulation from the new or controversial ideas broached in many non-musical programs. In any case, music is wanted as these votes indicate:

Berlin	85%
Bavaria	75%
Hesse	69%
Wuerttemberg-Baden	67%
American Zone	72%

... Other program preferences are naturally far overshadowed by the favorite. Thus Laender residents are in agreement in giving news programs a second place (26% in the entire Zone), followed by plays and dramas (14% of the Zone, with Hesse voting 16%, Bavaria 16%, and Wuerttemberg-Baden 9%). Only other programs getting any kind of mention are political commentaries with a total Zone vote of 6%; and discussion programs (7%). No intra-zonal differences occur in either of these preferences.

... Berlin follows much the same pattern, except that news programs are not quite so popular (12%). Berliners give a 15% vote for dramatic performances, 15% for discussion programs and only 4% for political commentaries.

... In the Zone, a majority (six in ten) are satisfied with the present programming of their stations. Opinions divide almost evenly in Berlin, however, with 47% saying their stations have enough of their favorite kinds of programs and 49% saying they should present more. The remainder do not express an opinion.

Programs liked least ...

Musical programs despite their high rating also top the list of "most disliked" programs in the Zone. Bavarians feel especially strongly about this with a 37% negative vote as compared with 28% and 31% in Hesse and Wuerttemberg-Baden, respectively. In Berlin, political commentaries edge out music in disfavor ... 33% naming musical programs and 37% naming political commentaries as least liked. Add specific mention of jazz (10% in the Zone and 14% in Berlin) and the anti-music vote rises. This strong minority hostility toward musical programs is probably not as contradictory as first appears, for, as will be subsequently shown, people have definite ideas on what kind of music they wish to hear.

A quarter of all the Zonal audience say they do not know what they like least, but there is a sharp difference between Bavaria and the other two Laender on this, 19% as against 30%. In Berlin only 11% fail to express an opinion. The Zone reaches 13% agreemnt in disliking political commentaries. Otherwise, like Berlin, specific dislikes are various and none gets important mention. Among other programs in disfavor are: specialized programs, e.g. children, farmers, youth, etc.; discussions, plays, etc.

... Large majorities both in the Zone (65%) and in Berlin (64%) agree that it is the kind program that they dislike and not its presentation or tone.

Kind of music preferred ...

Taste in musical programs varies widely, though in general, most German radio listeners want light music of one kind or another. Folk music is especially popular in Bavaria where more than half (55%) the listeners express a wish for it. "Light" music, waltzes etc. gets highest preference in Hesse (30%) as it does in Berlin (46%). In Wuerttemberg, it shares popularity with folk music. "Classical" music is preferred by only 11% in the Zone and 15% in Berlin. Operas are slightly more popular, getting a 24% vote from Berliners and a 14% vote from the Zonal audience. Operettas rate somewhat higher, and are preferred by 28% in Berlin and 18% in the Zone. Dance music has its followers also with 13% of both the Zone and Berlin audience wanting to hear it.

... Further evidence of the general popularity of musical programs is the fact that 86% of the people in the Zone and 87% in Berlin want half or more of all radio time devoted to music.

Asked what percentage of this time they would like to have given to specific kinds of music: symphonic, operatic, American dance music and folk music, the German radio audience again demostrated its preference for folk music. There was very little difference among the Laender on this matter, so the following table gives the figures only for the Zone and for Berlin.

Proportion of time which should be given to various types of music

	Symphonic		Opera		Folk		American Dance	
	B	Zone	B	Zone	B	Zone	B	Zone
Under 20%	26%	20%	15%	14%	2%	3%	15%	16%
20 - 29%	28	21	34	30	20	12	30	20
30 - 39%	8	6	18	12	15	7	6	6
40 - 49%	1	1	4	5	7	7	3	2
50% and over	1	3	11	7	53	70	2	4
No time	29	25	13	13	1	1	29	27
No answer	7	24	5	19	2	-	8	25

Preferences in news reporting ...

The Zone differs from Berlin on the matter of straight news reporting or news commentaries. A bare majority in the Zone prefers straight news, and a larger majority in Berlin likes commentaries better. The Zone also differs from Berlin in that its opinions are less set -- a fairly large minority cannot state a preference.

	Bavaria	Hesse	Wuertt.Baden	Zone	Berlin
Factual news	55%	45%	47%	51%	34%
Comments	25	21	33	26	61
No opinion	20	34	20	23	5

... And the Zone audience tips the scale slighly in favor of impersonal reporting (40%) rather than "personalized" (37%) radio news reports. In Berlin, on the other hand, a bare majority prefers the personal note (51% as compared with 26%). Both in the Zone and in Berlin, almost a quarter have no opinion on this matter.

... Of the two radio commentators, Peter Arnold and Lindley Frazer, whom respondents were asked to identify, Frazer does not appear to be well known to most of the radio audience. Only 18% of listeners in the Zone (25% in Berlin) identify him correctly. Arnold, on the other hand, is known to 47% of the Zonal audience, though only 22% in Berlin can identify him.

THE PROGRAM "STIMME AMERIKA" ...

"Stimme Amerika" has wide coverage in the American Zone -- three fourths of all radio listeners hear it there -- but it is heard by only a third of the Berlin radio audience. The Zonal figures represent an increase over last year when 63% of the radio public were listeners. The Zone audience, with few exceptions, receive the program over local stations, though a small number get it from London or directly from New York, as the following table shows:

"Do you hear the program Stimme Amerika?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	Wuertt.Baden	Total Amzon	Berlin
Yes:					
Zone stations	72%	70%	78%	73%	8%
New York	3	3	3	3	2
London	4	5	2	4	5
Unspecified	*	*	-	*	18
No	26	27	21	25	67
	105%	105%	104%	105%	100%

(Percentages total more than 100 because some people hear the program from more than one station.)
*less than half of one per cent

The audience ...

The program reaches large proportions among the various population groups within the radio audience. Nor is there marked variation within these groups, except in certain instances, notably age and sex groups. The population breakdown for the "Stimme Amerika" portion of the radio audience is as follows:

Age:
... 74% of people under 30 years
... 74% of those 30-39 years
... 80% of those 40-49 years
... 77% of those 50-59 years
... 70% of those 60 and over

Sex:
... 81% of men
... 70% of women

Church affiliation:
... 75% of Roman Catholics
... 75% of Protestants

Education:
... 77% of people with 7 years or less
... 72% of those with 8 years
... 76% of those with 9 years or more

City size:
... 71% of people in villages under 2,000
... 78% of those in towns from 2,000 - 5,000
... 80% of those in cities of 5,000 - 250,000
... 69% of those in cities of 250,000 and over

The portion of the radio audience that hears "Stimme Amerika" was compared with that which does not in regard to attitudes toward National Socialism, but no difference between the two groups was apparent. However, "Stimme Amerika" listeners are much less likely to think that there is too much propaganda on the radio ... 72% of them in contrast to 51% of the listeners who do not hear the program say there is not too much propaganda.

... Best liked offerings of "Stimme Amerika" are the news features. Over half of the audience mention either the daily news broadcasts or the news comments. Bearing out the German aversion to American music is the low preference given to that part of the program. Also in conformity with previously mentioned findings is the fact that Berlin tends to favor commentaries over news of the day and the Zone, as a whole, leans slightly in the other direction.

"What do you like best about Stimme Amerika?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	Wuertt. Baden	Total Amzon	Berlin
News of the day	25%	20%	36%	26%	11%
Commentary	23	23	27	24	16
Music	5	3	1	4	2
Combination	13	15	5	12	2
No opinion	8	12	10	9	2
	74%	73%	79%	75%	33%

... Related to opinions on "Stimme Amerika" are information wants about the United States. Asked what they would like to hear about America, the radio public mentioned a wide variety of subjects, most of which got few votes. Two topics only receive concurrence from an important minority -- 1) daily life in the U.S., requested by 30% in the Zone and 47% in Berlin; and 2) information on economic affairs, mentioned by 26% in the Zone and 38% in Berlin. (Laender differences are unimportant here.) Other topics suggested are: international politics (7%), social problems (6%), cultural affairs (5%), "facts" about U.S. (6%), U.S. attitude toward Germany (8%), and German PW's in the U.S. (2%). Little difference occurs among the Laender or Berlin on these mentions.

Related opinions of the radio audience ...

The chief source of news for radio listeners in the American Zone is the radio -- 66% say they mainly rely on it for their news, 23% rely on newspapers, 8% depend on both equally, and an miniscule 1% depends on magazines. Only 2% express no opinion. (Laender differences are insignificant.) Berlin follows much the same pattern, except that the division between reliance on radio and newspapers is extremely slight -- 47% depend on radio and 43% on the newspapers.

In contrast, 84% of the non-radio audience in the Zone (87% in Berlin) claim that newspapers are their main source of news.

... However -- radio listeners tend much more than non-listeners to be regular newspaper readers .. 73% of the Zonal audience are regular readers in contrast to 54% of those who are not radio listeners. (Again, Laender differences are unimportant.) Comparable figures for Berlin are 85% and 72%.

... A majority of the radio public (55%) believes that radio presents the most accurate news. A quarter (24%) say the newspapers are more accurate, and 15% ascribe equal accuracy to both. Ten per cent fail to express an opinion. Again Berlin votes with the Zone, and only Hesse among the Laender is doubtful, yielding only a 48% vote of confidence in the superior accuracy of the radio and registering a 15% no opinion vote.

... Newspapers are considered to give more complete news, however, by the radio audience ... 55% of radio listeners in the Zone agree on this and only 30% feel radio news is more detailed than press news. Twelve per cent have no opinion and 3% feel that there is no difference between the two. Berlin conforms to Zonal opinions on this matter.

Propaganda and censorship ...

The Zone and Berlin diverge sharply on the question of propaganda via radio channels, and also regarding radio censorship. This is the way they divide (again Laender differences are not significant) on propaganda:

"Do you think that the radio programs contain too much propaganda?"

	Zone	Berlin
Yes	18%	58%
No	66	34
No opinion	16	8

... In Berlin, people who listen most steadily to the Russian outlet are more likely (58%) to feel there is too much propaganda than do those who hear the American station most frequently (50%).

... As to radio censorship, 64% of the Zonal audience feel there is censorship -- in Berlin, 72% think so. Laender differences are slight.

... Related to both censorship and propaganda was another question: "Have you sometimes turned your radio off recently because the broadcasts were bad or untrue?" In reply, listeners in the Zone gave a thumping vote of confidence ... 82% said they had not. Berliners, however, were not as complimentary ... 53% have done so. There again the Russian station bore the brunt of disapproval, as 55% of the regular listeners of that station, but only 25% of those who customarily tune in the American sponsored station have turned out programs for this reason.

... An interesting difference occurs between Zonal and Berlin party supporters on the matter of propaganda and censorship ... in the Zone, 19% of SPD, 18% of CDU/CSU, but 46% of KPD, supporters say radio propagandizes too much. In Berlin, however, 62% of SPD, 73% of CDU, but only 25% of SED supporters think there is too much propaganda.

Otherwise, Berlin follows the Zonal pattern except that proportions detecting propaganda are always larger in Berlin. Thus ...

... 16% of Zonal listeners who think National Socialism was a bad idea, (Berlin, 55%) and
... 25% of those who think it was a good idea, badly executed, think there is too much propaganda (Berlin, 71%).

... 25% of Zonal listeners who say radio is censored (67% in Berlin) but only,
... 9% of those who say it is not, say there is too much propaganda (40% in Berlin).

... 36% of the Zonal audience (78% of Berliners) who have turned their radios off because programs were "bad or untrue" but only
... 13% of those who have not done so, think there is too much propaganda (35% in Berlin).

Also, listeners who have become so disgusted with programs that they have turned them off are more likely than others to detect censorship ... 72% of these people in the Zone (78% in Berlin) say radio is censored, as compared with 62% of Zonal listeners (67% of Berliners) who have not turned their radios off for these reasons.

LISTENING HABITS ...

Exactly half of the radio audience claims it has no favorite day for listening. Among those who do prefer certain days, Zonal listeners name Sunday (42%) and Saturday (22%). No other specific days are designated by more than 1% of the audience. These two days are also mentioned by those Berliners who express a preference.

... By far the most popular listening hour both in the Zone and in Berlin is 2000 o'clock ... 7 in 10 people in the Zone and in Berlin are customarily tuned in then. Next most popular hour in 1900 o'clock when 40% in the Zone and 48% in Berlin like to listen in. As to morning hours, the favorite is 0700 which two in ten of the Zone and three in ten Berliners like. At noon in the Zone, more than a quarter of the listeners (26%) may be found at their radios.

... The popularity of evening listening is also attested in answer to the question: "If you only had time to hear two or three programs a day, which would be the best time of day for you?" Replies ranged far and wide, but the only exact hour mentioned by any considerable group (30% in the Zone and 39% in Berlin) was 2000 o'clock. "Evening" was the answer of 37% in the Zone and 21% in Berlin.

... People listen in small groups. In the Zone, 62% of the audience consists of groups of four people or less. 78% of Berlin listeners consist of groups of three or less. Average listeners per set are 3.4 in the Zone, 1.8 in Berlin.

... Berliners have their radios on for longer periods during the day than do Zonal residents. In the Zone, 30% say they listen for an hour or less daily, while in Berlin, only 15% spend so little time. However, 58% of the Zonal audience spends between one and four hours daily at the radio, and 11% say their radios are on for 4 hours or more each day. In Berlin, 62% listen for 2 or more hours a day. The average listening time is approximately 2 hours in the Zone and 3 hours in Berlin.

RESTRICTED

ARMY AID TO GERMAN YOUTH ACTIVITIES EVALUATED BY GERMAN ADULTS

Report Number 46
19 February 1947
Opinion Surveys Unit
Office of the Director of Information Control
OMGUS (Rear) APO 757

RESTRICTED

ARMY AID TO GERMAN YOUTH ACTIVITIES EVALUATED BY GERMAN ADULTS

INTRODUCTION ...

Youth activities in Germany under U.S. regis are amorphous. From the point of view of group meetings they are licensed, organized, unorganized or disorganized. At each of these stages, but increasingly so as the degree of organization is more highly developed, material assistance is furnished from Army stocks. At the same time, Military Government observes, directs, supervises or encourages separate groups within the practical limitations of the number and energy of its personnel. Strictly amateur support (although the energy may be professionally applied) is afforded by other Americans in the Theater -- employees or dependents. But the major supplement to the reduction in effectiveness of MG, as the number of its personnel is reduced, comes from Army supplies of raw and finished materials and manpower.

Some basic and general reactions of parents to such Army aid were measured by the Opinion Surveys Unit. A true cross-section of adults (over 18) throughout the American Zone, and in the American and British sectors of Berlin, was interviewed. Approximately 3400 persons were asked to comment to a standardized set of questions. The questions were put by trained German interviewers. Interviewing was done in homes in 175 localities, and was completed during the first week of December 1946.

Awareness of the Program ...

A solid majority (55%) of the general population acknowledged that they had heard of the Army Youth program.* People were initially asked "Have you heard anything of the program of the American Army in support of German youth groups?" Yet, while practically every other family contained an adult member who had heard of the Army program, some types of family members were more likely to have heard of this. For instance, a very large majority (84%) of the well educated with 12 years or more of schooling said they knew about the support given by the Army, but less than half (47%) of those who had had only 7 years schooling were similarly informed.

Men, too, were more likely (67%) to have heard of this Army activity than were women (45%). And significant differences were found among the three Laender, with more Bavarians (58%) claiming to know about the program but fewer in Hesse (51%) or Wuerttemberg-Baden (52%). Wider activity in large cities by the Army was also reflected in more frequent awareness in these centers of such action. About two-thirds (68%) of the residents of the four largest cities in the Zone claimed knowledge of the program, but less than half (47%) of the residents of small communities under 1000 in population had also heard about it. Few more parents of

* Tables on this and other findings are appended to the report.

children (57%) had heard about the program than had non-parents (54%). The interpretation can be made that Army assistance does not fill an intensely felt need on the part of parents. The lack of difference between the frequency of awareness of parents and non-parents at the same time that large differences are found among other characteristic groups indicates, further, that there is shown here generalized reactions to a question of information rather than reactions which arise out of closely-held interest. The differences shown above between education groups and between men and women bear out this interpretation.

Participation in Army-sponsored programs ...

In spite of the widespread awareness of the help given by the Army to German youth groups few parents said that their children had participated in meetings fostered by the Army. Less than one in ten of all parents (7%) answered "Yes" to the question: "Have your children taken part in the youth program sponsored by the American Army?" But slightly more (11%) of those parents who knew of the program said that their children had taken part in some such activity. It could be argued, then, that some parents were unaware that the organized activity of their children was part of the Army-supported program. In any case, scarcely more than one in ten families contained children whose meetings and groups had received Army help. For it is highly likely that these parents who said they knew about the Army program also would know whether or not their child had been benefited by it. Again, not any more of the best educated parents (those with college training) acknowledged that their children had participated (10%). Larger differences were found among participation records of communities of various sizes. Highest participation (14%) was recorded in small towns (5000 to 9999 in population). Least participation was recorded in small villages (3%) containing less than 1000 people. Berlin's record (13%) was practically equal to that of the most active city-size group in the Zone.

Non-parents were asked if they knew of any children who had taken part in the Army-sponsored program. The frequency of answers here (6% "Yes" in the Zone) closely supported the information provided by parents on known participation within the family.

Nor did differences of size of participant groups appear among those family members who felt it was most important that the GYA Program teach children the American way of life, or those who thought it was important to occupy the free time of the children, or those who thought it important only to get the children off the streets.

In interpreting the 10% participation in the Army sponsored program a word of caution is necessary. Projection of the percentages into actual numbers would mean that hundreds of thousands of German children take part in Army-sponsored activities. But mere number is not itself a criterion of effectiveness. What counts most is the planning and execution of the program. Thus a program which reaches relatively few children but is carefully organized and effectively carried out will in the long run have greater impact than a sprawling, touch-and-leave program whose only measure of success is attendance figures.

Evaluation of the Program ...

Although few parents said their children were taking part in the Army program, little resistance was offered to such participation. Only one in twenty-five (4%) of the parents said he would not permit his child to join in the activities, while the very large majority (84%) indicated that permission would be granted. Parental resistance to the program was relatively stronger among the uninformed. Practically all parents (94%) who had heard of the program and also thought that it was designed to teach the children the American way of life would grant permission to the child to attend such meetings. Fewer (68%) of the parents who thought that the main purpose of the program was to keep children off the streets would permit participation, and fewer still (75%) of those parents who had not heard about the program would allow their child to take part. Nor was significant disapproval found among parents whose children had not as yet taken part in the program. A similar large majority (84%) of those people would allow participation.

... Everyone was asked: "What do you think of such a program?" Replies show, again, that those who know about the program approve it most highly. A majority of the whole population (54%) found that the Army-sponsored activities are worthwhile, important, good, or very desireable. But among those who had not heard of it only 37% answered in this fashion, compared with the solid majority reply (68%) of those who had heard about the program. Parents whose children had not taken part in the activities agreed with the public at large in thinking the idea very good (56%). Among those parents whose children had taken part a much larger majority (77%) felt this way. Evidently acquaintance with the program did much to engender feelings of approval, but direct knowledge about the program through a participating child did even more. The disapproving vote in all those instances is small, although undoubtedly some people who disapproved took refuge in the "no opinion" vote. Disapproval dropped from 6% among parents whose children had not participated, to 2% among parents whose children had. The "no opinion" proportions ranged from 2% among the latter group to 53% among those who had not heard about the program.

Other comments in reply to the question indicated mild degrees of approval. The largest group among those (9%) held that the program could be approved since it gives the youth something to do and teaches them discipline.

Among groups of people with different educational backgrounds, no variations were found in the proportions expression high approval of the program. However, the college educated were more ready to express disapproval (10%) than were the relatively uneducated (4%). And the well-educated, too, were more articulate insofar as they could spell out more frequently other reasons for commendation. Nearly twice as many of the well-educated (24%) named such reasons as did the uneducated (13%); on the other hand, only half as many of the well-educated (16%) expressed no judgment at all, compared with 33% of the uneducated.

... A large majority of the general population was able to express an opinion in reply to the question: "In general, what goal is meant to be achieved by it (the program)?" The most popular reply (37%) spoke of a democratic education of youth. Smaller and about equal proportions named such goals as the understanding of other peoples (12%), the liberation of youth from the Nazi spirit and political education (11%), the development of friendship and trust for Americans and for the occupation forces (11%). Other replies spoke about the sports program (2%), the acquaintance with foreign customs and standards (2%). Among the small group of parents whose children had taken part in such Army-sponsored programs a secondary emphasis was shown in the replies. These people spoke most frequently (43%) about democratic education, less often about the liberation of youth from the Nazi spirit (20%), and the development of friendship and trust for the Americans (16%), and about the average proportion of mentions was made about the understanding of other peoples (11%). These data support the theory that many of the children who participate in openly Army-sponsored activities come from homes of parents who are interested that reorientation start with their children. The total findings, in sum, indicate there is infrequent strong opposition to the program insofar as its aims are considered, that there is majority approval of the aims which are recognized, that enthusiastic approval of conceived aims is centered in a very small fraction of the population.

... Finally everyone was asked: "What do you think is the most important part of this program -- that it teaches the children about the American way of life, or that it gives them something to do in their spare time, or that it keeps them off the streets?" A plurality (41%) voted for the last alternative, and about one in five more (19%) thought occupation in spare time was most important. However, as many as one in four (26%) acknowledged that the most important part of the program is instruction in the American way of life. The remainder (14%) were unable to choose among the alternatives.

Obviously replies to this question are at variance with the aims which the German people believe the program is directed to achieve. In other words, many of the German public believe the Army wants to achieve one goal but they themselves think another goal more important.

In Berlin, where youth has many pitfalls, majority sentiment (56%) valued the program highest because it keeps children off the streets. This emphasis was apparent in Bavaria, too, (46%) but somewhat less frequent in Hesse (37%) and least frequent in Wuerttemberg-Baden (31%). In the latter Land an equal proportion thought it most important that children learn the American way of life. Consistent differences of emphasis appeared among different educational groups. Many more (43%) of the poorly educated preferred the program because it keeps children off the streets than because it teaches them about America (24%). But among the best educated just as many spoke for the latter (35%) as felt the former (33%) was important. Men, too, more generally considered democratic instruction (33%) to be as valuable as the prevention of street-corner loitering (36%). But women tended to think the latter more important (44%), than the broadening acquaintance with American ways (20%). Parents whose children have attended Army-sponsored gatherings did not differ in the relative

importance attached to these three objectives when compared with the general population. Nor were their replies different from those of parents whose children had not participated. The interpretation can be drawn that such resistance as there is to democratic indoctrination is more largely centered in the homes of the poor, the uneducated, and among those people whose outlooks are the more narrow. This is not to say, of course, that children from such homes would resist such "indoctrination," but that delicate problems of adjustment will be more frequently faced by these children than by children from homes whose members are more sophisticated. And where problems of adjustment are faced they are likely to be faced in a home divided, with the father generally supporting the child in his learning of "foreign" ways. In the end, however, the argument that most often counts in favor of participation in these activities is that the child is known to be in a stated place at a stated time, out of mischief's way.

As already stated, three-fourths (75%) of the population think the Army program is intended to teach youth democracy, understanding among peoples, friendship for the occupation forces, to free them from Nazi thinking and teach them other customs and ways, and to train them in sports. But less than half (41%) were personally convinced that the program was valuable for these reasons. Rather, just as many (45%) hold the program important because it took up the spare time of the children and took them off the streets. The table below indicates that more of people who volunteered that the objective of the program is to "increase international understanding" or "learn other customs" than of those who name other objectives consider that the most important part of the program is its instruction in the "American way." One is led to the conclusion that among the general population these two objectives are understood as reasonable and acceptable objectives. Again, however, the parents who had heard of the program and who understand that it is attempting to free German youth from Nazi ideology also emphasize the importance of instruction in the American way. Better informed people, then, are probably more often ready to allow their children to receive treatment which, from the point of view of the occupation powers, more directly points toward our goal.

"What do you think is the most important part of this program -- that it teaches the children about the American way of life, or that it gives them something to do in their spare time, or that it keeps them off the streets?"

In general, what goal is meant to be achieved by the program?	American Way		Something to do		Off the streets		No Opinion		
Democratic education	28%	30*	22%	26*	47%	41*	3%	3*	... 100%
International understanding	39	42*	22	23*	35	31*	4	4*	
Free Youth from Nazi thinking	37	45*	20	18*	43	34*	5	3*	
Friendship with occupiers	29	35*	24	22*	42	40*	5	3*	
Sport training	17		40		34		9		
Learn other customs	44		22		28		6		
Don't know	12		12		34		42		

* Replies of informed parents

APPENDIX

Table I

Question: Have you heard anything of the program of the American Army to advance German youth groups?

Sector	Yes	Sample
American Zone	55%	3008
Bavaria	58	1616
Hesse	51	732
Wuerttemberg-Baden	52	660
City Size		
Under 1,000	47	856
1 to 1,999	51	491
2 to 4,999	53	386
5 to 9,999	61	228
10 to 99,999	63	508
100 to 249,999	65	206
Over 250,000	68	333
Berlin	64	399
Education		
7 years or under	47	1194
8 years	50	1231
9 to 11 years	76	378
12 or over	84	192
Age		
18 to 29	53	607
30 to 39	57	736
40 to 49	57	713
50 to 59	53	484
60 to 69	50	334
70 or over	41	132
Sex		
Men	67	1313
Women	45	1686

Table II

Question addressed to parents or guardians of children under 18 years of age.

Question: Have your children participated in the youth program sponsored by the American Army?

Sector	Yes	Sample
American Zone	7%	1351
Bavaria	7	661
Hesse	6	347
Wuerttemberg-Baden	7	323
City Size		
Under 1,000	3	378
1 to 1,999	4	244
2 to 4,999	7	179
5 to 9,999	14	96
10 to 99,999	11	228
100 to 249,999	8	87
Over 250,000	10	140
Berlin	13	141
Education		
Under 7 years	6	523
8 years	6	585
9 to 11 years	10	168
12 or over	10	72
Age		
18 to 29	5	171
30 to 39	8	535
40 to 49	7	451
50 to 59	8	153
60 or more	5	41
Sex		
Men	8	564
Women	6	785

Table III

Question addressed to parents or guardians of children under 18 years of age.

Question: Would you permit your children to participate?

	Would Permit	Would Not Permit	Undecided	No Op. No A.	Total	Sample
Sector						
American Zone	84%	4%	8%	4%	100%	1351
Bavaria	84	5	7	4	100	681
Hesse	82	6	8	4	100	347
Wuerttemberg-Baden	86	3	8	3	100	323
City Size						
Under 1,000	81	4	9	6	100	378
1 to 1,999	83	4	9	4	100	244
2 to 4,999	84	5	8	3	100	179
5 to 9,999	86	4	5	5	100	96
10 to 99,999	85	5	6	4	100	228
100 to 249,999	84	8	-	8	100	87
Over 250,000	90	4	5	1	100	140
Berlin	89	3	2	6	100	141
Education						
7 years or less	82	5	8	5	100	523
8 years	85	5	7	3	100	585
9 to 11 years	85	2.5	9	3.5	100	168
12 or over	85	6	7	2	100	72
Age						
18 to 29	78	7	11	4	100	171
30 to 39	85	4	7	4	100	535
40 to 49	85	4	8	3	100	451
50 to 59	86	6	5	3	100	155
60 or over	86	3	3	8	100	41
Sex						
Men	87	3	7	3	100	564
Women	81	6	8	5	100	785

Table IV

Question addressed to non-parents and non-guardians.

Question: Do you know of any children who have participated in this program?

	Yes	Sample
Sector		
American Zone	6%	1638
Bavaria	5	925
Hesse	8	377
Wuerttemberg-Baden	7	336
City Size		
Under 1,000	3	473
1 to 1,999	4	246
2 to 4,999	2	204
5 to 9,999	6	132
10 to 99,999	10	277
100 to 249,999	9	118
Over 250,000	10	190
Berlin	6	257
Education		
7 years or under	4	669
8 years	6	838
9 to 11 years	7	206
12 or over	15	120
Age		
18 to 29	6	433
30 to 39	7	195
40 to 49	5	259
50 to 59	6	331
60 to 69	4	259
70 or over	4	126
Sex		
Men	7	742
Women	5	892

Table V

Question: What do you think is the most important part of this program -- that the children will learn about the American way of living; or that it uses up free time; or takes them away from the streets?

	Learn About the American Way	Free Time Occupation	Takes Them From the Streets	N.O. N.A.	Total	Sample
Sector						
American Zone	26%	19%	41%	14%	100%	3008
Bavaria	24	15	46	15	100	1616
Hesse	24	22	37	17	100	732
Wuerttemberg-Baden	31	26	31	12	100	660
City Size						
Under 1,000	23	18	42	17	100	856
1 to 1,999	25	20	38	17	100	491
2 to 4,999	24	19	44	13	100	381
5 to 9,999	31	20	38	11	100	228
10 to 99,999	29	20	38	13	100	508
100 to 249,999	26	19	49	6	100	206
Over 250,000	30	18	38	14	100	333
Berlin	20	15	56	9	100	399
Education						
7 years or under	24	16	43	17	100	1194
8 years	25	21	41	13	100	1231
9 to 11 years	31	22	36	11	100	378
12 or over	35	19	33	13	100	192
Age						
18 to 29	27	23	37	13	100	607
30 to 39	30	19	40	11	100	734
40 to 49	27	21	38	14	100	710
50 to 59	24	19	43	14	100	484
60 to 69	20	14	47	19	100	334
70 or more	17	10	48	25	100	132
Sex						
Men	33	20	36	11	100	1313
Women	20	18	44	18	100	1686

Table VI

Question: What do you think of such a program?

	American Zone	Bavaria	Hesse	Wtbg.-Baden
Sample	(3008)	(1616)	(732)	(660)
It is correct and good	54%	56%	53%	50%
Youth finds something to do; brings them together; gives them discipline	9	10	7	11
Youth learns to know other view points; to forget the ideas of National Socialism; teach them another system	2	2	1	4
Help toward the reconciliation of the people	2	2	2	3
Training in sports is good	1	1	2	1
Youth will learn to know customs and ways of other countries	1	*	1	3
It is good for a democratic future	1	1	1	1
Would prefer that they be organized by Germans	1	*	1	1
Not much - one must wait and see	2	2	3	1
Others **	2	3	2	1
No opinion	28	25	30	29
Total	103%	102%	106%	105%

Percentages total more than 100 because some people gave more than one answer.

* Less than one-half of one per cent

** Others - Negative answers

1) Nothing good; want to know nothing about it.
2) The Americans cannot do as much for my children as I can do for them.
3) Good food and candy are more important than any foreign methods of doing things.
4) They should be conducted by neutral groups, since one does not want one's children to become Americans.
5) Best education is work, etc.

Table VII

Question: In general, what do you think will be achieved by such a program?

	American Zone	Bavaria	Hesse	Wuerttemberg-Baden
Sample	(3008)	(1616)	(732)	(660)
1) Democratic education of youth	37%	40%	34%	34%
2) Develops understanding of others	12	11	12	15
3) Free youth from the Nazi spirit	11	12	9	13
4) Develops friendship and trust	11	10	14	12
5) Training in sports for youth	2	2	3	2
6) Youth will learn other customs and ways	2	2	2	3
7) Others **	1	1	*	2
8) No opinion	25	24	29	24
Total	101%	102%	103%	105%

Percentages total more than 100 because some people gave more than one answer.

* Less than one-half of one per cent

** Others: Christian education; works to prevent war; exactly the same as the Third Reich program; will split Germany apart; nothing good; Americanization, etc.

Table VIII

Question: What do you think of such a program?

	Education			
	7 years or less	8 years	9 to 11 yrs	12 or more
Sample	(1194)	(1231)	(378)	(192)
1) It is correct and good	55%	53%	57%	55%
2) Youth finds something to do; brings them together; gives them discipline	9	10	9	8
3) Youth learns to know other view points; to forget the ideas of National Socialism; teach them another system	2	2	4	4
4) Helps toward the reconciliation of the people	1	1	4	7
5) Training in sports is good	*	1	3	*
6) Youth will learn customs and ways of other people	*	*	2	2
7) It is good for a democratic future	1	1	2	3
8) Would prefer that they be organized by Germans	*	*	*	1
9) Not much - must wait and see	2	2	3	4
10) Others **	2	2	3	5
11) No opinion	33	29	16	16
Total	105%	101%	103%	105%

Percentages total more than 100 because some people gave more than one answer.

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Others - Negative Answers

1) Nothing good; want to know nothing about it.
2) The Americans can not do as much for my children as I can do for them.
3) Good food and candy are more important than any foreign methods of doing things.
4) They should be conducted by neutral groups, since one does not want one's children to become Americans.
5) Best education is work, etc.

Table IX

Question: In general, what do you think will be achieved by such a program?

	7 years or less	8 years	9 to 11 yrs.	12 or more
Sample	(1194)	(1231)	(370)	(192)
1) Democratic education for youth	38%	34%	39%	46%
2) Develops understanding for others	10	11	17	17
3) Free youth from Nazi spirit	12	11	12	12
4) Develops friendship and trust	9	13	12	13
5) Training in sports for youth	1	2	3	4
6) Youth will learn the other customs and ways	*	2	3	1
7) Others **	1	1	2	2
8) No opinion	31	27	15	9
Total	102%	101%	103%	104%

Percentages total more than 100 because some people gave more than one answer.

* Less than one half of one per cent

** Others: Christian education; works to prevent war; exactly the same as the Third Reich program; will split Germany apart; nothing good; Americanization, etc.

RESTRICTED

OPINIONS ON THE EXPELLEE PROBLEM

Report Number 47
20 February 1947
Opinion Surveys Unit
Office of the Director of Information Control
OMGUS (Rear) APO 757

RESTRICTED

EXPELLEES IN THE AMERICAN ZONE ...

This report on the expellees in the American Zone in Germany is based on a survey made in the last two weeks of November 1946, by Opinion Surveys, OMGUS. A total of 3,417 people were interviewed in the American Zone and in the American and British sectors of Berlin. The sample is scientifically constructed and represents a true cross-section of the population. Interviewing was done by a trained German staff. Berlin results are always shown separately, as is also the case wherever a question was directed at both native Germans and expellees.

Among the people interviewed, 225 (7%) in the American Zone, were expellees, divided as follows: 5% from Czechoslovakia, 1% from Hungary, 1% from Poland, and one-half per cent from other countries, including Jugoslavia, Austria and Rumania. No expellees were reported in Berlin.

Two studies have been previously made by Opinion Surveys, one in March 1946 covering the entire Zone, the other in Wuerttemberg-Baden in September 1946. (Cf. OMGUS Opinion Surveys reports: "German Attitudes toward Expulsion of German Nationals from Neighboring Countries" (8 July 1946); and "Investigation of Attitude Changes toward Expellees in Wuerttemberg-Baden" (14 November 1946).

EXPELLEE REACTIONS ...

Expellees and native Germans alike were less sanguine about their mutual problems in November 1946, than they had been in the Spring of that year. In March, there were of course fewer expellees in the Zone, and neither group was as aware of the strains and stresses of assimilation as they were in November. Thus, though a majority of expellees continued to be satisfied with their treatment in Germany, their number had declined and correspondingly more of them registered dissatisfaction.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the treatment given you by the local population since you arrived here?"

	American Zone	
	March 1946	November 1946
Satisfied	78%	62%
Dissatisfied	7	35
No opinion	15	3

... Among the Laender, least satisfaction was expressed by expellees in Wuerttemberg-Baden (58%) and Bavaria (60%), and most in Hesse (73%). More men (67%) than women (58%) were also content with their treatment.

... A majority of these new Zonal residents felt in November that the Laender governments were not doing all they could in regard to expellee problems. Again, the people living in Wuerttemberg-Baden were more disgruntled than those in Bavaria and Hesse.

	Bavaria	Hesse	Wtbg. Baden	Total Amzon
Land Government:				
Doing all it can	44%	34%	33%	40%
Could do more	50	52	65	53
No opinion	6	14	2	7
Number of cases:	138	44*	43*	225

Well educated expellees (those with 9 or more years schooling) tended to be more critical of government efforts than were the relatively poorly educated (7 years or less). The critical group was 66% among the better educated and 43% among the least well educated. And women, (58%), again, outranked men (49%) in voicing dissatisfaction with government action.

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* Percentages based on less than 100 cases should be interpreted cautiously.

... Almost nine out of ten (88%) of the expellees in the American Zone consider themselves to be German -- the small Hungarian group is the exception. More than 90% of the 158 Sudetenland and of the 30 Polish expellees claimed German citizenship, as did three-fourths of the small number (12) of respondents who came from Austria, Jugoslavia or Rumania. Among the 19 expellees questioned from Hungary, ten claimed to be Hungarians, five, Germans and the remainder did not know what they were.

... But Germans or not, most expellees (84%) desire to return to their homeland. The full measure of discontent of these uprooted people is seen in their replies to this question:

"If you were permitted to in the future, would you return to your home?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	Wtb.Baden	Total Amzon
Emphatic Yes	59%	68%	77%	64%
Yes	24	9	5	20
	83	77	82	84
No	14	16	16	12
No opinion	3	7	2	4

Note that people in Wuerttemberg-Baden again register more positive dissatisfaction with the situation than do those in the other two Laenders. And women expellees also run true to form, 68% of them are emphatic in their desire to go home again in contrast to 59% of the men. Only about half of the better educated expellees are completely convinced they want to return as compared with two-thirds of those with less schooling.

THE "NATIVES" ATTITUDES TOWARD EXPELLEES ...

Obviously what the "native" Germans think and do about the expellees will have an important bearing on the solution of the problem. To ascertain the current state of their opinions, a number of questions were put on them.

... First, a representative cross-section of German residents was asked: "Do you believe that the expellees from Czechoslovakia and Hungary will get along with the native Germans?" Just half thought yes. This affirmative vote remains the same as it was last Spring, but there has been an increase in the negative vote, resulting mainly from a shift from "No opinion" to an outright "NO" as the following figures demonstrate:

	American Zone	
	March 1946	November 1946
Yes	48%	50%
No	25	36
No opinion	27	14
Number of cases	835	2726

Paralleling expellee attitudes, "natives" of Wuerttemberg-Baden were less prone (42%) to expect good relations than were the Bavarians (53%) and Hessians (52%). And residents of large cities were less optimistic than people living in rural hamlets ... 43% of those living in cities of over 250,000 population and 58% of those in villages under 1000 thought the two groups would get along well. (Berlin opinions conformed to the metropolitan pattern.) Among other groups who were relatively more optimistic than their counterpart groups were: former PG's (57% compared with 48% of non-members); poorly educated (55% as against 46% of the best educated); and old people -- 58% of those over 60 years in contrast to 44% of those under 30 years. Among occupational groups, farmers tended to be most optimistic (62%) and professional people least (41%). And fewer in the upper socio-economic class (45%) than in the other levels -- about 50% -- thought the expellees and the other Germans would get along.

... As to government action, native Germans are more satisfied than the expellees .. six in ten answered "Yes" to the query: "On the basis of your observation, are you of the opinion that the German government of this Land is handling the problem of the expellees with correctness and dispatch?"

There were no important differences among the three Laender, but Berliners who of necessity view Laender governments from afar, were more skeptical, giving only a 45% vote of confidence to those efforts. In this respect, Berlin departed somewhat from the big city opinion in the Zone, but there, too, large population centers were less complimentary to their local governments than were the small towns and villages. Whether this results from more intimate acquaintance with officials in small towns, or whether it reflects an actual difference in the handling of the problems in the larger cities is not clearly demonstrated, but the affirmative vote declines from a 66% high in villages under1000 to a 56% low in cities over 100,000. An influencing factor in city opinion may be education, as educated people -- of whom there are more in urban centers -- also tend to place less confidence in governmental efforts. Thus .... 67% of the people with 7 years or less schooling but only 47% of those with 12 years or more say the Land government is doing a good job handling the expellees.

Two occupational groups departed markedly from the norm on this matter ... only 49% of professional people, but 70% of farmers held that Laender governments were handling the expellee problem well. People at the upper level of the socio-economic scale agreed with those at the bottom of the scale (on relief) in according the governments little more than a majority vote of confidence. Also, fewer women (60%) than men (65%) held this opinion.

Are the expellees Germans ? ...

A majority (55%) of native Germans in the Zone think that the expellees are German citizens (Deutsche Staatsbuerger). This represents a marked departure from the expellees' view, 88% of whom, it is recalled, considered themselves as Germans. Moreover, sharp differences occurred among Laender residents, with Wuerttemberg-Baden, again, more negative in its opinions.

"In your opinion, are the expellees from Czechoslovakia or Hungary German citizens or not ?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	Wtb.-Baden	Total Amzon	Berlin
Yes	60%	56%	43%	55%	65%
No	21	19	37	24	19
No opinion	19	25	20	21	16

The fact that Berlin has no expellees may be partly why more Berliners considered the expellees to be German citizens. In any case, residents of large cities in the Zone are no more likely than villagers -- or just as likely -- to admit the expellees to German citizenship. However, people with 8 or more years schooling are somewhat more prone to do so, as are younger people. Former members of NSDAP and their relatives also tend more than non-members to grant the fact of citizenship -- as they should if they would remain faithful to the teaching of their former leaders.

Look Homeward ...

Native Germans almost approach unanimity in the opinion that the expellees will return to their homeland when and if they are given the opportunity. The vote on this (91%) is larger than that of the expellees themselves (84% - 64% emphatic Yes) ... in fact it is so large that it looks rather like speeding the departure of the unloved guest, though it may also be in part a reflection of the expellees' own thoughts on the matter. There is also a remarkable concurrence of opinion here -- the three Laender, hamlets and cities (even Berlin), PG's and non-PG's, educated and uneducated, old and young are almost as one in thinking that the expellees will want to return home.

Was expulsion justified ? ...

Both expellees and native Germans were asked whether they thought that the expulsion from Czechoslovakia and Hungary was justified. Almost without exception (97%) the expellees said "No", and native Germans concurred (90%) in their opinion. Only in Berlin was there an appreciable minority (17%) who considered the expulsions justified, but even there 78% held the negative view. Again, group differences are

insignificant, as can be expected when the division is so overwhelmingly one-sided.

This represents an important change from March 1946, when 72% in the Zone felt the expulsions were not just, 16% held them justified or partly so, and 12% had no opinion.

Responsibility for the expellees ...

In view of the strongly negative opinion on the justness of the expulsions, it is not surprising that expellees and native Germans alike tend to believe that the expelling country should be responsible for the care of the expellees. More surprising is the fact that native Germans are less inclined to put the burden on the country of origin than are the expellees themselves, and correspondingly more ready to consider it a German responsibility. Here is whom expellees and native Germans consider responsible:

	Expellees	Native Germans				
		Bav.	Hesse	W.-B.	Zone	Berlin
State expelling them	59%	40%	49%	54%	46%	31%
Germans, government, officials	20	33	24	21	28	48
Allies, occupying powers, Americans, war powers, Russia	11	14	11	18	14	19
Everyone, entire world etc.	1	3	2	3	2	1
Third Reich, NSDAP, etc.	2	2	2	1	2	1
Expellees themselves	1	*	1	*	*	1
Others: Red Cross, Austria, etc.	-	*	*	-	*	-
No opinion	9	11	13	7	10	3
	103%	103%	102%	104%	102%	104%

Percentages total more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.
* Less than one-half of one per cent

Note in the above table that Wuerttemberg-Baden people tended more than other Laender residents to put the responsibility on the expelling country rather than on Germany, and that a plurality of native Berliners on the contrary, tended to feel that the Germans should carry the burden.

... More large city dwellers (36%) thought Germany should be responsible for the care of the expellees than did small town people (25%), and correspondingly fewer of them as compared with small town people held that the expelling countries should care for their former citizens. Others who tended to put the burden on Germany were: those with 12 or more years of schooling more than the poorly educated; former nazis more than non-members, upper classes more than the lowest classes, and professional people more than farmers, unskilled workers or small business men. Group differences on the whole were slight among people who mentioned the expelling country or the allied powers.

... Considerable change has occurred since March 1946 in opinions on this matter. Then 40% of the expellees and native Germans together said Germany should be responsible for the expellees. In addition, 23% said that Germany together with the Allies and the expelling country should carry the burden; 12% mentioned Germany and the expelling countries, and only 4% held the expelling country solely responsible. Thus since March there has been an increase of approximately 40% in the proportion placing the responsibility solely on the expelling countries.

... Clearly apparent from these findings is that potential, if not actual, trouble lies in the expellee problem. The almost unanimous opinion that the expulsions were not just, that the expellees should return home, plus the increasing tendency to shift the burden of their support away from the Germans and onto the expelling countries certainly does not make for harmony. When viewed against the backdrop of bombed-out houses with consequent crowded living quarters and economic disequilibrium, it may be dangerous. Such hightened public discontent and disaffection was observed in the cities of Wuerttemberg-Baden.

GERMAN ATTITUDES TOWARD FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Should the German people have complete freedom of speech?

Should members of the Communist party be permitted to speak on the radio?

Should Trade Union leaders be permitted to speak on the radio?

Report Number 46
3 March 1947
ODIC, Opinion Surveys Headquarters
OMGUS (Rear) APO 757

INTRODUCTION

As part of a general survey, conducted during the last week in November and the first week of December, 1946 by the Opinion Surveys Branch, ODIC, three questions were designed to ascertain general attitudes toward the right of freedom of speech.

The results are based on a total of 3407 interviews - 3008 with persons in the American Zone, and 399 in Berlin. The cross section is constructed to represent in miniature the German population in AMZON and in the American and British Sectors of Berlin. In addition, tabular breakdowns by individual Laender may be considered as true representations of the population in each land.

Throughout the report, Berlin results are shown separately, and are at no time included in any of the detailed breakdown tabulations of the AMZON sample. In general, breakdown tabulations of the AMZON results presented in this report (appendix) are based on sufficiently large samples to assure considerable accuracy.

Two questionnaires were used in this study, similar only in that a few questions varied. Thus, certain questions were asked of only half the sample, but the cross sections used were exactly similar and the results represent the opinion of the entire AMZON population, with only a slightly higher margin of error than do the results of those questions which appeared on both questionnaires and which were asked of and answered by the entire 3008 persons interviewed in the American Zone.

ATTITUDES TO ARD FREE SPEECH . . .

... To test attitudes toward freedom of speech, three related questions were asked. They are:

"Should the German people have complete freedom of speech?"
"Should trade union members be permitted to speak on the radio?"
"Should members of the Communist Party be permitted to speak on the radio?"

... Large majorities in the American Zone would grant freedom of speech to the German people and access to the radio to trade union leaders. A smaller number, but still a majority, also thinks the Communists should have the right to free speech via radio. The overall results for the American Zone are as follows:

	Freedom of Speech for		
	German people	Union leaders	Communists
Yes	77 %	71 %	55 %
No	14	6	26
Undecided	9	23	19
No. of cases:	3008	1493	1515

... Of interest is the comparative size of the negative votes on the three questions. Note the relatively large number who oppose giving the German people complete freedom of speech - it is smaller, of course, than that which denies the Communists a radio voice, but larger than that opposing the same right to labor leaders. Note also that opinions on the matter of free speech for all the people is more crystallized than it is on trade union leaders especially, but also on the Communists.

People who are against complete freedom of speech for all the people are not particularly different from those who favor it, - with one exception - those who have had 11 years or more schooling are much more likely (25 %) than other education groups, or the population at large, to deny this right. Apparently they have been schooled in the aristocratic tradition. Another plausible explanation for the negative vote is that some people hesitate to endorse unlimited free speech. This is supported by the fact that a majority (60 %) of the people who oppose granting complete freedom of expression are willing to let trade union leaders talk on the radio, and a plurality of them (45 %) would permit Communists to do the same. They may reason that a speech delivered over the supervised air waves is less likely to be dangerous than one given from the untrammeled soap-box.

Conversely, some of the people who vote "Yes" on the proposition are not willing to stand by the implications of their votes. Only 80 % are prepared to give Trade union leaders a hearing on the radio, and only 61 % grant the same to the Communists. The remainder are either opposed (5 % against labor leaders, 25 % against Communists) or undecided.

Population differences ...

Not as many women as men agree to complete freedom of speech or to let trade union leaders or Communists talk on the radio. Except in the Communists' right to speak where 29 % of the women in contrast to 22 % of the men say "No", women are not so much more negative than men in their opinions as undecided. (This tends also to be true among other population groups.) This is seen in the following table:

	Freedom of Speech for: German People		Union Leaders		Communists	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Yes	82 %	73 %	32 %	63 %	35 %	47 %
No	14	13	6	5	22	29
Undecided	4	14	12	32	13	24

... Political party preference makes a difference in attitudes toward freedom of speech. Supporters of SPD and of KPD are much more inclined than those who favor other parties or favor none at all to have liberal attitudes on the issue. (As will be noted in the appended tables, KPD and SED sympathizers are most liberal of all, but because of the small number of cases the percentages must be cautiously interpreted.)

... Others who tend more than their counterpart groups to approve free expression for all three groups are persons in the upper and middle socio-economic levels rather than those in a lower status. Former members of NSDAP are more inclined than non-members to say that labor leaders and Communists should have a radio voice. Whether these former nazis are motivated by pure idealism or whether self-interest is their motive (if everyone can talk freely - why not nazis?) can probably be judged by their former practices. People with more than 11 years schooling look at the issues much as do former nazis - that is, compared with those with 7 years or less schooling they are more likely to grant freedom of speech to trade unionists and Communists. But as already noted among them, is found the largest outright negative vote compared with any other population group.

Catholics and Protestants agree on freedom of speech as it affects the public and trade union leaders, but not as regards the Communists. Protestants are the more willing to concede the right to the Communists.

Age has a variable and not marked influence on opinions, though older people (60 years and over) are less likely than younger people to take an affirmative view, particularly on the matter of Communists' right to a hearing.

... Examination of the groups who oppose freedom of speech is generally unrevealing. As already noted, the only observable group difference on the question of complete freedom of speech for the German people was found among the best educated. These people are also somewhat more inclined to deny trade union leaders, but not Communists, a radio hearing. The educated, more than the uneducated, would give Communists a chance on the radio. Supporters of parties such as the LDP, DVP, FDP, WAV are more negative regarding trade union leaders and free speech, as they also are in regard to Communists. However, most opposed among political party adherents to granting Communists free speech are supporters of CDU/CSU, etc. More Catholics than Protestants refuse Communists a right to speak.

LAENDER OPINIONS ...

... Bavaria

Bavarian opinion is very similar to that of the American Zone. Here are the overall results for Bavaria on the three questions:

	Should freedom of speech be granted to: German people	Union leaders on the radio	Communists on the radio
Yes	76%	72%	54%
No	15	5	27
Undecided	9	23	19
No. of cases:	1616	799	817

In no case does Bavarian opinion depart drastically from that of the Zone, or from that in the other two Laender. Thus men have more liberal views than women and again women are more undecided than negative, except in the case of the Communists' rights. Educated people in Bavaria are like those in the Zone as a whole, favoring free speech for the three groups more than do the uneducated, but registering a larger negative vote than any other educational group. Again Protestants and Catholics do not differ to any extent except on the matter of the Communists where the Protestants are more favorably disposed. Former NSDAP members in Bavaria, too, are more likely than non-members to endorse the right of Communists to be heard. And age follows the same pattern as in the Zone - the influence is variable with older people tending to be more conservative about free speech.

In Bavaria, unlike the Zone, supporters of CSU and of the "democratic" parties are more likely than other party supporters to oppose granting Communists the right to be heard on the radio, giving a 37% and 32% negative vote respectively.

Hesse ...

Hessians differ from Zonal and Bavarian residents in giving a higher approval to the right of Communists to talk over the radio. The Hessian vote on the three issues is:

	Freedom of Speech for: German People	Union Leaders	Communists
Yes	78%	71%	61%
No	12	7	21
Undecided	10	22	18

... The pattern of group differences in Hesse is almost identical with that in Bavaria and much like that in the Zone. One exception to both is that the best educated Hessians are least likely of any educational group to say there should be complete freedom of speech for the German people, voting 67% for it in contrast to 80% of those with 8 years of schooling. (However, the number of people interviewed with 11 years or more schooling was small - and this finding should be cautiously interpreted.)

Wuerttemberg-Baden ...

People in Wuerttemberg-Baden are less likely than those in Bavaria or in Hesse to grant Communists or union leaders a right to speak on the radio. Otherwise they agree with the other two Laender. Their votes are:

	Freedom of Speech for: German People	Union Leaders	Communists
Yes	77%	68%	52%
No	13	6	30
Undecided	10	26	18

With the exception of KPD and "democratic" party supporters (both based on very small groups), the SPD in this Land is also most favorably disposed toward free speech. Former nazis are more inclined than non-members to grant this right to labor leaders and to Communists. And again Protestants are more ready than Catholics to give Communists a radio hearing. The various education groups follow the same pattern as the Hessians. All other groups think as do their Zonal counterparts.

Berliners ...

Berliners react as do Hessians on the matter of Communists' speaking on the radio. Note that the vote is about the same as that given union leaders which is smaller in Berlin than elsewhere. Possibly many Berliners regard the two groups as identical. Note also that the "No opinion" vote is generally smaller.

	Freedom of Speech for German People	Union Leaders	Communists
Yes	81%	64%	62%
No	17	20	31
Undecided	2	16	7

It is impossible to determine definitely the direction of opinion in the various population groups in Berlin, because the number of cases within many of the groups is so small as to be subject to a wide margin of error. On the whole, however, the groups in Berlin follow much the same pattern as that already described for the Zone and for the three Laender.

APPENDIX

Question: Sollte das deutsche Volk vollkommene Redefreiheit haben?
Should the German people have complete freedom of speech?

AMERICAN ZONE

	YES	NO	NO OPINION	=100%	Sample
American Zone	77%	14	9		3008
Party membership or preference					
SPD	84	11	5		920
"Christian" parties[1]	76	15	9		967
"Democratic" parties[2]	82	14	4		220
KPD, SED	95	5	-		69
WAV	78	17	5		54
No membership or preference	71	15	14		541
No opinion	60	15	25		237
NSDAP membership					
Respondent a member	78	18	4		384
Other person in family a member	76	14	10		511
No membership	77	13	10		2110
Religion					
Catholic	77	14	9		1566
Protestant	78	13	9		1356
Education					
Less than eight years	73	14	13		1194
Eight years	82	11	7		1231
9 - 11 years	81	15	4		377
More than 11 years	69	25	6		195
Age					
29 and under	78	15	7		608
30 - 39	76	16	8		734
40 - 49	78	13	9		712
50 - 59	81	10	9		484
60 and over	75	12	13		466
Sex					
Men	82	14	4		1316
Women	73	13	14		1686
Socio-economic status					
Upper and upper middle	76	19	5		231
Lower middle	82	12	6		767
Low	77	15	8		1314
Very low	73	12	15		533
On relief	67	12	21		153

[1] Includes: CDU, CSU, CDP, CSV
[2] Includes: LDP, FDP, DVP, NDP, BHP, EVD

Table II

Question: Sollten Gewerkschaftsleiter im Radio sprechen duerfen?
Should Trade Union leaders be permitted to speak on the radio?

AMERICAN ZONE

	YES	NO	NO OPINION	UNDECIDED	Sample
American Zone	71%	6	19	4 = 100%	1493
Party membership or preference					
SPD	86	2	10	2	448
"Christian" parties[1]	66	5	22	7	474
"Democratic" parties[2]	75	11	7	7	115
KPD, SED	88	8	-	4	24
VAV	77	18	5	-	22
No membership or preference	62	9	24	5	286
No opinion	47	3	45	5	124
NSDAP membership					
Respondent a member	79	9	8	4	188
Other person in family a member	69	4	21	6	267
No membership	70	6	20	4	1035
Religion					
Catholic	70	5	21	4	779
Protestant	72	6	17	5	669
Education					
Less than eight years	66	3	26	5	596
Eight years	73	6	17	4	617
9 - 11 years	75	11	10	4	177
More than 11 years	77	11	6	6	94
Age					
29 and under	71	9	18	2	320
30 - 39	74	4	17	5	384
40 - 49	70	5	20	5	327
50 - 59	72	6	18	4	232
60 and over	66	4	23	7	226
Sex					
Men	82	6	9	3	636
Women	63	5	27	5	852
Socio-economic status					
Upper and upper middle	75	8	8	9	106
Lower middle	74	7	14	5	381
Low	73	6	18	3	645
Very low	63	4	29	4	285
On relief	66	1	27	6	71
Attitude toward freedom of speech					
Favor freedom of speech for Germans	80	5	12	3	1130
Oppose freedom of speech for Germans	60	11	22	7	200

[1] Includes: CDU, CSU, CDP, CSV
[2] Includes: LDP, FDP, DVP, NDP, BHP, EVD

Table III

Question: Sollten Mitglieder der Kommunistischen Partei im Radio sprechen duerfen?
Should members of the Communist party be permitted to speak on the radio?

AMERICAN ZONE

	YES	NO	NO OPINION	UNDECIDED	Sample
American Zone	55%	26	11	8 =100%	1515
Party membership or preference					
SPD	62	22	7	9	472
"Christian" parties[1]	45	36	11	8	493
"Democratic" parties[2]	58	31	4	7	105
KPD, SED	96	-	4	-	45
VAV	69	25	3	3	32
No membership or preference	54	21	15	10	255
No opinion	52	13	27	8	113
NSDAP membership					
Respondent a member	71	18	3	8	196
Other person in family a member	58	25	9	8	244
No membership	52	27	12	9	1075
Religion					
Catholic	51	29	12	8	787
Protestant	60	22	10	8	687
Education					
Less than eight years	44	32	15	9	598
Eight years	58	25	9	8	614
9 - 11 years	73	16	6	5	200
More than 11 years	72	17	2	9	101
Age					
29 and under	59	24	11	6	288
30 - 39	56	26	8	10	350
40 - 49	58	25	9	8	385
50 - 59	56	25	9	10	252
60 and over	42	29	17	10	240
Sex					
Men	65	22	4	9	680
Women	47	29	16	8	834
Socio-economic status					
Upper and upper middle	66	18	6	10	125
Lower middle	59	26	7	8	386
Low	55	27	9	9	669
Very low	46	25	22	7	248
On relief	51	28	16	5	82
Attitude toward freedom of speech					
Favor freedom of speech for Germans	61	25	7	7	1190
Oppose freedom of speech for Germans	45	35	8	12	207

[1] Includes: CDU, CSU, CDP, CSV
[2] Includes: LDP, FDP, DVP, NLP, BHE, GVD

Table IV

Question: Sollte das deutsche Volk vollkommene Redefreiheit haben?
Should the German people have complete freedom of speech?

BAVARIA

	YES	NO	NO OPINION		Sample
Bavaria	76%	15	9	=100%	1616
Party membership or preference					
SPD	83	12	5		429
"Christian" parties[1]	76	15	9		626
"Democratic" parties[2]	87	13	-		52
KPD	94	6	-		33
WAV	77	17	6		53
No membership or preference	70	15	15		321
No opinion	63	19	18		102
NSDAP membership					
Respondent a member	76	21	3		215
Other person in family a member	76	15	9		280
No membership	77	13	10		1119
Religion					
Catholic	76	15	9		1153
Protestant	79	12	9		435
Education					
Less than eight years	72	15	13		905
Eight years	83	12	5		409
9 - 11 years	83	13	4		204
More than 11 years	73	22	5		92
Age					
29 and under	76	17	7		303
30 - 39	75	18	7		389
40 - 49	79	14	7		359
50 - 59	81	10	9		276
60 and over	71	13	16		286
Sex					
Men	81	16	3		710
Women	73	14	13		904
Socio-economic status					
Upper and upper middle	74	20	6		112
Lower middle	81	13	6		421
Low	75	17	8		670
Very low	76	11	13		308

[1] Includes: CDU, CSU, CDP, CSV
[2] Includes: LDP, FDP, DVP, NDP, BHP, BVD

Table V

Question: Sollten Gewerkschaftsleiter im Radio sprechen duerfen?
Should Trade Union leaders be permitted to speak on the radio?

BAVARIA

	YES	NO	NO OPINION	UNDECIDED		Sample
Total	72%	5	19	4	=100%	799
Party membership or preference						
CSU	88	3	8	1		206
Other Christian parties[1]	67	5	22	6		308
Socialistic parties[2]	90	-	7	3		30
No membership or preference	61	7	28	4		167
No opinion	58	4	35	3		55
NSDAP membership						
Respondent a member	85	6	8	1		111
Other person in family a member	71	2	21	6		141
No membership	70	5	21	4		545
Religion						
Catholic	71	5	20	4		577
Protestant	75	5	16	4		212
Education						
Less than eight years	67	3	26	4		448
Eight years	76	6	13	5		205
9 - 11 years	81	10	8	1		94
More than 11 years	81	7	6	6		47
Age						
29 and under	74	7	16	3		148
30 - 39	73	3	19	5		206
40 - 49	76	4	17	3		160
50 - 59	76	6	14	4		145
60 and over	61	4	30	5		137
Sex						
Men	82	6	9	3		348
Women	64	4	27	5		449
Socio-economic status						
Upper and upper middle	74	8	10	8		51
Lower middle	73	7	16	4		207
Low	73	5	19	3		330
Very low	69	2	25	4		166
Attitude toward freedom of speech						
Favor freedom of speech for Germans	81	5	11	3		593
Oppose freedom of speech for Germans	61	7	26	6		121

[1] Includes: CDU, CSU, CDP, CSV
[2] Includes: LDP, FDP, DVP, NDP, BHE, EVD

Table VI

Question: Sollten Mitglieder der Kommunistischen Partei im Radio sprechen duerfen?
Should members of the Communist party be permitted to speak on the radio?

BAVARIA

	YES	NO	NO OPINION	UNDECIDED		Sample
Bavaria	54%	27	10	9	=100%	817
Party membership or preference						
SPD	62	24	6	8		225
"Christian" parties[1]	41	37	12	10		32[illegible]
"Democratic" parties[2]	64	32	-	4		22
No membership or preference	57	16	15	12		151
No opinion	55	11	28	6		[illegible]
NSDAP membership						
Respondent a member	72	16	3	9		104
Other person in family a member	57	24	10	9		139
No membership	50	29	12	9		574
Religion						
Catholic	51	28	12	9		576
Protestant	63	21	9	7		223
Education						
Less than eight years	44	32	14	10		457
Eight years	60	24	8	8		204
9 - 11 years	75	14	6	5		110
More than 11 years	75	16	2	7		45
Age						
29 and under	55	25	13	7		155
30 - 39	56	26	6	12		183
40 - 49	58	26	10	6		199
50 - 59	53	30	7	10		131
60 and over	44	29	18	9		149
Sex						
Men	64	23	4	9		362
Women	46	29	16	9		455
Socio-economic status						
Upper and upper middle	69	13	10	8		61
Lower middle	58	28	7	7		214
Low	51	29	8	12		240
Very low	45	28	21	6		142
Attitude toward freedom of speech						
Favor freedom of speech for Germans	58	26	8	8		6[illegible]
Oppose freedom of speech for Germans	49	37	4	10		115

[1] Includes: CDU, CSU, CDP, CSV
[2] Includes: LDP, FDP, DVP, NDP, BHE, GVD

Table VII

Question: Sollte das deutsche Volk vollkommene Redefreiheit haben?
Should the German people have complete freedom of speech?

HESSE

	YES	NO	NO OPINION	= 100%	Sample
Hesse	78%	12%	10%		732
Party membership or preference					
SPD	84	10	6		276
"Christian" parties[1]	77	17	6		169
"Democratic" parties[2]	83	12	5		57
No membership or preference	75	15	10		121
No opinion	61	8	31		91
NSDAP membership					
Respondent a member	81	14	5		91
Other person in family a member	76	12	12		108
No membership	78	12	10		533
Religion					
Catholic	80	10	10		199
Protestant	78	12	10		502
Education					
Less than eight years	75	8	17		24
Eight years	80	10	10		556
9 - 11 years	79	18	3		94
More than 11 years	67	26	7		54
Age					
29 and under	79	14	7		152
30 - 39	79	11	10		173
40 - 49	74	14	12		176
50 - 59	80	11	9		128
60 and over	81	10	9		103
Sex					
Men	84	12	4		281
Women	75	12	13		448
Socio-economic status					
Upper and upper middle	78	18	4		82
Lower middle	83	12	5		201
Low	79	12	9		318
Very low	67	11	22		111

[1] Includes: CDU, CSU, CDP, CSV
[2] Includes: LDP, FDP, DVP, NDP, BBP, EVD

Table VIII

Question: Sollten Gewerkschaftsleiter im Radio sprechen duerfen?
Should Trade Union leaders be permitted to speak on the radio?

HESSE

	YES	NO	NO OPINION	UNDECIDED	= 100%	Sample
Total	71	7	17	5	= 100%	366
Party membership or preference						
SPD	84	2	11	3		136
"Christian" parties [1]	69	9	14	8		
"Democratic" parties [2]	56	22	9	13		
No membership or preference	65	11	20	4		
No opinion	51	2	45	2		47
Religion						
Catholic	65	8	23	4		92
Protestant	73	7	15	5		255
Education						
Less than eight years	73	-	27	-		11
Eight years	71	5	19	5		279
9 - 11 years	65	19	10	6		48
Age						
29 and under	73	11	15	1		91
30 - 39	73	9	11	7		89
40 - 49	67	3	24	6		79
50 - 59	67	7	22	4		55
60 and over	73	2	15	10		52
Sex						
Men	80	6	8	6		123
Women	66	7	22	5		241
Socio-economic status						
Upper and upper middle	90	13	7	10		40
Lower middle	74	7	11	8		100
Low	76	7	14	3		155
Very low	51	3	41	5		63
Attitude toward freedom of speech						
Favor freedom of speech for Germans	79	5	13	3		283
Oppose freedom of speech for Germans	56	23	8	13		39

[1] Includes: CDU, CSU, CDP, CSV
[2] Includes: LDP, FDP, DVP, NDP, BHE, EVD

Table IX

Question: Sollte das deutsche Volk vollkommene Redefreiheit haben?
Should the German people have complete freedom of speech?

WUERTTEMBERG-BADEN

	YES	NO	NO OPINION		Sample
Wuerttemberg-Baden	77%	13	10	= 100%	660
Party membership or preference					
SPD	84	11	5		215
"Christian" parties[1]	77	13	10		172
"Democratic" parties[2]	80	15	5		111
No membership or preference	71	12	17		99
No opinion	50	18	32		44
NSDAP membership					
Respondent a member	80	14	6		78
Other person in family a member	79	13	8		123
No membership	77	12	11		458
Religion					
Catholic	78	10	12		214
Protestant	78	14	8		419
Education					
Less than eight years	76	9	15		265
Eight years	82	12	6		266
9 - 11 years	80	16	4		79
More than 11 years	65	31	4		49
Age					
29 and under	79	13	8		153
30 - 39	76	14	10		172
40 - 49	78	11	11		177
50 - 59	80	9	11		80
60 and over	77	14	9		77
Sex					
Men	82	14	4		325
Women	73	12	15		344
Socio-economic status					
Upper and upper middle	76	19	5		37
Lower middle	84	12	4		145
Low	79	12	9		326
Very low	72	12	16		114

[1] Includes: CDU, CSU, CDP, CSV
[2] Includes: LDP, FDP, DVP, NDP, BHP, GVP

Table X

Question: Sollten Gewerkschaftsleiter im Radio sprechen duerfen?
Should Trade Union Leaders be permitted to speak on the radio?

WUERTTEMBERG-BADEN

	YES	NO	NO OPINION	UNDECIDED		Sample
Wuerttemberg-Baden	68%	6	21	5	=100%	328
Party membership or preference						
SPD	84	1	14	1		110
"Christian" parties	57	6	29	8		82
"Democratic" parties	77	11	6	6		53
No membership or preference	62	11	21	6		53
NSDAP membership						
Respondent a member	65	15	10	10		40
Other person in family a member	73	6	17	4		69
No membership	67	5	24	4		218
Religion						
Catholic	67	6	25	2		108
Protestant	70	5	19	6		204
Education						
Less than eight years	64	2	27	7		137
Eight years	71	7	19	3		133
9 - 11 years	74	6	14	6		35
Age						
29 and under	64	11	22	3		81
30 - 39	75	2	19	4		89
40 - 49	64	8	21	7		88
50 - 59	66	-	31	3		32
60 and over	73	5	11	11		37
Sex						
Men	82	7	7	4		165
Women	53	6	35	6		162
Socio-economic status						
Upper and upper middle	87	-	-	13		15
Lower middle	76	8	12	4		74
Low	68	6	21	5		160
Very low	57	7	31	5		56
Attitude toward freedom of speech						
Favor freedom of speech for Germans	78	6	12	4		250
Oppose freedom of speech for Germans	57	14	22	7		42

[1]Includes: CDU, CSU, CDP, CSV
[2]Includes: LDP, FDP, DVP, NDP, BBP, EVP

Table XI

Question: Sollten Mitglieder der Kommunistischen Partei im Radio sprechen duerfen?
Should members of the Communist party be permitted to speak on the radio?

HESSE

	YES	NO	NO OPINION	UNDECIDED	Sample
Hesse	61	21	9	9 = 100%	366
Party membership or preference					
SPD	66	18	5	11	144
"Christian" parties[1]	58	26	7	9	85
"Democratic" parties[2]	48	44	4	4	25
No membership or preference	56	24	13	7	55
No opinion	57	9	27	7	44
NSDAP membership					
Respondent a member	70	19	2	9	54
Other person in family a member	67	21	4	8	51
No membership	58	21	12	9	261
Religion					
Catholic	53	31	9	7	105
Protestant	64	16	10	10	249
Education					
Eight years	57	23	10	10	277
9 - 11 years	76	11	7	6	46
More than 11 years	73	17	-	10	29
Age					
29 and under	63	26	8	3	61
30 - 39	61	17	13	9	84
40 - 49	63	21	5	11	97
50 - 59	69	15	8	8	73
60 and over	47	29	14	10	51
Sex					
Men	70	18	1	11	158
Women	55	23	15	7	207
Socio-economic status					
Upper and upper middle	62	29	-	9	42
Lower middle	60	25	4	11	101
Low	63	20	10	7	163
Very low	63	10	19	8	48
Attitude toward freedom of speech					
Favor freedom of speech for Germans	68	20	5	7	286
Oppose freedom of speech for Germans	47	27	12	14	51

[1] Includes: CDU, CSU, CDP, CSV
[2] Includes: LDP, FDP, DVP, NDP, BHE, GVD

Table XII

Question: Sollten Mitglieder der Kommunistischen Partei im Radio sprechen duerfen?
Should members of the Communist party be permitted to speak on the radio?

WUERTTEMBERG-BADEN

	YES	NO	NO OPINION	UNDECIDED	Sample
Wuerttemberg-Baden	52%	30	11	7 = 100%	632
Party membership or preference					
SPD	56	23	11	10	105
"Christian" parties[1]	45	41	10	4	90
"Democratic" parties[2]	60	26	5	9	58
No membership or preference	41	35	20	4	46
NSDAP membership					
Respondent a member	68	24	5	3	38
Other person in family a member	48	33	11	8	54
No membership	50	30	12	8	240
Religion					
Catholic	49	33	12	6	106
Protestant	53	28	11	8	215
Education					
Less than eight years	40	33	19	8	128
Eight years	54	30	8	8	133
9 - 11 years	68	25	2	5	44
Age					
29 and under	62	24	8	6	72
30 - 39	52	36	8	4	83
40 - 49	51	30	11	8	89
50 - 59	46	25	17	12	48
60 and over	43	30	15	12	40
Sex					
Men	64	24	6	6	160
Women	41	34	16	9	172
Socio-economic status					
Upper and upper middle	68	9	5	18	22
Lower middle	59	24	9	8	71
Low	54	32	8	6	166
Very low	38	27	26	9	58
Attitude toward freedom of speech					
Favor freedom of speech for Germans	59	26	7	6	260
Oppose freedom of speech for Germans	34	37	12	17	15

[1] Includes: CDU, CSU, CDP, CSV
[2] Includes: LDP, FDP, DVP, NDP, BBP, EVD

Table XIII

Question: Sollte das deutsche Volk vollkommene Redefreiheit haben?
Should the German people have complete freedom of speech?

BERLIN

	YES	NO	NO OPINION		Sample
Berlin	81%	17	2	= 100%	399
Party membership or preference					
SPD	85	13	2		257
"Christian" parties[1]	78	19	3		70
"Democratic" parties[2]	75	25	-		24
SED	71	29	-		21
NSDAP membership					
Respondent a member	81	19	-		26
Other person in family a member	89	11	-		46
No membership	80	17	3		327
Religion					
Catholic	78	20	2		49
Protestant	80	17	3		291
Education					
Eight years	82	14	4		273
9 - 11 years	84	16	-		79
More than 11 years	68	32	-		38
Age					
29 and under	75	20	5		63
30 - 39	86	14	-		76
40 - 49	83	13	4		113
50 - 59	77	20	3		78
60 and over	81	17	2		69
Sex					
Men	82	17	1		138
Women	80	17	3		261
Socio-economic status					
Upper and upper middle	71	29	-		17
Lower middle	79	20	1		86
Low	84	14	2		172
Very low	80	15	5		110

[1] Includes: CDU, CSU, CDP, CSV
[2] Includes: LDP, FDP, DVP, HDP, BBP, BVD

Table XIV

Question: Sollten Mitglieder der Kommunistischen Partei im Radio sprechen duerfen?
Should members of the Communist party be permitted to speak on the radio?

BERLIN

	YES	NO	NO OPINION	UNDECIDED		Sample
Berlin	62%	31	4	3	=100%	199
Party membership or preference						
SPD	59	33	4	4		131
"Christian" parties[1]	49	39	9	3		33
Religion						
Catholic	65	27	4	4		26
Protestant	59	34	3	4		143
Education						
Eight years	59	33	5	3		134
9 - 11 years	69	29	2	-		45
Age						
29 and under	76	18	-	6		33
30 - 39	68	32	-	-		34
40 - 49	64	26	5	5		61
50 - 59	48	40	6	6		35
60 and over	53	39	8	-		36
Sex						
Men	67	26	-	7		72
Women	59	33	6	2		127
Socio-economic status						
Lower middle	69	27	2	2		51
Low	57	34	5	4		84
Very low	66	30	4	-		50
Attitude toward freedom of speech						
Favor freedom of speech for Germans	64	29	3	4		167
Oppose freedom of speech for Germans	58	42	-	-		26

[1]Includes: CDU, CSU, CDP, CSV

Table XV

Question: Sollten Gewerkschaftsleiter im Radio sprechen duerfen?
Should Trade Union leaders be permitted to speak on the radio?

BERLIN

	YES	NO	NO OPINION	UNDECIDED		Sample
Berlin	64%	20	12	4	=100%	200
Party membership or preference						
SPD	67	17	11	5		126
"Christian" parties[1]	59	30	11	-		37
Religion						
Catholic	65	9	17	9		23
Protestant	63	22	12	3		148
Education						
Eight years	63	20	11	6		139
9 - 11 years	67	18	12	3		34
Age						
29 and under	54	30	13	3		30
30 - 39	64	12	14	10		42
40 - 49	69	15	14	2		52
50 - 59	67	26	7	-		43
60 and over	61	21	9	9		33
Sex						
Men	70	24	1	5		66
Women	61	18	17	4		134
Socio-economic status						
Lower middle	69	17	11	3		35
Low	63	20	11	6		88
Very low	67	20	13	-		60
Attitude toward freedom of speech						
Favor freedom of speech for Germans	69	19	8	4		155
Oppose freedom of speech for Germans	49	24	22	5		41

[1] Includes: CDU, CSU, CDP, CSV

RESTRICTED

ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE AMERICAN ZONE

Report Number 49
3 March 1947
ODIC, Opinion Surveys Headquarters
OMGUS (Rear) APO 757

RESTRICTED

INTRODUCTION ...

Recurrent reports have been made, during the period of the occupation, of an increase in anti-semitic feeling among the German people. These reports have indicated that anti-semitism has been expressed not only in word but in deed. Segregation, discrimination, open attacks have not been frequent, but a solid ground for such action has been noted in the hardening attitude of the German public toward Jews.

The causes for such a growth have been named as a) the traditional scape-goatism which was so thoroughly taught in Germany, b) an aggressive outlet for the frustrating existence endured by most Germans, c) a reaction to the infiltration of Polish refugees, or d) reaction to the movement from camps to civil life of other displaced persons.

Little has been done to counteract the disaffection reported. Reeducation programs, patently necessary, have not been initiated or organized. Reported discrimination against Negroes by Americans, has, on the other hand, tended to allow Germans to rationalize types of discrimination practiced here.

The analysis below presents the results of a study of a cross-section of the German population in the American Zone and in Berlin. The field work was done in the last two weeks of December 1946. Interviewing of the scientifically constructed cross-section was carried out by trained German interviewers working under the supervision of personnel of the Opinion Surveys Headquarters. A grand total of 3415 individuals were questioned in their homes.

SUMMARY ...

1. Nationalist sentiment has previously been shown to provide a convenient base for anti-semitism. With an increase in nationali feeling more anti-semitic expression has been heard in American occupied areas.

2. At the time of the study about four in ten people in the Zone (39%) can be said to be very seriously disposed to exhibit racial prejudice. Another fifth of the population (22%) easily go along with the more extreme positions and cannot be expected to counter any expressions of anti-semitism. Thus about six in ten (61%) of the Germans are deeply imbued with racist feeling. Opponents of race hatred in any positive sense form a very small fraction (of the order of 2%) of the population.

3. Religion, educational history, socio-economic status, sex -- these factors play a basic role in influencing degree of prejudice. Protestants, those with little schooling, with low class status, and women are more frequently prejudiced than their counterpart groups. Women make up the least variable group and undoubtedly will prove to be the most difficult to shake loose from their unsocial disposition.

4. Age and Nationalsocialist experience, place of residence, service in the Wehrmacht, NSDAP membership -- such factors are relatively unimportant in determination of anti-semitic responses.

5. The informational level of the more prejudiced is lower than that of the less prejudiced. The more bigoted that people are the s they are inclined not to use informational sources available to them.

6. The most intense anti-semitic groups are not more seriously troubled by day-to-day difficulties than are the least anti-semitic groups. If anything the former may find some release for their frustrations in expressions of anti-semitism.

7. An anti-semitic outlook is highly correlated with generalized appreciation of bread historical situation rather than with attitudes toward specific situations. Many fewer anti-semites belie that Nationalsocialism, for instance, was a bad idea when compared with the least anti-semitic groups.

PREVIOUS STUDIES ...

Opinion Surveys has twice before explored German attitudes toward the Jews. Results of an October 1945 survey made in the American Zone showed that a fifth of the people went along with Hitler on his treatment of the Jews. They were presented with three alternative statements for agreement or disagreement: 1) Hitler was right in his treatment of the Jews; 2) he went too far in his treatment of the Jews, but "something had to be done to keep them within bounds;" and 3) the actions against the Jews were in no way justified." A majority agreed with the third statement. However, 19% chose the second alternative and thus ranged themselves on the side of anti-semitism.

A second and more elaborate study was made in April 1946. Then people's answers to four inter-related questions were analyzed. The results were that two-thirds of the people in the American Zone held prejudiced views on at least one of any of the four questions. A fourth took a similar stand on two or three of the four questions; and 2% were consistently biased on all four questions.

This study also demonstrated the close relationship between national pride and racism -- the breeding ground of anti-semitism. People who showed the greatest national egotism (e.g. the Germans are the best workers in all the world) also were likely to believe in racial superiority and its fellow-traveler, the desirability of racial "purity."

Three of the four questions were repeated in the December 1946 study. As shown in the following table, nationalistic attitudes have increased in the intervening eight months. To the extent that people who hold these views also tend to be anti-semitic, prejudice against the Jews can also be held to have increased during this period.

	April 1946		December 1946	
Nationalist and Racist on:				
All 3 questions	3%		5%	
On 2 questions	14	65%	31	95%
On 1 question	48		59	
On none of the questions	35		5	

ATTITUDINAL GROUPS ...

In the December 1946 study eleven questions were asked, bearing directly or indirectly on attitudes toward the Jews. Eight of these questions proved to be highly interrelated, that is, if a person took a given attitude on certain of the eight questions, he was more likely than not toward have similar attitudes toward the others.*

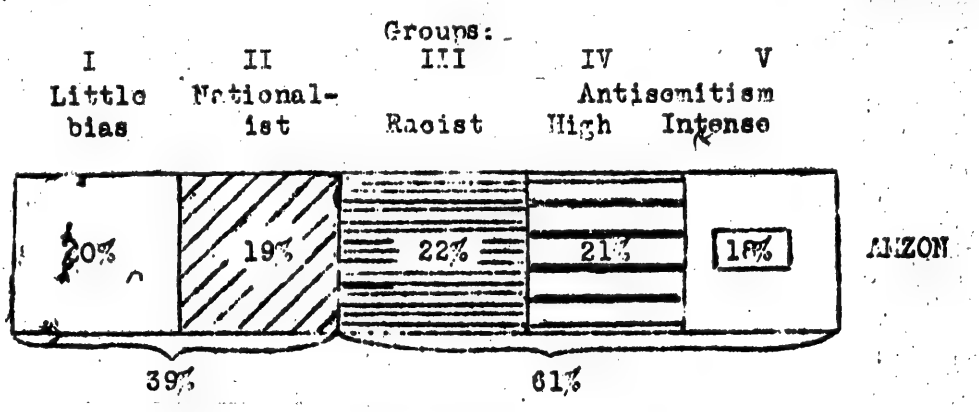
Thus it was possible to distinguish five groups of attitudes, ranging from one with little bias to one of intense anti-semitism. As is apparent in the following descriptive table, the groups are cumulative -- Group I plus another attitude makes Group II, Group II plus a third attitude makes Group III, and so on, until in Group V the eight attitudes are all present.

GROUP		GENERALLY HELD ATTITUDES	Per cent
I	LITTLE BIAS	Germans are best workers in the world	20%
II	NATIONALISTS	Some races are more fit to rule than others	19
III	RACISTS	Some races are lower than others	22
IV	ANTI-SEMITES	Would not like working under a Jew Would not like living in the same house with a Jew	21
V	INTENSE ANTI-SEMITES	Would not like living in the same street with a Jew Would not like working with a Jew A composer's racial background may determine the beauty of his music	18
		Total	100%

* The questions were tested according to the design of Guttmann. The eight questions proved to have a highly correlated predictive power. The eight questions are appended to the report.

PROPORTIONS IN EACH GROUP ...

On the basis of this test, then, three fifths of the adult population in the American Zone hold prejudiced opinions about other human beings. The proportion in each of the five groups in relation to the total population is presented in chart form:



Manifestly, the Group I people who think the Germans are the best workers in the world are far removed from the Group V people whose attitudes are a compound of nationalism, racism and anti-semitism. However, as the table above indicates, from group to group, the progression toward increased prejudice is consistant.

Nor are all the people in Group I completely free from bias. (In fact only 2% of the total population have this distinction.) Nearly a fifth of Group I (18%) refused to say that Jews should eat in the same restaurants as non-Jews. And only 22% of them felt Jews should be encouraged to remain in Germany, the remainder advocated migration to Palestine or withhold opinions. (Admittedly advocacy of migration may result from humanitarian motives -- analysis showed the matter was not necessarily related to anti-semitism.)

... While Group I is not so "white" as would appear, Group V is more "black" than indicated. Thus compared with other groups, more of them want "restricted" eating places, would despise a German for marrying a non-Aryan and recommend emigration to Palestine. They are, to repeat, rabid anti-semites.

The comparison of the five groups on these three issues follows:

	GROUPS: I %	II %	III %	IV %	V %
Proportion who say: Jews should be allowed to go to same restaurants as non-Jews	82	78	80	52	20
Germans should not be judged and despised for marrying non-Aryans	98	98	95	90	72
Jews should be encouraged to rebuild their life in Germany	22	19	13	10	4

Postscript on Group V ...

Interviewers report that 27% of the people in this group gave reluctant or evasive answers to some of the questions. This reluctance was expressed in a large proportion of "No opinion" replies. One in ten gave indefinite replies to four of the eight questions used in the foregoing scale. This was taken into account in the analysis, and they are properly placed at the anti-semitic end of the curve.

THE LOCATION OF PREJUDICE ...

Place of residence ...

The climate of opinion regarding the Jews changes according to place of residence. Small town people, for example, are more prejudiced than those living in large cities. But there are differences among the large cities -- Munich has more people with anti-semitic attitudes than other large cities; but Nuernberg, also in Bavaria, is low on the scale, rivalling Berlin in this respect. Among the three Laender, Bavaria has the least bias -- relatively -- and Wuerttemberg-Baden the worst, with Hesse following close behind.

The proportions in each of the five groups in the Laender and in important cities are presented here:

	GROUPS I	II	III	IV	V	No. of cases
In the Laender:						
Bavaria	22%	19%	23%	19%	17%	1616
Hesse	19	18	23	23	17	731
Wuerttemberg-Baden	17	18	20	25	20	659
In the cities:						
Berlin	51%	24%	31%	11%	3%	409
Nuernberg	45	14	23	12	6	65
Frankfurt	20	19	31	26	4	59
Stuttgart	21	26	17	26	10	70
Munich	32	16	19	18	16	140

Background and environment ...

Many factors influence the formation of attitudes -- and not the least of these is a man's or women's social environment. How much education a person has had, what kind of job he holds, what his religion is, his political orientation -- all force and re-inforce his opinions and attitudes.

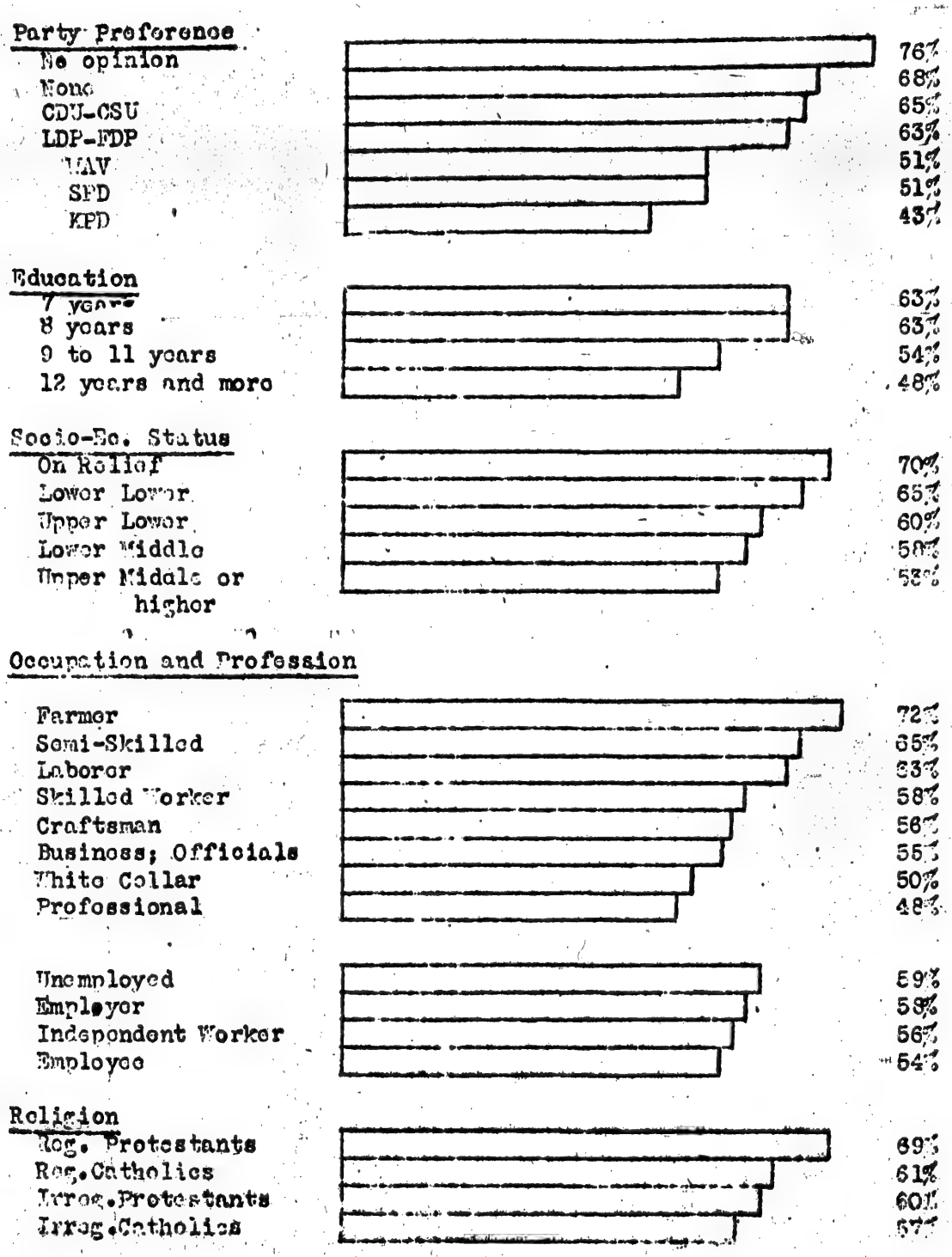
On anti-semitism, these influences are clearly demonstrated. In general, prejudice towards the Jews is greater among the people whose lives are most dull and narrow -- those with a lower status in society, those with the least education, those with unspecialized jobs.

Religious affiliation makes a difference, too. People of Protestant background tend to be more prejudiced than those of the Catholic faith. But in both groups, those who attend church regularly are more prone to anti-semitism than those who are lax in attendance.

People of different political persuasion take different views about the Jews -- though it is probably a re-inforcing rather than a causal factor. Supporters of right-wing parties are generally more biased than those whose preference is for the left-wing parties. Most prejudiced of all are the people who cannot decide which party they like best and those who dislike all the political groups -- the first probably because they are generally an uninformed apathetic low status group, the second because they represent a disgruntled, cynical faction of society. (See the following page for charts on these group differences.)

It is interesting to note that neither service in the Wehrmacht nor membership in NSDAP have much bearing on the degree of anti-semitism held. Nor are the people who grow up under the nazi regime much more prejudiced than are people who were adults when Hitler came into power. There is a slight tendency for anti-semitism to decrease with age -- until the 60 year old group is reached, when it begins to increase. On the whole, however, attitudes appear to have been fixed by the eighteenth year. The question arises from these findings: did the nazi racial philosophy have little impact on the groups who were the special objects of indoctrination, or was the propaganda so far-reaching that it affected all population groups almost equally? Probably the latter is nearer the truth.

PROPORTIONS IN GROUPS III, IV AND V
(The Racists, Anti-Semites and Intense Anti-Semites)

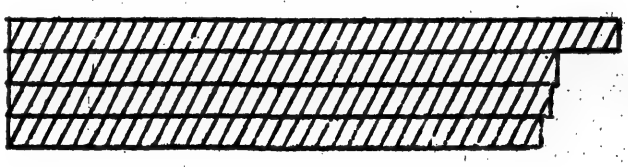


Women ...

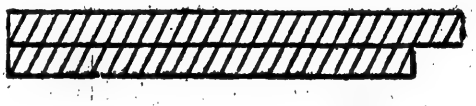
Women prove to be markedly more biased than men. Moreover, as a group, they are consistently more race conscious than men -- even when other factors, e.g. education, are taken into account. Nor is there any variation between housewives and other members of their sex, though housewives have generally been found to be more circumscribed in their thinking than other women. The explanation for this situation lies, undoubtedly, in the "Kinder, Küche und Kirche" upbringing of German womenhood, which, when vigorously applied results in a very limited horizon. When the part the home and family plays in the formation of attitudes is considered, the position of women on this and other matters is thrown into sharper focus.

The bar charts below show the comparison between men and women in Groups III, IV, and V (the Racists, Anti-Semites and Intense Anti-Semites). Included are "unfit men and women" i.e. people who are unable to work because of illness, infirmity, etc. Their relatively greater prejudice shows the re-inforcing influence of a circumscribed life on attitudes.

Women:



Men:



Interrelationship of factors ...

People's lives are not compartmentalized -- an individual is not only member of a church, but also supports a political party, has a particular kind of job, or none at all, has a certain social status, and the benefit of much or little schooling. All of these factors play their part in forming his attitudes. The interplay of these various factors was analyzed to discover their relative influence on prejudices held, with these results:

... Political party affiliation, as mentioned, makes a difference in attitudes -- but within political groups, economic status, sex, and religion are influential. Thus anti-semitism increases among both SPD and CDU/CSU as party supporters descend in the economic scale. Within such parties, Protestants are more biased than Catholics. (Members of CSU, mostly Bavarian Catholics are also less anti-semitic than those of CDU in Hesse and Wuerttemberg-Baden which contains many Protestants.) In all parties, women are more prejudiced than men.

... Economic and educational status which, of course, are correlated, influence men's attitudes, though they have little affect on women's attitudes. Men are consistently less anti-semitic as economic and educational status rises. But education is a more potent influence than economic level in all but a few instances, e.g. 1) men (but not women) whose economic situation is higher than their education would seem to warrant are less anti-semitic than men with the same schooling, but lower status which shows the potency of broad experience in counteracting prejudice; and 2) among the well-educated who show gross economic displacement. (Among women, education or economic level has little or no influence, except with those in the lowest economic groups who are more anti-semitic than their anti-semitic sisters.) Thus, education overrides other factors, and is, accordingly an instrument that, used with more foresight than formerly, can help to reduce racial prejudice.

OTHER FACTORS ...

Two other factors were examined for their possible bearing on anti-semitism: 1) frustration in the every day affairs of life, and 2) social apathy. The first as defined in this study, appears to be unimportant, the second to be very significant.

Frustration ...

Psychologists say that when the frustrations of everyday life pile up to an unbearable degree they give way to aggressive outbreaks. This, they also say, is a factor in anti-semitism -- the Jew, though in no way responsible for the tensions, becomes the scapegoat. Whatever the merit of the theory, it is not borne out by the results of this study, as the most prejudiced groups do not differ from the less prejudiced groups to any extent. (It could be argued, they fail to differ more, simply because they have released their frustrations in hostility toward the Jews. This seems doubtful.)

Queried, "What is your chief care and worry at present?" replies of the five groups show little difference. Average mentions of cares and worries for individuals was 1.7 in all the groups, except in Group IV where it was 1.8. Nor did the anti-semitic groups complain more than the others about the most troubling everyday problems in Germany today -- food, fuel, clothing, shoes and housing. In fact, they said less about food and housing than the other groups.

But, as indicated in the following table, all Germans find present conditions difficult enough to give those who want to fish in the troubled waters of anti-semitism, a rationalization of their behavior.

GREATEST CARE AND WORRY

	Proportion in Groups:				
	I	II	III	IV	V
Food	34%	31%	31%	29%	29%
Clothing and shoes	4	30	30	34	36
Housing	16	13	12	12	12
Fuel	13	10	11	10	9
General insecurity	4	5	7	8	8
Difficulties as a PG	3	6	4	3	3

Apathy ...

There is no question but that the most racially prejudiced groups are also the least critical, the least well informed, the least interested in political affairs and problems. The question is whether they insulate themselves from ideas and the critical approach because they wish to nurse their prejudices, or whether they are prejudiced because they are outsiders in the world of ideas. It is the old question of what follows what: the egg or the chicken. But whatever the answer, the fact remains that they are the apathetic, disinterested, uncritical people-- the kind who wear their prejudices comfortably.

As one descends the scale from little bias to intense anti-semitism, the fewer magazine readers and radio listeners there are. The tendency also to renounce interest of any kind in political affairs also increases. (Recall the high rate of anti-semitism among people who do not support any political party.) The table below shows that the most rabid group is not only cynical or uninformed about current political progress, but when they do take a positive stand it is only to support totalitarian ideas. This, in the face of the evidence that surrounds Germany today, appears to be blindness of a marked degree, or apathy of the most dangerous kind.

	Proportions in Groups: I	II	III	IV	V
Read magazines	25%	20%	15%	16%	12%
Listen to the radio	60	57	55	45	46
Prefer a multi-party to a single party system	74	67	61	57	46
Think present parties really serve interests of the people	59	58	54	44	40
Cannot name political party which has served Germany best in the last 25 years	34	38	45	51	62

... Related to apathy, if not indeed further evidence of it, is the tendency of the most prejudiced groups to evade replies to troublesome questions. However, even the among intense anti-semites in Group V, two-fifths admit mass murders by the Germans. Thus, though antipathy to facts is a characteristic of the group, there are some who do recognize them. More facts might shake them loose from some of their prejudices.

Here are replies of the people in Groups I to V (Little biased, Racists, Nationalists, Anti-semites and Intense anti-semites) on two questions:

	Proportion in Groups: I	II	III	IV	V
Proportion who know how de-nazification is carried out at present	66%	60%	58%	52%	42%
Proportion who agree that "research has shown the Germans tortured and murdered millions of helpless Europeans."	72%	67%	60%	51%	41%

SOME RELATED ATTITUDES ...

Bigoted people in Germany are not only unfavorably disposed to the Jews. They also tend to hold, more frequently than other people, unfavorable opinions on other important issues. Not that they always differ from other groups -- certain issues are so widely disapproved by all the German population that little group differences appear. The dismantling of German industries is a case in point. Significantly more of the least biased group than of the most biased group think the action just, but the gradations from group to group are small. This also is true of attitudes toward the denazification program and violations of the rules of war by both sides in the war.

This is the way the five groups reply:

	I Little Biased	II Nation-alists	III Racists	IV Anti-Semites	V Intense Anti-Sem.
"Is it just or unjust that the four Allies limit for future Germany the number and type of industries?"					
Just	17%	13%	10%	7%	5%
Unjust	72	75	77	77	74
No opinion	11	12	13	16	21
"In general, are you satisfied or not with the carrying out of Denazification?"					
Satisfied	35%	33%	39%	34%	28%
Dissatisfied					
Too strong	17	22	18	21	17
Too mild	20	16	12	9	9
No Opinion	28	29	31	36	46
"There were many crimes against humanity and peace by each opponent in this war?"					
Agree	78%	83%	88%	86%	78%
Disagree	12	9	4	3	3
No Opinion	10	8	8	11	19

... But marked differences occur on two issues which indicate general orientation. On the judgment of National Socialism ... a bare majority of the people with little bias think it was a bad idea rather than a good idea badly carried out, but only a fourth in Group V believe this. And two-thirds of Group I deny that the occupation is a national humiliation, but only a little more than two-fifths of Group V think the same way.

	I Little Biased	II Nationalists	III Racists	IV Anti-Semites	V Intense Anti-Semites
National Socialism was a bad idea rather than a good idea only badly carried out	51%	40%	33%	27%	27%
It is not a national humiliation for Germany to be occupied by foreign powers	67%	61%	55%	49%	43%

CONCLUSIONS ...

Groups IV and V represent the proportion of the population (39%) that is seriously indoctrinated with racial prejudice. In addition, Group III contains people who would feel quite at home with the extremists and accordingly probably would offer little resistance to overt anti-semitism. Group II is composed of those who are above all else devoted to Germany, and so would be willing to condone policies they themselves do not support -- if convinced such policies were for the good of the nation. Thus only in Group I is there any strong resistance to racial prejudice, and this group is small in relation to the total population.

To sum up: four in ten Germans are so strongly imbued with anti-semitism that it is very doubtful that they would object to overt action against the Jews, though all of them might themselves not participate in such actions. Add the racists, and there are six in ten Germans who would rationalize overt hostility to the Jews. Add the nationalists, and there are eight in ten Germans who, at best, would offer feeble resistance to any such action. Less than two in ten could probably be counted on to resist such overt behavior. And recent history indicates that this is too small a minority to depend upon.

There is, however, one saving grace of education. The fact that people with more education tend to have considerably less racial prejudice than the uneducated points to the way to meet the problem. Any program for the elimination of anti-semitism in Germany should start with schools where critical attitudes, in the broadest sense of the term, are taught. This does not mean, of course, that no attempt should be made to reach people beyond school age -- it is only to predict that these efforts cannot be expected to do wonders. Ideally, the two programs should go hand in hand, so that whatever modifications of adult attitudes are achieved would be accompanied by increased critical awareness on the part of the young. The elimination of anti-semitism in Germany is a very long range problem, likely to take generations. Possibly some reduction can be achieved within a generation, if there is a positive program of organized and directed effort.

The eight questions used in the test are:

1. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The Germans are generally recognized to be the most skilled and diligent workers.

2. Do you believe that some races are less worthy than others?

3. Do you believe that some races are more fit to rule than others?

4. Would you be against having a Jew live on the same street with you?

5. Or in the same house?

6. Would you work with a Jew?

7. Would you work under a Jew?

8. Does the racial origin of the composer affect the beauty of a composition?

A PILOT STUDY ON DISPLACED PERSONS

Report Number 50
20 March 1947
ODIC, Opinion Surveys Hq.
OMGUS (Rear) APO 757

DISPLACED PERSONS IN EIGHT AMERICAN ZONE COMMUNITIES ....

This report is based on an exploratory study in eight communities in Hesse and Bavaria. Interviews were held with 298 Displaced Persons living in these communities. Results of the survey are not in any way definitive, and the report is presented only as a summary of a limited, but interesting, pilot study. Respondents' names were taken from the Ausländerlisten des Einwohnermeldeamtes so as to represent a cross-section of the people registered.

National origin ...

About one in ten of the Displaced Persons interviewed claims to be Stateless or uncertain about country of origin. The remainder represent twenty-five different nationalities as diverse, geographically, as Austrian and Chinese. The two leading nationalities, in point of frequency of mention, are Polish and Dutch. The roster is as follows:

Polish	12%
Dutch	9
French	7
Jugoslavian	7
Latvian	7
Hungarian	5
Italian	5
Lithuanian	5
Ukrainian	5
Czechoslovakian	5
Russian	5
Rumanian	5
Estonian	4
Belgian	2
Austrian	2
Bulgarian	2
Finnish	1
Spanish	1
Others*	2
Stateless	7
Status uncertain	2

Age and sex ...

Almost half (48%) are under thirty years of age, 28% are in the 30-39 age group, 15% between 40-49 years, and 9% are 50 years of age or more.

More than three-fifths (62%) are men.

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* "Others" includes natives of Algiers, China, Brazil, Ecuador, Lebanon, and Switzerland.

Time of arrival ...

Two fifths of the DPs interviewed say they came to Germany in 1944 or later. Years of arrival for the total group are:

1940 or before	16%
1941	10
1942	18
1943	12
1944	28
1945	10
1946	2
Indefinite answer	2
Born in Germany	2
	100%

Reasons for coming ...

A majority of the respondents say they were deported, or forced to come, or brought to Germany by the Gestapo, the police, the Wehrmacht or the German government (Dienstverstellen). Whether or not all the DPs who were "brought" by the Wehrmacht or the government came against their will is not clear. However, one in five did come to Germany voluntarily either to take jobs or because they were in the army. Add those who came to escape Russian occupation of their homelands, or decided to stay after being brought here as a PW, or were here before the war, or came to Germany to study, and a very sizeable minority (41%) of the DPs interviewed are in Germany today by reason of their own decision. The question and division of replies are:

"How did you happen to come to Germany?"

"Deported"	19%
"Forced to come"	16
"Brought to Germany by German government; Wehrmacht, Gestapo; police; etc."	14
"Deported because a German; was a German; etc."	2
"Volunteered for job reasons, to make money, etc."	12
"Left homeland because of Russian occupation"	13
"Was with the German army"	4
"Came as PW and stayed"	5
"Was in Germany before the war"	3
"Came here to study"	4
Other reasons	6
"Not here before war"	2
	100%

Occupation in Germany during the war ...

Most of the DPs had jobs of one kind or another during the war. Some of them worked in the kind of jobs they had been trained for, others worked in factories, farms, or in offices. Even some of the people who were in concentration camps also worked. A small minority (7%) say they came to Germany after the war.

... 24% worked at jobs they were trained for
... 14% worked in factories
... 12% were in concentration camps
... 11% were unskilled workers
... 10% were housewives, household servants, waiters, students, etc.
... 7% were in the Wehrmacht
... 7% came to Germany after the war
... 7% were agricultural laborers
... 6% had clerical jobs
... 4% were DPs
... 2% did nothing

(Percentages total more than 100 because some people mentioned more than one job.)

Their occupational training ...

About an eighth (12%) of the DPs say they have no vocation. (Many of these people were too young when they came to Germany to prepare for a job or profession.) The remainder all are trained for some specific type of work: 15% are professional people; 38% are skilled workers; 4% are independent business men; 11% are clerical workers; 3% are unskilled workers; 3% are farm workers; 14% are sales people, musicians, hairdressers, waiters, etc.

Their future plans ...

Six in ten (61%) of the DPs say they are not planning to remain in Germany; 30% say they will stay and 6% do not know what they will do.

... Of those who plan to leave Germany only a third (34%) intend to return to their homelands (though few of these exiles have definite plans as to when they will go back). More than a half (53%) say they are going to some other country (the U.S. is the favorite spot); but again their time of departure is indefinite, reflecting wishful thinking rather than reality. A number (13%) are undecided as to where they will go.

Here are the countries which the DPs who plan to leave (109 people) say they would like to go to, listed in order of frequency of mention:

... 62% to the United States
... 13% to France
... 9% to various South American countries
... 5% to England
... 4% to Switzerland
... 2% to Canada
... 15% mention a variety of countries, e.g. Palestine, China, etc.

(Percentages total more than 100 because some people mentioned more than one country.)

... DPs who do not plan to return to their native countries come mostly from eastern Europe. Thus out of the 36 Poles interviewed, only four plan to go back; only one of the fourteen Russians queried says he is going home, but since his return, he says, is to occur when the present government of the USSR is overthrown and as the man is now middle aged, its likelihood appears dim; this is also the case with the one Lithuanian out of the fifteen interviewed, whose return is contingent on the same development. Only one of the twelve Latvians and none of the fourteen Ukrainians and twelve Esthonians who were questioned plan to go back. And of the eighteen Jugoslavs only four are planning to return home.

On the other hand, twelve of the twenty-one French natives, seventeen of the twenty-six Netherlanders, four of the six Belgians and two of the three Danes interviewed say they intend to return.

Reasons for not returning home ...

The DPs give a variety of reasons for not going back to their native lands. Almost half (49%) say Russian occupation or control of their former country is the reason. Next most frequently advanced argument (39%) is that there is no longer anything to go home to -- their families are wiped out, their property destroyed. Almost as many (31%) will not return for political reasons -- they refer to "Bolshevism," "Communism" or the lack of "democracy" in their homelands. A related reason is the 14% mention of poor economic conditions in their former homes. Marriage is given by many -- 14% are married to Germans, 4% either are already married to Americans or about to be, and 11% are married to other nationals. And 8% do not want to leave their jobs or think they cannot get as good jobs if they return. German birth is the reason why 4% are not going back. The remaining mentions (29%) are various and particular; e.g. a husband will not return because his wife refuses to go with him; the entire family is in Germany; the respondents want to go to the U.S., and so on. Seven per cent give no reasons. (Percentages total more than 100 because some people gave more than one reason.)

Plans for their future livelihood ...

The DPs interviewed, regardless of whether they plan to return home, stay in Germany or emigrate, think they will be able to work. Only 7% are undecided about what they will do. Here are the questions and replies:

"How do you expect to make a living in the future?"

Will work in trained occupation	47%
Will be a worker, do anything, work where needed, etc.	30
Will be married, am married, etc.	8
Will continue as business man, have a business, etc.	3
Other plans (finish professional training, etc.)	5
Undecided, don't know	7

Conclusions ...

Major pressure from the East upon the DPs is suggested in their replies to the questions asked. Still, only about one in five (21%) claim they were deported. Two-fifths (31%) came to Germany voluntarily, although also frequently these fled from advancing Russian armies. And a third (32%) said they came as a result of German pressure. These data indicate that more DPs came to Germany as political refugees from the Russians than as workers forced by the Germans.

Almost none of those who were deported from the East, or fled from there, want to return. However, a majority of DPs from Western Europe plan to return home. Half the DPs say they have no home to which they could return.

A large majority of the DPs would welcome eagerly an opportunity to emigrate. Most of these would like to go to North or South America. But three in ten are planning realistically to stay on in Germany. Evidently a significant minority has already acquired roots here. Largely a male population of trained workers, most of the DPs are ready to accept employment in jobs comparable to those previously held.

ATTITUDES TOWARD COLLECTIVE GUILT IN THE AMERICAN ZONE OF GERMANY

This report is based on results of survey made in the last two weeks of December, 1946 by OMIC Opinion Surveys. Personal interviews were held with 3005 Germans living in the American Zone, representing a true cross-section of the population there. The field work was done by a trained German staff.

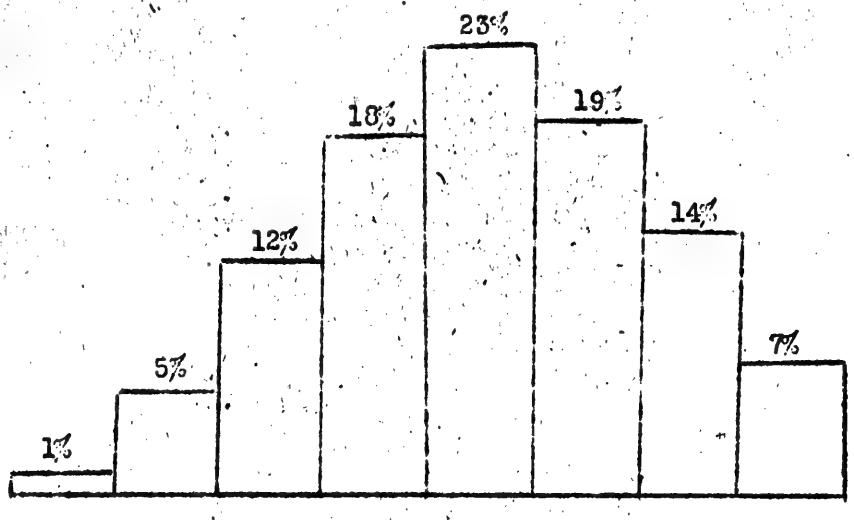
Report Number 51
2 April 1947
OMIC Opinion Surveys Hq.
OMGUS (Rear) APO 757

FEW GERMANS ACCEPT COLLECTIVE GUILT ...

To ascertain whether Germans living in the American Zone accept or reject collective responsibility for the crimes and misdeeds done in the name of their former government, seven related questions were asked. The bill of particulars covered a variety of issues: do the Germans share responsibility for the acts of the Hitler regime because they supported it? ... are they collectively guilty for the war because they gave power to a war-minded Government? ... was Poland attacked to protect Germans there from mistreatment by the Polish government? ... did a "harsh" Versailles Treaty justify the war? ... does Germany often find herself in difficulties because other people misunderstand her? ... were both sides in the war equally guilty of committing many war crimes? ... did the Germans torture and murder millions of helpless Europeans?

Scores were computed by totalling the proportions rejecting guilt -- or rationalizing past behavior -- on each of the seven questions. Thus, in the following chart, those scoring zero accept responsibility on all seven points, those scoring 1 reject collective guilt on any one of the seven, and so on, until in score 7 collective responsibility is rejected on all seven questions.* The median average score for the total population is 3.8.

Rejection of Collective Guilt.



(Scores of 1% are not ascertainable)

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*The "rejection" scores include "No opinion" replies which were high on most of the seven questions. They were included because they correlated with evasive or unwilling replies (as reported by the interviewers), and also with the anti-semitic scale, and thus strongly presume the rejection of guilt. The questions are treated individually later in the report.

Rejection of guilt is generalized ...

On the whole, rejection of collective guilt is not specific to any one population group. The best educated (12 years or more schooling), it is true, are much more likely to accept responsibility than other education groups, as are the higher income group. Women tend more than men to reject collective guilt. And Protestants, more than Catholics, are likely to wipe their hands of any complicity. But, as already stated, the differences among population groups are slight -- and the generalness, rather than the specificity, of rejection of collective guilt is the note-worthy finding. This is seen in the following comparision of median average scores of different segments of the American Zone population. (In order to interpret the significance of the scores, bear in mind that a score of 3.5 means rejection of guilt on half of any of the seven questions -- and higher or lower scores indicate greater or lesser rejection.)

Median Average "Rejection of Guilt" score

By Laender	
Bavaria	3.78
Hesse	3.81
Wuerttemberg-Baden	3.82
By education	
7 years or less	3.82
8 years	3.83
9 - 11 years	3.80
12 years or more	3.60
By age	
Under 20 years	3.78
20 - 29 years	3.78
30 - 39 years	3.85
40 - 49 years	3.75
50 - 59 years	3.78
60 years and over	3.92
By sex	
Men	3.75
Women	3.96
By religion	
Catholic	3.78
Protestant	3.83
By social status	
Upper middle	3.80
Middle	3.77
Lower middle	3.78
Lower	3.85
By income	
Middle and above	3.60
Lower	3.80
Lowest	3.90

(Median average score for the total population is 3.8)

Relation between anti-semitism and rejection of guilt ...

A very important finding in this study is the identification of rejection of collective guilt with racial bias. People who are intensely anti-semitic (See OMGUS Opinion Surveys Report # 49 "Anti-Semitism in the American Zone") are markedly more likely to deny collective responsibility for Germany's past actions than are those with little racial bias. Moreover, as shown in the table below, the gradations between the rejection of collective guilt and degree of racial bias are consistent.

Rejection Score and Racial Bias Scale

Proportion in Score group:	Little Bias	Nationalist	Racist	High Anti-semitic	Intense Anti-semitic
0	2%	1%	1%	*	-
1	10	6	5	3	1
2	20	14	11	8	4
3	25	25	20	15	9
4	21	24	23	25	21
5	15	16	21	21	22
6	9	9	14	18	23
7	*	4	5	10	17
NA.	*	1	*	*	3
Median Score	2.9	3.5	3.8	4.0	4.8

*Less than ½ of 1%

... In the following pages, attitudes on specific issues are analyzed. It will be noted that a good majority acknowledges some responsibility for the Hitler regime, deny that the Versailles treaty justified World War II, and accepts the fact that German people committed atrocities against humanity, but a much larger majority feels that both sides in the war were guilty of many war crimes. A majority refuses to accept collective guilt for bringing on the war, and thinks Germany often gets into difficulties because other people misunderstand her. A plurality says that protection of Germans in Poland was not why Germany attacked Poland, but a not insignificant minority thinks otherwise.

Responsibility for the Hitler regime ...

Six in ten Germans in the American Zone accept limited responsibility for the acts committed by the Hitler regime. Asked, "Do you believe that the German people are at least partly to blame for the acts of the Hitler regime because they supported it?" 63% say Yes. However, 31% refuse even this limited guilt, and 5% withold opinions.

People who acknowledge collective guilt on other issues are much more inclined than those who do not, to share the blame for Hitler's acts, as is seen in the following comparative table.

	Germans at least partly to blame for acts of Hitler regime:				
	Yes	No	No op.		Cases
Collective war guilt:					
Yes	89%	9	2	(100%)	844
No (Rejection)	57%	40	3	(100%)	1997
Attacked Poland to protect Germans there:					
Yes (Rejection)	61%	36	3	(100%)	626
No	72%	27	11	(100%)	1381
Harshness of Versailles:					
Justified war (Rejection)	54%	44	2	(100%)	201
Did not justify war	68%	34	18	(100%)	2041
Harshness of Versailles:					
A cause of the war (Rejection)	63%	35	2	(100%)	749
Not a cause of the war	73%	27	*	(100%)	1057
Because other people misunderstand, Germany often in trouble:					
Agree (Rejection)	65%	32	3	(100%)	1715
Disagree	72%	26	2	(100%)	590
Both sides in war committed many war crimes:					
Agree (Rejection)	65%	31	4	(100%)	2482
Disagree	71%	27	2	(100%)	192
Germans killed and tortured helpless millions:					
Agree	73%	24	3	(100%)	1753
Disagree (Rejection)	49%	47	4	(100%)	612

People who exhibit anti-semitic tendencies are much less ready to accept blame for Hitler's acts than those who show little bias. Also the people who think the Allies have no right to limit future industry are much less willing to share any responsibility for Hitler's government than is true of the small group who think limitations on industry are justified.

It is interesting to note that the role of education is reversed on this issue -- fewer of the better educated than of the poorly educated think the German people are in any way to blame for Hitler's government. Otherwise, group differences are slight, though, as noted below, Hessians are somewhat less inclined than people in the other two Laender to share any blame for Hitler.

	German people share responsibility for the acts of the Hitler regime:				
	Yes	No	No op.		Cases
Laender:					
Bavaria	65%	30	5	(100%)	1615
Hesse	61%	32	7	(100%)	731
Wuerttemberg-Baden	67%	26	7	(100%)	659
Education:					
7 years or less	66%	27	7	(100%)	1129
8 years	65%	28	7	(100%)	1303
9 - 11 years	61%	37	2	(100%)	367
12 years or more	56%	42	2	(100%)	197
Today's political parties:					
Serve public welfare	68%	29	3	(100%)	1531
Serve selfish interests	56%	29	15	(100%)	692
People are better served by:					
Many political parties	68%	29	3	(100%)	1841
A single political party	65%	33	2	(100%)	694
Allied limitations on industry:					
Justified	80%	17	3	(100%)	320
Not justified	64%	33	3	(100%)	2254
Racial bias scale:					
Little bias	74%	24	2	(100%)	611
Nationalist	68%	30	2	(100%)	561
Racist	64%	31	5	(100%)	671
High anti-semitic	61%	32	7	(100%)	637
Intense anti-semitic	54%	33	13	(100%)	524

Collective war guilt ...

Only a minority (28%) of Germans in the American Zone feel that the German people are to blame for the outbreak of World War II. Queried, "Do you believe that the German people are to blame for the war because they permitted a government to come into power which wanted to plunge the world into war?" 67% say No, 5% have no opinion, and, as stated, 28% say Yes.

Again, there is a close relationship between views on this issue and those on other collective responsibility issues. Especially is this true in regard to blame for the acts of the Hitler regime and for the part the Versailles treaty played in bringing on the war -- as would be expected. Here, too, the connection between racial bias and refusal to accept collective war guilt is marked.

	Germans collective guilty for the war				
	Yes	No	No op.		Cases
Germans responsible for acts of Hitler:					
Yes	39%	59	2	(100%)	1927
No (Rejection)	9%	89	2	(100%)	896
Harshness of Versailles:					
Justified war (Rejection)	18%	80	2	(100%)	201
Did not justify war	31%	67	2	(100%)	2041
Harshness of Versailles:					
A cause of the war (Rejection)	26%	73	1	(100%)	749
Not a cause of the war	36%	63	1	(100%)	1057
Racial Bias Scale:					
Little bias	37%	60	3	(100%)	611
Nationalist	30%	65	5	(100%)	671
Racist	30%	66	4	(100%)	561
High anti-semitism	23%	71	6	(100%)	637
Intense anti-semitism	19%	69	12	(100%)	524

... Also educated people are less prepared than the poorly educated to assume collective blame ... 67% of those with 7 years or less schooling in contrast to 75% of those with 12 years or more schooling say that the Germans are not collectively responsible for the war by virtue of their support of a war-minded government.

... Among Laender, Bavaria is least disposed to accept collective guilt, voting 71% as against 64% in Hesse and 60% in Wuerttemberg-Baden against the view.

... Attitudes toward Allied limitations on Germany's industrial potential also have a bearing on opinions on collective war guilt ... 53% of those who consider the limitations justified in contrast to 71% of those who think them not justified say that the German people are not responsible for the war. And people who suspect the value of present-day political parties are also more likely than those who think they serve the general welfare to deny war guilt, voting, respectively, 71% and 64% against it. Other group differences are slight.

The Versailles Treaty and World War II ...

As is well known, the German people were given a strenuous propaganda campaign by Hitler and his followers on the evils of the Versailles "Diktat". Constantly, the injustice and harshness of this treaty were emphasized as a justification for aggressive action. Results of this study indicate, however, that the majority of the German people do not accept the thesis. But those that do apparently learned their lesson well -- at least to the extent that they are prepared to deny suggestions of collective guilt.

Two questions were asked, the first was "Did the harshness of the Versailles Treaty give the German people a right to start a second world war?"; and the second, asked only of those answering in the negative, "Was the harshness of this treaty a cause of this war?" To the first, 68% replied No -- the Versailles Treaty did not justify the war; only 7% said Yes, and a large minority -- 25% -- withheld their opinions. And a bare majority (52%) of those asked whether the treaty was a cause of the war answered affirmatively; 37% said No, and 11% did not express an opinion. Clearly, then, only a minority of Germans see no connection between the Versailles Treaty and World War II. And those who do follow a consistent pattern of denial of collective guilt. For example ...

... 80% of the people who say the harshness of Versailles justified the war, as against
67% of those who say it did not, feel that the German people bear no collective guilt for the war.

... 80% of those who say Versailles justified the war, as against
62% of those who say it did not, feel that Germany often is in difficulties because it is misunderstood.

Moreover, 42% of the people who feel that the Versailles treaty gave Germany a right to start the war, in contrast to 21% who hold the contrary view feel that Germany made war on Poland to save Germans in Poland from mistreatment. Also they are less inclined (55%) than their counterpart group (70%) to think that public interests will be better served by several political parties, rather than a single one. And 32% of them, in contrast to 20% of the people who do not think the Versailles treaty justified the war disagree that it is true that Germans tortured or murdered millions of helpless Europeans.

Versailles Treaty justified the war ...

	Harshness of Versailles Treaty gave Germany a right to start World War II:				
	Yes	No	No op.		Cases
Laender:					
Bavaria	7%	67	26	(100%)	1615
Hesse	9%	67	24	(100%)	731
Wuerttemberg-Baden	6%	68	26	(100%)	659
People best served by:					
Many political parties	6%	78	16	(100%)	1841
One single political party	10%	65	25	(100%)	604
Today political parties:					
Serve public welfare	6%	76	18	(100%)	1531
Serve selfish interests	7%	62	31	(100%)	1396
Collective war guilt:					
Yes	4%	75	21	(100%)	844
No (Rejection)	8%	68	24	(100%)	1997
Germany attacked Poland to protect Germans there:					
Yes (Rejection)	14%	68	18	(100%)	626
No	5%	83	12	(100%)	1381
Germany often in difficulties because others misunderstand:					
Agree (Rejection)	9%	74	17	(100%)	1715
Disagree	5%	85	10	(100%)	590
Many war crimes committed by both sides in war:					
Agree (Rejection)	8%	71	21	(100%)	2482
Disagree	4%	80	16	(100%)	192
Racial bias scale:					
Little bias	5%	81	14	(100%)	611
Nationalist	5%	77	18	(100%)	561
Racist	8%	70	22	(100%)	671
High anti-semitism	8%	65	27	(100%)	637
Intense anti-semitism	9%	43	47	(100%)	524

Relation between racial bias and the Versailles treaty as justifying the war ..

The more racial bias a group has, the less the tendency to feel that the Versailles treaty was not a justification for the war. Interestingly, however, this does not mean an increasingly positive view that the treaty justified the war -- as there is little difference between the various groups on this. Rather, the "No Opinion" group increases proportionately as the scale of racial bias ascends, as the following table indicates:

	Harshness of the Versailles Treaty Justified the War:			
	Yes	No	No op.	Cases
Racial Bias Scale:				
Little Bias	5%	81	14	(100%) 611
Nationalist	5%	77	18	(100%) 561
Racist	8%	70	22	(100%) 671
High Anti-Semitic	8%	65	27	(100%) 637
Intense Anti-Semitic	9%	43	48	(100%) 524

... Paralleling in part the opinions recorded above are those of the various education groups. The highest "No Opinion" vote is recorded by the best educated group, and in a more pronounced fashion than the division on the racial bias scale.

	Harshness of the Versailles Treaty Justified the War:			
	Yes	No	No op.	Cases
Education:				
7 years or less	6%	74	20	(100%) 1129
8 years	8%	68	24	(100%) 1303
9 - 11 years	12%	74	14	(100%) 367
12 years or more	13%	30	57	(100%) 197

... People who feel that the Versailles Treaty gave Germany a right to start the war are also more inclined than those who hold the opposite view to feel that both sides in the war committed war crimes, and to deny that Germany tortured and murdered helpless Europeans. (See table on next page.)

... People who think that the harshness of Versailles treaty was a cause, though not a justification, of the war, tend to hold opinions similar to those held by the groups which deny collective guilt. That is, they believe, more than their counterpart groups, that the German people are not responsible for the acts of the Hitler regime, bear no blame for the war, get into difficulties because other people misunderstand Germany, it is not true that Germany murdered millions of helpless people, and that both sides committed many war crimes.

Unlike the educated group on other issues, here, however, the best educated more than the uneducated tend to believe that Versailles was not a cause of the war. It seems plausible that well-educated Germans recognize and reject this weakened form of the question because it puts so weakly what they more often feel is a basic issue. Also, there is less relationship between opinions on this issue and anti-semitism than is usually the case with the collective guilt questions. Thus people who have little racial bias tend to think much the same on this matter as do the anti-semitic.

Attitudes on other collective guilt issues ...

Four other questions were asked of Germans in the American Zone to get at attitudes toward recognition of collective guilt. The questions and replies to each are given here, followed by a tabular breakdown of group differences. It will be noted that on each issue the people who deny guilt, or rationalize German actions, tend to follow much the same pattern described in the foregoing.

The attack on Poland ...

The question and replies: "Did Germany attack Poland in order to protect Germans living there from mistreatment by Poland?"

Yes	21%
No	46
No opinion	33

Germany is misunderstood ...

The question and replies: "Germany often finds herself in a difficult situation because other people have no understanding of Germany."

Agree	56%
Disagree	21
No opinion	23

War crimes ...

The question and replies: "Do you agree or disagree that both sides in this war committed many crimes against humanity and peace?"

Agree	83%
Disagree	6
No opinion	11

German atrocities ...

The question and replies: "Do you agree or disagree that research has shown that the Germans tortured and murdered millions of helpless Europeans?"

Agree	59%
Disagree	20
No opinion	21

Attack on Poland ...

	Germany attacked Poland to protect Germans living there: Yes	No	No op.		Cases
By Laender:					
Bavaria	21%	49	30	(100%)	1615
Hesse	23%	42	35	(100%)	731
Wuerttemberg-Baden	20%	43	37	(100%)	659
By education:					
7 years or less	17%	45	38	(100%)	1129
8 years	23%	42	35	(100%)	1303
9 - 11 years	26%	53	21	(100%)	367
12 years or more	22%	67	11	(100%)	197
People are better served by:					
Many political parties	21%	53	26	(100%)	1841
By one single political party	25%	46	29	(100%)	694
Today's political parties:					
Serve general welfare	21%	51	38	(100%)	1531
Serve selfish interests	23%	55	22	(100%)	692
Collective war guilt:					
Yes	15%	57	28	(100%)	844
No (Rejection)	23%	44	33	(100%)	1997
Both sides in war committed many war crimes:					
Agree (Rejection)	23%	47	30	(100%)	2482
Disagree	16%	70	14	(100%)	192
Germans tortured and murdered millions:					
Agree	20%	55	25	(100%)	1753
Disagree (Rejection)	29%	40	31	(100%)	612
Racial bias scale:					
Little bias	19%	60	21	(100%)	611
Nationalist	19%	54	27	(100%)	561
Racist	21%	48	31	(100%)	671
High anti-semitism	24%	37	39	(100%)	637
Intense anti-semitism	21%	29	50	(100%)	524

Germany is misunderstood ...

	Germany often gets into difficulty because other people misunderstand:				
	Yes	No	No op.		Cases
Laender:					
Bavaria	55%	21	24	(100%)	1615
Hesse	61%	15	24	(100%)	731
Wuerttemberg-Baden	58%	22	20	(100%)	659
Education:					
7 years or less	50%	20	30	(100%)	1129
8 years	60%	17	23	(100%)	1303
9 - 11 years	65%	22	13	(100%)	367
12 years or more	71%	25	4	(100%)	197
Collective war guilt:					
Yes	51%	27	22	(100%)	844
No (Rejection)	62%	18	20	(100%)	1997
Both sides committed many war crimes:					
Agree(Rejection)	63%	19	18	(100%)	2482
Disagree	33%	49	18	(100%)	192
Germans tortured and murdered millions:					
Agree	58%	25	17	(100%)	1753
Disagree (Rejection)	69%	16	15	(100%)	612
People are better served by:					
Many political parties	62%	23	15	(100%)	1041
One single political party	59%	19	22	(100%)	694
Today's political parties:					
Serve public interests	59%	23	18	(100%)	1531
Serve selfish interests	67%	21	12	(100%)	692
Racial bias scale:					
Little bias	57%	28	15	(100%)	611
Nationalist	56%	25	19	(100%)	561
Racist	60%	19	21	(100%)	671
High anti-semitism	61%	13	26	(100%)	637
Intense anti-semitism	52%	12	36	(100%)	524

Both sides committed war crimes ...

Many crimes against humanity and peace committed by both sides in the war:

	Yes	No	No op.		Cases
Laender:					
Bavaria	81%	8	11	(100%)	1615
Hesse	84%	6	10	(100%)	731
Wuerttemberg-Baden	86%	4	10	(100%)	659
Education:					
7 years or less	79%	8	13	(100%)	1129
8 years	85%	5	10	(100%)	1303
9 - 11 years	87%	5	8	(100%)	377
12 years or more	69%	8	33	(100%)	197
People are better served by:					
Many political parties	86%	7	7	(100%)	1841
One single political party	85%	6	9	(100%)	694
Today's political parties:					
Serve public welfare	83%	8	9	(100%)	1531
Serve selfish interests	89%	6	5	(100%)	692
Collective war guilt:					
Yes	81%	9	10	(100%)	844
No (Rejection)	86%	6	8	(100%)	1997
Germans tortured and murdered millions:					
Agree	86%	8	6	(100%)	1753
Disagree(Rejection)	90%	3	4	(100%)	612
Racial bias scale:					
Little bias	78%	12	10	(100%)	611
Nationalist	83%	9	8	(100%)	561
Racist	88%	4	8	(100%)	671
High anti-semitism	86%	3	11	(100%)	637
Intense anti-semitism	78%	3	19	(100%)	524

German atrocities ...

German people tortured and murdered millions of helpless:

	Yes	No	No op.		Cases
By Laender:					
Bavaria	60%	20	20	(100%)	1615
Hesse	59%	21	20	(100%)	731
Wuerttemberg-Baden	52%	22	26	(100%)	659
By education:					
7 years or less	60%	16	24	(100%)	1129
8 years	56%	22	22	(100%)	1303
9 - 11 years	57%	29	14	(100%)	337
12 years	69%	22	9	(100%)	197
People are better served by:					
Many political parties	65%	20	15	(100%)	1841
A single political party	57%	25	18	(100%)	694
Today's political parties:					
Serve public welfare	65%	18	17	(100%)	1531
Serve selfish interests	59%	27	14	(100%)	692
Collective war guilt:					
Yes	71%	13	16	(100%)	844
No (Rejection)	55%	24	21	(100%)	1997
Racial bias scale:					
Little bias	72%	15	13	(100%)	611
Nationalist	68%	15	17	(100%)	561
Racist	60%	22	18	(100%)	671
High anti-semitism	51%	25	24	(100%)	561
Intense anti-semitism	39%	24	37	(100%)	524

Conclusions ...

First: The Rejection scores indicate that overall judgments are apparently independent, individual judgments, little influenced by social status, environment or group pressures. On the basis of the scores, it is impossible to isolate any group -- economic, social, political, religious or geographic -- and claim that here are the people who accept, or reject, collective guilt for Germany's recent past. Nor, numerically, are there important polar groups -- that is, few accept and few reject all or most responsibility.

Second: On individual questions, majority opinions in the direction of acceptance of guilt are the rule. One very important shift occurs, however -- refusal by a large majority to acknowledge blame for the war because Germans put a war-minded government in power. To accept responsibility on other issues, but not on this one is best described as a "double talk." It is like saying, "I'll take the blame for all of the evil of the Hitler regime except the evil."

Third: People with the most education, i.e. the leadership group, seem to be nearly as confused on these issues as their lesser educated countrymen. Their replies to the question on the German attack on Poland shows that they are better informed than others. But their unwillingness to deny that the Versailles Treaty gave Germany a right to start World War II suggests a closely-unified interest group.

Fourth: The effectiveness of the Goebbels' propaganda line is seen in the relationship between the attitudes analyzed here and anti-semitism. To the extent that rejection of guilt is a projection of guilt on others, anti-semitism might well be considered a component part of the rejection of guilt picture.

Fifth: The questions analyzed here are interrelated, but only moderately so. Acceptance of one charge is sometimes countered by rejection of another. For this reason, generalized charges of the "guilt" of the German people must often have little effect. Appeals directed to the German people based on specifics would probably have better results. A case in point is the German attack on Poland -- a matter on which this study shows many Germans to be misinformed or uninformed. A documented, but simply detailed account (for the less well educated) about it might provide an opening wedge in the re-education of the German people.

Attitudes Toward Food, Fuel and Building Materials Conditions

Report No. 52
27 March 1947
Opinion Surveys Headquarters
Office of The Director of Information Control
OMGUS (Rear) APO 757

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INTRODUCTION ...

The results in this report, presented in three parts, are based on questions asked in two surveys conducted by the Opinion Surveys Branch, ODIC, during the month of November and the first week in December, 1946. Interviewing on the survey dealing with food and fuel problems took place during the period 25 November - 10 December; while the study dealing with building materials was made between 28 October - 15 November.

Similar cross sections were used for both surveys, constructed to represent a miniature of the German population in the American Zone and in the American and British Sectors of Berlin. Samples for both surveys are based on slightly more than 3000 interviews in AMZON and about 400 in Berlin.

It should be noted that Berlin results are always shown separately, and are not included in any breakdown tabulations of the American Zone. These tabulations are based on sufficiently large samples to insure considerable accuracy. In addition, tabular breakdowns by individual Laender are true representations of the population in each land, and may be referred to as an individual study, rather than as a part of the overall AMZON survey.

Tabulations of occupation groups are not based on the entire sample; categories which did not lend themselves to classification were not included.

An earlier study on the food situation, conducted by this organization, may be referred to: Report, "A Study of Food Consumption and Attitudes Toward Rationing and General Health of the German Population," 14 August 1946.

SUMMARY ...

With the increase in the caloric content of the food ration to 1550, some improvement in the reported health and morale of the German population is noted in this study.

Still evident, of course, is a great deal of complaint. Residents in large cities feel that equalizing of the ration for all people -- regardless of whether they live in a small town or in a large city -- is unfair.

In general, people indicate that they feel at least somewhat better since the ration was increased, more of them say that they now get sufficient food to do good work, and the number saying they are unable to get by on the present ration has decreased.

There is conclusive evidence that the food situation is more critical in Berlin than anywhere in the Zone. Among the Laender, residents in Wuerttemberg-Baden are worst off. Complaints are voiced most often there and dissatisfaction with the food supply is highest.

Farmers, being the source of supply, offer few complaints and indicate the highest degree of satisfaction with the food ration. They are followed by the group of artisans and master craftsmen, who reveal themselves as also being in a favored position as far as food is concerned, since their services or consumer goods can be bartered for food.

As far as fuel is concerned, it did not appear to offer a great problem at the time of the study, and the situation was not as difficult as with food even at the height of winter.

Repair of buildings now in use rather than large scale re-construction of heavily-bombed cities is highly favored. Two thirds of the people who own houses and/or property indicate a need for building materials, and of this group about two-thirds say they are unable to obtain them. The distribution of available building materials receives a great deal of criticism. Allegations are made that only

people who have something to barter are able to obtain building materials and that necessary materials are being directed for the rebuilding of business places and churches, regarded by many respondents as not being warranted.

THE FINDINGS -- FOOD ...

Satisfaction with the present food ration

With the increase in the food ration from 1250 to 1550 calories per day, there is some decrease in the number of people in the American Zone who say they are unable to get by as compared with the previous study in May 1946.

In the early winter of 1946, half the people said the food ration was still unsatisfactory, compared with 64% who were dissatisfied on the earlier survey. In Berlin, however, there was practically no change. And what change occurred in the Zone is shown in an increase in the group who say they were "able to get by."

The following two tables show comparative results to the question: "How are you getting along with the food ration?"

	May 1946		Nov. 1946	
	AMZON	Berlin	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	3008	399	1504	194
Well	12%	-%	11%	2%
Manage to get by	24	21	38	17
Poorly	64	79	51	81
	100	100	100	100

Residents in Wuerttemberg-Baden indicated the highest degree of dissatisfaction with the food ration, and persons living in large cities (who benefited most by the increase) were still much worse off than those in small towns and villages. Men, perhaps because they work harder than women, were more dissatisfied, as were people in the middle age groups -- those between 30 and 60. Interestingly enough, respondents in the upper and upper middle socio-economic levels indicated that they fare worse than do persons in the lower levels. Farmers, of course, had very little complaint -- only 10% said they get along poorly with the present food ration. When this group is removed from the total population, the non-farm population naturally were much worse off.

and distribution facilities may be in part responsible. Again in Wuerttemberg-Baden, the proportion saying they feel no better was higher than in either of the other two Laender. No marked difference appears between the effects on men as against women, nor among the different age groups.

Adequacy of the food ration to do good work

The increase in the caloric content of the food ration results also in more people saying that they were getting enough food to enable them to do good work. Nearly half the respondents in the American Zone (46%) said the food ration is adequate in this respect, an increase of 18% since May 1946. In Berlin, the proportion indicating adequacy rose from 9% in May to 20% in November.

The question and results for the two surveys follow:

"Do you have sufficient food to enable you to do good work?"

	May 1946		Nov. 1946	
	AMZON	Berlin	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	1504	194	3008	399
Yes	28%	9%	46%	20%
No	71	88	53	78
No answer	1	3	1	2
	100	100	100	100

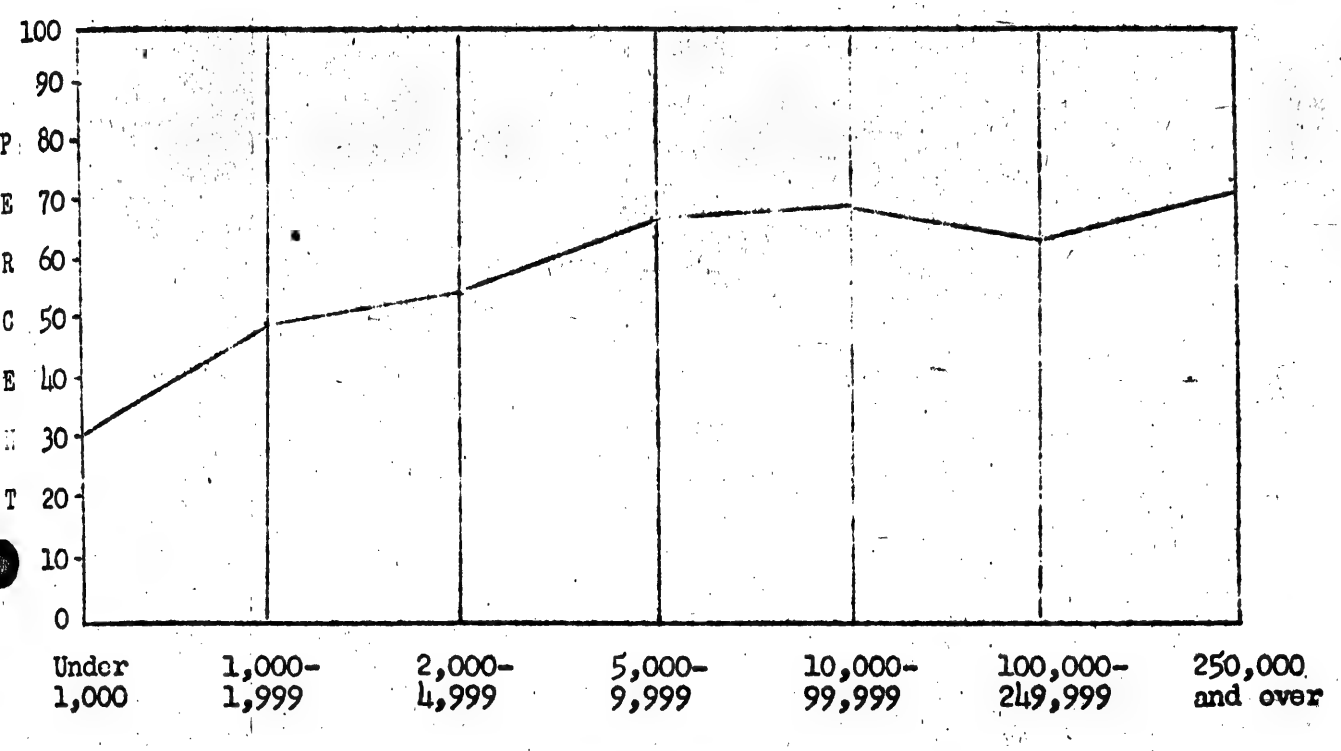
Although residents in Wuerttemberg-Baden in the May study indicated greater satisfaction with the food ration (as far as being sufficient to do good work was concerned), they had reversed themselves by November when they indicated the highest degree of disapproval. Also the size of the city or community in which the respondent lives had a direct bearing on this problem -- the larger the city, the more people there were who said they do not get enough food to enable them to work satisfactorily. More men than women said they could not do satisfactory work on the present food ration. People between 30 and 60 voiced this same complaint -- more so than those in the younger and very old age groups

Surprisingly enough, more people who are classified in the upper and upper middle socio-economic levels (usually not heavy workers) said they were unable to work on the present food ration than did those in the lower levels (usually in manual labor occupations.) The greater frequency of supplementary ration cards in manual workers' hands for "heavy" work may account for this difference. Farmers, even with the amount of work they have to do, indicated a high degree of satisfaction -- 83% said the food ration was sufficient to enable them to do good work.

Of particular interest is the similarity of the groups which indicated the highest degree of dissatisfaction with the food ration in general and those who said the food ration is insufficient for them to do good work. In general these are: Residents in Wuerttemberg-Baden more than Bavarians and Hessians, persons living in larger cities (degree of satisfaction noted in answer to both questions is inversely proportionate to the size of the city in which the respondent lives), men, people between 30 and 60, and those in the upper and upper middle socio-economic levels. Farmers and small tradesmen (artisans and master craftsmen) appear to be the best off; the former because they are the supplying source, and the latter probably because they are in a position to have merchandise available which they can "barter" for food.

The following chart indicates the relationship between inadequacy of the food ration (to permit good work) and the size of the city in which the respondent lives.

INADEQUACY OF THE FOOD RATION
(to permit good work)



Satisfaction with equalization in the food ration

The fact that the caloric content of the food ration is now the same regardless of size of community caused a great deal of objection, especially among city dwellers. Thus in Berlin, 68% disapproved, while in the American Zone as a whole, the measure received 66% approval. But in the zone, too, strong objection was voiced by residents of large cities. Other objectors were persons in the upper occupation levels — professional and business men, officials and white collar workers.

There is, of course, no objection to the increase in the food ration per se. But residents in the large cities probably feel that if the ration in small communities contains 1550 calories, it should be more in the large cities.

Not mentioned at all was the part the farmer plays in the production of food. In this connection, it is interesting to note that less than half the farmers interviewed in this study said that they had delivered their required quotas of grain and potatoes. A few indicated that deliveries would be made later, but in view of the fact that interviewing took place in late November and early December of last year, this seems doubtful. Stated reasons for not fulfilling their quotas referred principally to poor harvesting, bad weather, insufficient fertilizer and unsuitable land.

The United States was, of course, selected as the nation in which people are best off as far as food is concerned. The Scandinavian and Low Countries, Switzerland and South American nations received occasional mention.

Amount of home canning of fruit and vegetables

In May of last year, a cross section of people in the American Zone and in the American and British Sectors of Berlin were asked if they planned to do any home canning during the summer; 50% in the Zone and 31% in Berlin answered in the afirmative. The November study reveals that actually 56% of the people interviewed in AMZON and 24% in Berlin did do some home canning.

More respondents in Bavaria than in either of the other two Laender indicated on the earlier survey that they would be unable to make any preserves, and this turned out to be so. Less than half of the respondents in Bavaria (46%) canned either fruit or vegetables (or both), compared with 67% in Hesse and 69% in Wuerttemberg-Baden. More persons living in small communities did some preserving than did those in large cities, and in addition, they preserved more. Farmers and tradesmen reveal themselves again to have been in a favored position.

In Bavaria, more people canned fruit than canned vegetables, while the reverse is true in the other two Laender. In the Zone, as a whole, 42% of the respondents canned fruit, and 36% canned vegetables. One in every five (22%) preserved both.

The actual amounts of fruit and vegetables canned offer some interesting comparisons. There is little variation in the amount of fruit canned among the Laender or various city size groups. When it comes to vegetables, however, Berliners and residents in large cities in the Zone canned a great deal less than persons living in small towns and communities. Farmers, for example, show a median average number of 50 or more litres of vegetables canned compared with 22.5 litres for the rest of the population. As previously mentioned, fewer Bavarians than persons living in either Hesse or Wuerttemberg-Baden put up any preserves. Those that did, canned either fruit or vegetables -- only 12% say they preserved both; a much smaller proportion than in Hesse (35%) or Wuerttemberg-Baden (31%). In addition, Bavarians canned less -- 19.3 litres of fruit and/or vegetables per family; in Hesse, 31.7 and in Wuerttemberg-Baden, 27.8 litres. The total amount for the Zone is 24.4 litres per family and in Berlin 17.3.

Intensive study and cross tabulation of the answers given by Bavarian respondents fail to reveal the reasons for the marked discrepancy between Bavaria and the other Laender both in number of canners and amounts canned. One clue may be found in replies to a question in a previous study. Asked reasons why they did not plan to do any canning, more Bavarians than people in Hesse or Wuerttemberg-Baden mentioned lack of sugar and/or containers.

Consumption of preserves

Among people who did some canning during the summer, approximately 75% in both the Zone and Berlin had eaten some of their preserves by the time thersurvey was made. Within the Laender, 67% of the Bavarians, 76% of those in Hesse and 72% in Wuerttemberg-Baden said, when interviewed, that they had already eaten some of their preserves.

Of the total population, the proportion having eaten preserves made during the summer is considerably lower -- 45% in the Zone and 19% in Berlin.

To provide some check on the integrity of respondents' replies when asked if they had done any canning, all persons interviewed were

asked if they had eaten preserves which they had made during the previous summer. Naturally, those people who did no canning should have said either "No," or "Did no canning." The following table reveals that only about two per cent of all people interviewed contradicted themselves in their answers to the two questions.

American Zone:

		Have you eaten any of the preserves you made last summer? Yes	No	Made No Preserves	
Did you do any canning during the summer and fall?	Yes	75%	25	-	= 100%
	No	2	89	9	

Among the general population, more farmers, artisans and master craftsmen ate some of their preserves early than did other people.[1] With the exception of persons living in the very largest cities, there appears little difference in the proportions having eaten summer preserves by late November and early December.

Most people estimated that their preserves would last about four months. In Berlin, the median average was three months.[2] Residents in Wuerttemberg-Baden estimated three months; persons living in the smallest communities said five months; those in the largest cities, two months.

In view of the time interval elapsed since the interviewing on this study was conducted, it appears safe to assume that with the exception of farmers and other people living in villages under 1,000 population, stocks of summer preserves are by now nearing exhaustion.

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1 Note that among these groups more people did some canning and that the median average number of litres preserved is higher.

2 Considering the difference between residents in the Zone and Berlin in the amount canned, the average rate of consumption over the stated interval of time is the same.

Question: How much time do you personally spend each week in gathering fuel?

	AMZON	Berlin	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden
Sample	3008	399	1616	732	660
Spend NO time	64%	68%	61%	63%	72%
Less than four hours	3	3	3	3	3
Four to six hours	6	6	6	6	6
Six to eight hours	2	4	2	2	2
One day per week	10	11	11	11	8
Two days per week	5	4	6	4	3
Three or more days per week	2	1	3	1	1
Gather fuel once a year	5	1	5	4	4
Indefinite estimates	2	2	2	5	1
Don't remember, don't know, no answer	1	*	1	1	-
	100	100	100	100	100

* Less than 1%

BUILDING MATERIALS ...

Ownership of property

One third of the population interviewed in the American Zone and 13% in Berlin said that they own houses and/or property. In the Zone, very few people own property without houses, while in Berlin, only 1% said that they own both.

Slightly fewer residents in Wuerttemberg-Baden own property than do persons living in the other two Laender. More people living in small towns own property than do people in large cities. Less than one third of the farmers interviewed said they own no property, with the artisans and master craftsmen, group next in line.

Ability to obtain materials

Two thirds of the people who own property need materials to keep it in repair or for rebuilding purposes. And approximately two thirds of this group say that they are unable to obtain the necessary materials. The lack of material is equally evident throughout the three Laender and among the different size communities and cities.

Most difficult or impossible to obtain are cement, lime, gypsum, sand, tiles and slate. Other scarce items mentioned are: wood, window frames, stones, bricks, glass and metals.

Reconstruction

Nearly nine in ten people feel that it is more urgent to repair buildings now in use than to allocate available building materials for the reconstruction of heavily-bombed cities. The vote is so high in favor of the former alternative, that only negligible differences appear in the answers of different population groups.

Distribution of available material

A plurality of four in ten respondents in the Zone feel that the distribution of available building material is being handled unjustly.

In Berlin, criticism in this respect is voiced by 62% of the people interviewed. Residents in larger cities, the better educated and those in the higher occupation levels complain about this more frequently than do counterpart groups.

Only about one in four people in the Zone and in Berlin say that the distribution is being handled fairly. A comparatively high proportion of the population was willing to admit lack of information on this question -- 35% in the Zone and 16% in Berlin held no opinion.

AMZON respondents felt principally that the distribution of building material is being unjustly administered because "only those who have something to barter are in a position to obtain material." Berliners, however, felt that the material was being diverted into wrong channels, that unnecessary building and repairing of churches and business places was taking place.

Question: Do you feel any better since the food ration was increased?

	Yes	Yes, Somewhat	No	No Answer[1]		Sample
AMZON	12%	42	42	4	= 100%	3008
Berlin[2]	-	-	-	-		399
Region						
Bavaria	13	46	39	2		1616
Hesse	8	40	45	7		732
W-Baden	11	35	48	6		660
City Size						
Under 1,000	16	38	37	9		856
1,000 - 1,999	13	45	34	8		491
2,000 - 4,999	12	48	36	4		386
5,000 - 9,999	4	49	45	2		228
10,000 - 99,999	3	41	51	*		509
100,000 - 249,999	8	44	47	1		206
250,000 and over	8	35	57	*		332
Sex						
Men	10	42	42	6		1312
Women	12	42	42	4		1690
Age						
29 and under	12	38	45	5		609
30 - 39	12	43	41	4		734
40 - 49	8	44	43	5		711
50 - 59	12	40	43	5		485
60 and over	13	45	38	4		466

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* Less than 1%

1 The group which did not answer this question is composed principally of those people to whom the question did not apply since they did not receive any increase in caloric content of the food ration.

2 There was no increase in the food ration for residents in either the British or American Sectors of Berlin; therefore, this question does not apply to Berlin respondents.

Question: Do you have sufficient food to enable you to do good work?

	Yes	No	No Answer		Sample
AMZON	46%	53	1	= 100%	3008
Berlin	20	78	2		399
Region					
Bavaria	51	48	1		1616
Hesse	44	56	*		732
W-Baden	37	62	1		660
City Size					
Under 1,000	68	31	1		856
1,000 - 1,999	52	48	-		491
2,000 - 4,999	45	54	1		386
5,000 - 9,999	33	65	2		228
10,000 - 99,999	30	69	1		509
100,000 - 249,999	36	64	-		206
250,000 and over	24	75	1		332
Sex					
Men	40	59	1		1312
Women	51	48	1		1690
Age					
29 and under	53	46	1		609
30 - 39	43	57	*		734
40 - 49	41	58	1		711
50 - 59	44	55	1		485
60 and over	53	46	1		466
Socio-Economic Status					
Upper and upper middle	31	68	1		229
Middle	46	54	*		768
Lower	49	50	1		1316
Very low and on relief	45	53	2		685
Occupation					
Professional & Business	37	63	-		167
Officials & White Collar	37	63	*		434
Artisans & Master Craftsmen	44	55	1		256
Skilled Workers	34	66	*		407
Semi-skilled Workers	34	64	2		191
Unskilled Labor	34	66	*		354
Farmers	83	17	*		573
Total population excluding Farmers	38	61	1		2435

* Less than 1%

Question: In the last ration period, people living in large cities were given a larger ration than people living in small communities and villages. By raising the ration to 1550 calories, this difference was eliminated. Do you think this is right or wrong?

	Right	Wrong	No Opinion		Sample
AMZON	66%	28	6	= 100%	3008
Berlin	30	68	2		399
Region					
Bavaria	74	21	5		1616
Hesse	57	36	7		732
W-Baden	59	36	5		660
City Size					
Under 1,000	73	21	6		856
1,000 - 1,999	73	23	4		491
2,000 - 4,999	73	22	5		386
5,000 - 9,999	78	18	4		228
10,000 - 99,999	55	40	5		509
100, 000 - 249,999	48	47	5		206
250,000 and over	52	38	10		332
Occupation					
Professional & Business	48	45	7		167
Officials & White Collar	61	35	4		434
Artisans & Master Craftsmen	65	30	5		256
Skilled Workers	70	24	6		407
Semi-skilled Workers	65	30	5		191
Unskilled Labor	70	25	5		354
Farmers	69	24	7		573
Total population excluding Farmers	66	29	5		2435

Question: Were you able to do any canning during the Summer and Fall?

	NO	Yes, Fruit	Yes, Vegetables	Total Answers	Sample
AMZON	44%	42	36	= 122%	3008
Berlin	76	13	21	110	399
Region					
Bavaria	54	38	20	112	1616
Hesse	33	45	57	135	732
W-Baden	31	47	53	131	660
City Size					
Under 1,000	39	47	38	124	856
1,000 - 1,999	36	46	44	126	491
2,000 - 4,999	39	42	42	123	386
5,000 - 9,999	50	40	27	117	228
10,000 - 99,999	44	43	35	122	509
100,000 - 249,999	49	36	33	118	206
250,000 and over	66	25	23	114	332
Occupation					
Professional & Business	47	41	37	125	167
Officials & White Collar	48	38	36	122	434
Artisans & Master Craftsmen	33	47	43	123	256
Skilled Workers	48	41	31	120	407
Semi-skilled Workers	53	34	32	119	191
Unskilled Labor	55	34	27	116	354
Farmers	24	57	52	133	573
Total population excluding Farmers	49	38	33	120	2435

(Columns total across more than 100% because some respondents canned both fruit and vegetables. To determine the actual proportion of the population which did any canning, it is necessary to subtract from 100% the number who say they did no canning.)

American Zone:

	Amount of fruit preserved		Amount of vegetables preserved	
	Farmers	Total population excluding Farmers	Farmers	Total population excluding Farmers
Sample	327	933	297	789
Less than five litres	7%	10%	1%	4%
5 - 9.9 litres	19	23	5	16
10 - 14.9 "	28	26	4	14
15 - 19.9 "	9	11	5	10
20 - 24.9 "	11	10	8	10
25 - 29.9 "	6	6	8	9
30 - 39.9 "	7	5	6	9
40 - 49.9 "	3	2	5	6
50 litres or more	9	5	57	20
No answer	1	2	1	2
	100	100	100	100
Median average number of litres	14.2	13.1	50 or more	22.5

Amount of fruit preserved:

City Size

	Under 1,000	1,000-1,999	2,000-4,999	5,000-9,999	10,000-99,999	100,000-249,999	250,00 and over
Sample	406	225	161	91	220	75	82
Less than five litres	9%	7%	14%	11%	9%	7%	10%
5 - 9.9 litres	19	26	24	20	17	32	30
10 - 14.9 "	26	26	20	35	28	24	23
15 - 19.9 "	9	14	11	10	155	7	8
20 - 24.9 "	13	11	6	8	11	12	11
25 - 29.9 "	7	3	4	8	7	5	7
30 - 39.9 "	7	4	7	3	4	4	5
40 - 49.9 "	2	1	3	1	2	1	11
50 litres or more	6	6	11	3	4	7	5
No answer	2	2	-	1	3	1	-
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Median average number of litres	14.0	13.1	13.0	12.6	14.0	12.2	12.2

Amount of vegetables preserved:

	City Size						
	Under 1,000	1,000-1,999	2,000-4,999	5,000-9,999	10,000-99,999	100,000-249,999	250,000 and over
Sample	328	217	160	61	175	69	76
Less than five litres	2%	3%	1%	5%	6%	3%	7%
5 - 9.9 litres	6	10	13	18	17	20	33
10 - 14.9 "	6	7	12	18	18	23	21
15 - 19.9 "	8	6	8	10	11	16	12
20 - 24.9 "	8	11	7	10	14	7	4
25 - 29.9 "	8	10	8	15	8	7	4
30 - 39.9 "	7	10	12	5	7	7	5
40 - 49.9 "	5	9	8	3	4	5	4
50 litres or more	48	33	31	16	11	12	9
No answer	2	1	-	-	4	-	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Median average number of litres	48.0	32.5	30.8	19.5	18.2	16.3	12.3

R E S T R I C T E D

Total amount of preserves
(fruit and vegetables)

American Zone:

	Farmers	Total population excluding Farmers
Sample	436	1244
Less than ten litres	11%	17%
10 - 19.9 litres	19	27
20 - 29.9 "	12	20
30 - 39.9 "	8	10
40 - 49.9 "	5	6
50 - 59.9 "	9	5
60 - 69.9 "	5	4
70 - 79.9 "	4	2
80 - 89.9 "	5	1
90 - 99.9 "	2	1
100 litres or more	19	5
No answer	1	2
	100	100
Median average number of litres	39.4	22.5

Total amount of preserves
(fruit and vegetables)

	City Size						
	Under 1,000	1,000-1,999	2,000-4,999	5,000-9,999	10,000-99,999	100,000-249,999	250,000 and over
Sample	519	314	233	113	282	106	113
Less than five litres	15%	13%	12%	14%	15%	25%	26%
10 - 19.9 litres	21	21	24	32	30	24	31
20 - 29.9 "	13	16	17	26	23	25	17
30 - 39.9 "	8	10	11	7	9	9	9
40 - 49.9 "	5	8	7	4	6	2	3
50 - 59.9 "	8	8	8	7	4	3	2
60 - 69.9 "	4	5	5	2	3	3	4
70 - 79.9 "	3	2	6	-	2	1	1
80 - 89.9 "	4	3	2	2	1	2	-
90 - 99.9 "	2	1	*	-	1	-	3
100 litres or more	15	11	8	4	3	5	3
No answer	2	2	*	2	3	1	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Median average number of litres	30.0	29.4	28.2	21.2	21.5	20.2	17.6

* Less than 1%

RESTRICTED

Question: Have you already eaten any of the foodstuffs you had preserved during the Summer and Fall?

	Yes	No	Have No Preserves	No Answer		Sample
AMZON	45%	51	4	*	= 100%	3008
Berlin	19	81	*	-		399
Region						
Bavaria	36	62	2	*		1616
Hesse	56	39	5	*		732
W-Baden	56	36	8	*		660
City Size						
Under 1,000	46	51	2	1		856
1,000 - 1,999	49	46	4	1		491
2,000 - 4,999	52	44	4	*		386
5,000 - 9,999	41	51	8	-		228
10,000 - 99,999	48	48	4	*		509
100,000 - 249,999	47	52	1	-		206
250,000 and over	28	67	5	-		332
Occupation						
Professional & Business	42	54	4	-		167
Officials & White Collar	43	53	4	*		434
Artisans & Master Craftsmen	56	43	1	-		256
Skilled Workers	43	54	3	*		409
Semi-skilled Workers	39	58	3	-		191
Unskilled Labor	38	55	7	*		354
Farmers	59	39	1	1		573
Total population excluding Farmers	42	54	4	*		2435

* Less than 1%

Question: How long do you estimate your present supply will last?

American Zone:

	Farmers	Total population excluding Farmers
Sample	436	1244
Already consumed	1%	2%
One month or less	6	17
Two months	7	15
Three months	8	17
Four months	19	14
Five months	31	19
Six months	8	4
Seven months or more	17	7
Don't know	2	4
No answer	1	1
	100	100
Median average number of months	5	3

	City Size						
	Under 1,000	1,000-1,999	2,000-4,999	5,000-9,999	10,000-99,999	100,000-249,999	250,000-and over
Sample	519	314	233	113	282	106	113
Already consumed	2%	1%	2%	2%	3%	5%	2%
One month or less	8	13	5	13	24	22	30
Two months	9	9	11	19	15	16	23
Three months	10	19	12	19	17	15	17
Four months	14	17	25	11	12	15	8
Five months	27	25	28	18	14	13	10
Six months	9	5	3	3	2	2	2
Seven months or more	16	7	10	10	5	7	2
Don't know	4	3	3	2	5	5	5
No answer	1	1	1	3	3	-	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Median average number of months	5	4	4	3	3	3	2

Question: What do you like l ast about the present food rations -- the scarcity or the monotony?

	Scarcity	Monotony	Dislike Both	No Opinion		Sample
AMZON	82%	10	2	6	= 100%	3008
Berlin	87	12	1	*		399
Region						
Bavaria	83	10	1	6		1616
Hesse	7[illegible]	13	5	6		732
W-Baden	8[illegible]	7	1	7		660
City Size						
Under 1,000	72	16	1	11		856
1,000 - 1,999	82	10	2	6		491
2,000 - 4,999	81	10	2	7		386
5,000 - 9,999	89	6	1	4		228
10,000 - 99,999	88	8	1	3		509
100,000 - 249,999	92	4	2	2		206
250,000 and over	88	7	2	3		332
Sex						
Men	82	10	2	6		1312
Women	82	10	1	7		1690
Age						
29 and under	79	12	2	7		609
30 - 39	86	8	1	5		734
40 - 49	84	9	2	5		711
50 - 59	80	11	1	8		485
60 and over	79	11	2	8		466
Socio-Economic Status						
Upper and upper middle	80	12	4	4		229
Middle	83	10	1	6		768
Lower	80	11	2	7		1316
Very low and on relief	85	7	1	7		685
Education						
Less than eight years	81	10	1	8		1196
Eight years	80	11	3	6		1232
9 - 11 years	89	7	1	3		377
More than 11 years	85	10	3	2		192

* Less than 1%

Question: Why is the food situation in Germany so bad?

	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	3008	399
Overpopulation, too many refugees, influx of expellees, too many foreigners	46%	13%
Result of the lost war, too much damage and destruction, war events	22	26
Separation of eastern territories, loss of territory	20	30
No imports, no exports; Germany can't feed herself, always depended on exports-imports	19	15
Too little raising area, limited possibilities of production, retarding of production, lack of fertilizer and farm equipment	10	11
Black market, too much illicit sale, foreigners receive more food and profiteer by trading it	8	10
Too many deliveries to occupying powers, to neighboring countries, Russians take away too much	5	18
Division of Germany into zones	4	8
No reserves, no equal division of supplies	√3	4
Bad organization, insufficient deliveries by farmers	✓2	4
Transportation difficulties	✓1	7
Allies are not interested in Germany	1	4
Other reasons	✓1	1
No reason given	5	2
	147	153

(Columns total more than 100% because some respondents gave more than one answer.)

Question: In which country in the world do you think people are best off as far as food is concerned?

	AMZON	Berlin
Sample	3008	399
United States	73%	73%
Switzerland	4	3
South America (including specific countries)	4	6
Denmark	2	7
Czechoslovakia	2	*
Canada	1	2
Russia	1	2
Sweden	1	4
Holland	1	*
Norway	*	-
Other countries	3	3
No opinion, don't know	13	4
No answer	*	-
	105	104

(Columns total more than 100% because a few respondents mentioned more than one country.)

* Less than 1%

Question: Did you fulfill your quota of grain and potatoes this year?

(Asked of farmers only)

	AMZON
Sample	573
YES	47%
Grain not thrashed yet, bad harvesting	11
Land too bad, bad weather, dry weather, damage by animals	8
Just have enough for ourselves, did not raise enough, deliveries are too high	6
Not enough artificial fertilizer for the fields	6
Will be delivered later	4
Potatoes will be delivered later, too few seed potatoes, potatoes stolen	4
Don't raise these crops	5
No reason given	1
Total who have not delivered	45 = 42
No answer	11
	100

(Number of reasons for not having delivered required quotas total more than 42% because some farmers gave more than one reason.)

APPENDIX B

Question: Do you own any houses or property?

	NO	YES, HOUSES	YES, PROPERTY	YES, BOTH		Sample
AMZON	67%	14	3	16	= 100%	3022
Region						
Bavaria	67	13	3	17		1722
Hesse	69	14	3	14		671
W-Baden	64	19	5	12		629
City Size						
Under 1,000	53	12	4	31		790
1,000 - 1,999	57	18	4	21		544
2,000 - 4,999	63	21	3	13		418
5,000 - 9,999	65	19	4	12		227
10,000 - 99,999	80	14	3	3		504
100,000 - 249,999	87	9	3	1		2066
250,000 and over	89	5	1	5		333
Berlin	87	6	6	1		401
Occupation						
Professional & Business	59	23	4	14		174
Officials & White Collare	83	8	3	6		452
Artisans & Master Craftsmen	50	31	3	16		288
Skilled Workers	74	15	3	8		384
Semi-skilled Workers	79	9	4	8		151
Unskilled Labor	84	11	2	3		350
Farmers	31	12	8	49		569
Total population excluding Farmers	75	15	2	8		2453

Question: What particular items are not possible to get?

(asked of those people who said they could not get through legal channels necessary building materials.)

Region:

	AMZON	Berlin	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden
Sample	3022	401	1722	671	629
Cement, lime, gypsum, sand	7%	3%	9%	5%	5%
Tiles, slate, teralite-plates	7	3	8	4	5
Wood, flooring, window frames	5		5	3	7
Stones, bricks	2	-	2	3	2
Glass	1	1	1	2	2
Tin, gutters, iron bands, iron, wire, nails	1	1	2	*	*
Other items	*	*	*	1	1
Can get nothing	2	2	1	3	2
No item mentioned	1	-	1	1	*
	26	12	29	22	24

(Columns total more than the number of respondents, because more than one answer was given.)

City Size:

	Under 1,000	1,000-1,999	2,000-4,999	5,000-9,999	10,000-99,999	100,000-249,999	250,000 & Over
Sample	790	544	418	227	504	206	333
Cement, lime, gypsum, sand	11%	10%	9%	8%	3%	2%	3%
Tiles, slate, teralite-plates	11	8	6	7	3	2	3
Wood, flooring, window frames	6	6	4	5	3	3	4
Stones, bricks	5	3	2	3	2	1	1
Glass	1	1	1	4	2	2	2
Tin, gutters, iron bands, iron, wire, nails	2	1	2	1	1	-	-
Other items	*	1	*	1	*	-	-
Can get nothing	2	1	2	1	1	2	2
No item mentioned	*	1	-	-	1	1	-
	38	32	26	30	16	13	15

(Columns total more than the number of respondents, because more than one answer was given.)

* Less than 1%

Which do you think should be done first -- should available building materials be allocatdd first for reconstruction in heavily-bombed cities or should they be allocated first for repairs of buildings that are in use?

	Reconstruction Cities	Repair Buildings	No Opinion	
	77%	87	6	= 100%
	7	87	6	
	5	90	5	
	8	86	6	
	7	84	9	
	9	85	6	
	7	86	7	
	8	86	6	
	6	91	3	
99	7	90	3	
r	3	95	2	
	4	94	2	
Business	6	92	2	
te Collar	7	89	4	
er Craftsmen	6	89	5	
	5	92	3	
rkers	6	89	5	
	9	86	5	
	4	86	10	
years	7	84	9	
	6	89	5	
	5	93	2	
e	8	89	3	

Question: In every town there is some repairing and reconstruction being accomplished. How is it in this town — do you think that the distribution of the available building-material is being handled justly or unjustly?

	Justly	Unjustly	No Opinion	
AMZON	26%	39	35	= 100%
Region				
Bavaria	27	38	35	
Hesse	22	40	38	
W-Baden	27	41	32	
City Size				
Under 1,000	27	32	41	
1,000 - 1,999	30	33	37	
2,000 - 4,999	30	36	34	
5,000 - 9,999	23	37	40	
10,000 - 99,999	24	43	33	
100,000 - 249,999	23	53	24	
250,000 and over	20	57	23	
Berlin	22	62	16	
Occupation				
Professional & Business	21	44	35	
Officials & White Collar	27	48	25	
Artisans & Master Craftsmen	32	44	24	
Skilled Workers	24	46	30	
Semi-skilled Workers	33	35	32	
Unskilled Labor	22	32	46	
Farmers	32	35	33	
Education				
Less than eight years	29	35	36	
Eight years	24	40	36	
9 -11 years	24	46	30	
12 years or more	20	46	34	

RESTRICTED

MAGAZINE READING IN THE AMERICAN ZONE

Report Number 53
8 April 1947

JCD Opinion Surveys Hq.
OMGUS (Rear) APO 757

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INTRODUCTION ...

This study of magazine reading in the American Zone and in Berlin is based on several questions asked in a survey made in the last two weeks of December 1946, by ICD Opinion Surveys Inc., in 3414 interviews were held in the American Zone and in the American and British sectors of Berlin, representing a true cross-section of the population there. Field work was done by a trained German staff.

The main importance of this report is that it further verifies and amplifies the findings of a study made in November 1946, already reported in ODIC Opinion Surveys Report #43 "Readership of HEUTE, NEUE AUSLESE and AMERIKANISCHER RUNDSCHAU."

Magazine Reading in the American Zone and in Berlin ...

Only a minority (18%) in the Zone claim to be magazine readers. In Berlin, however, 42% say they read magazines. Among Laender, Bavaria has the fewest readers, Wuerttemberg-Baden, the most, as is shown in the following table:

	Bav.	Hesse	W-B	Total Zone	Berlin
Read magazines	13%	19%	25%	18%	42%
Do not read magazines	87	81	75	82	58
Cases:	1615	732	654	3005	409

Reasons for not reading magazines ...

Queried as to their reason for not reading magazines, non-readers in the Zone mentioned lack of interest or time as often as they mentioned lack of opportunity to obtain magazines. Only a minority said that they could not afford magazines. In Berlin, however, this reason got second place, following lack of interest. The comparison for the Laender and Berlin follows:

Do not read because:	Bav.	Hesse	W-B	Total Zone	Berlin
No interest, time	44%	32%	55%	41%	57%
No opportunity to get magazines	43	57	30	44	5
Can't afford	10	7	12	9	37
No opinion	3	4	3	3	4

(Berlin percentages total more than 100 because some people gave more than one reason.)

A majority thinks to-day's magazines are better than those of the past ...

Magazine readers were asked to cite what changes they noted between magazines published in Germany to-day and those published in the previous twelve years. They mentioned a variety of differences, the sum of which tended to be more complimentary than otherwise to present publications. A few, however, were non-committal, saying that the difference was that NSDAP control had now given way to Military Government control. And a few thought periodicals of the Hitler regime were better than to-day's. Some thought there was no difference. The break-down of their replies by Laender and for Berlin is:

Better now:	Bdv.	Hesse	W-B	Zone	Berlin
[illegible] control; etc.					
Broader viewpoint, more complete, etc.	29%	35%	22%	28%	35%
Greater freedom of expression	23	22	32	26	28
More objective, less propaganda	15	15	9	13	9
Unpolitical now	4	1	3	3	2
Worse now:					
Dependence on occupation powers, zonal limitations, etc.	*	-	-	*	2
Too one-sided, too much propaganda	2	1	3	2	12
Freer expression now, but poorer quality	1	-	5	2	1
MG control instead of NSDAP	5	8	7	6	2
No change	10	13	15	12	9
No opinion	18	14	12	15	8

Percentages total more than 100 because some people made more than one comparison.

Coverage of HEUTE, NEUE AUSLESE, and AMERIKANISCHER RUNDSCHAU ...

In the following pages tables are presented giving the coverage and distribution for the three magazines, separately and in combination, among population groups in the American Zone. Comparative figures for all other magazines combined are also shown.

Coverage figures show what proportion within each population group is reached by the various magazines. Distribution figures show how the total readership of a magazine or magazines divides among a given population group. Two coverage figures are given -- the first shows what share of each total population group the magazines have, the second, always in parentheses, shows their share among magazine readers in each of the population groups. To illustrate, by reference to the table of education groups (p.6): Among all the people interviewed whose education is 8 years or less, about one in ten (8%) are HEUTE readers, very few (2%) read AUSLESE, or RUNDSCHAU (1%). In all, the three magazines together cover 11% of the population with 8 years or less schooling, which is the same proportion covered by all of the other magazines combined. There is thus a large scale overlap, since, as noted on the table, only 15% of this segment of the population read magazines.

Reading the parenthetical figures on the same line:
Among magazine readers who have 8 years or less schooling, four in ten (43%) read HEUTE, many fewer (12%) see AUSLESE, and still fewer (7%) the RUNDSCHAU. Again the coverage of magazine readers, with no more than eight years education, by the three overt magazines (61%) is very much the same as that of all other magazines (60%).

... Some of the salient points noted in the following table are:

1. Taken together the three magazines reveal the weight of their specialized purposes. Together, they reach a relatively more prosperous, somewhat better educated, older and more Catholic audience than do all other magazines

2. Comparison of the three magazines with each other shows that:

a) RUNDSCHAU tends to appeal to an upper middle class, middle-aged set of male intellectuals.
b) AUSLESE appeals equally well to all groups, to Protestants more than Catholics and, generally, to middle class people.
c) HEUTE consistently has more general appeal. It has the largest audience among women of the three magazines. Its Bavarian distribution gives it largest proportion of Catholic readers, too. The tendency is clear to base its audience on lower middle and lower class groups.

3. While the decision to increase circulation of any of the magazines rests on many factors, these data bring out the following consideration:
a) AUSLESE and RUNDSCHAU cover part of the intellectual audience. They tend to supplement each other and to develop separate followings.
b) HEUTE provides the possibility of reaching a mass audience.
c) Upper class people are almost to a man reached by some magazine. More than half the upper middle class members read some magazine. But only few lower middle class demands are satisfied.

[illegible] because the sample

Berlin figures are not given because the sample of magazine readers is too small for this type of statistic. But inspection of the figures shows that, aside from the fact that BERLIN ILLUSTRIERTE and SIE have wider readership than any other single magazine there, coverage and distribution of the three American magazines considered here follow much the same pattern as in the American Zone.

EDUCATION ...

Coverage:	HEUTE	AUSLESE	RUNDSCHAU	All Three	All Others	Non-Readers
8 years or less	8(43)%	2(12)%	1(77)%	11(60)%	11(61)%	85%
9 - 11 years	22(59)%	7(18)%	5(13)%	34(90)%	25(66)%	62%
12 years or more	26(46)%	12(23)%	10(19)%	48(90)%	44(82)%	46%
Distributions:						
8 years or less	47%	39%	33%	45%	51%	87%
9 - 11 years	33	31	32	31	25	9
12 years or more	20	30	35	24	24	4

Coverage figures in parentheses are for proportion of magazine reading public.

SEX ...

Coverage	HEUTE	AUSLESE	RUNDSCHAU	All Three	All Others	Non-Readers
Men	11(49)%	4(18)%	3(15)%	19(80)%	16(68)%	77%
Women	6(48)%	2(13)%	1(7)%	9(67)%	10(75)%	87%
Distribution:						
Men	56%	64%	72%	60%	54%	39%
Women	44	36	28	40	46	61

RELIGION ...

Coverage:	HEUTE	AUSLESE	RUNDSCHAU	All Three	All Others	Non-Readers
Catholics	8(49)%	2(16)%	2(12)%	12(85)%	9(62)%	85%
Protestants	8(42)%	3(16)%	2(9)%	14(68)%	16(78)%	80%
Distribution:						
Catholics	51%	44%	49%	49%	38%	54%
Protestants	45	54	43	47	58	44
Others	4	2	8	4	4	2

Coverage figures in parentheses are for proportion of magazine reading public.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS ...

Coverage:	HEUTE	AUSLESE	RUNDSCHAU	All Three	All Others	Non-Readers
Upper middle	30(52)%	13(23)%	11(19)%	54(95)%	43(77)%	43%
Lower middle	15(49)%	6(19)%	3(10)%	23(78)%	22(73)%	70%
Lower	4(46)%	1(9)%	1(7)%	6(63)%	7(67)%	91%
Distribution:						
Upper	2%	2%	7%	3%	3%	-
Upper middle	16	22	26	19	16	2
Lower middle	44	51	40	45	43	22
Lower	37	24	27	32	37	70
On relief	1	1	-	1	1	6

Coverage figures in parentheses are for proportion of magazine reading public.

(Coverage for unemployed category not shown because there were too few cases for accurate percentaging.

SIZE OF COMMUNITY ...

Coverage:	HEUTE	AUSLESE	RUNDSCHAU	All Three	All Others	Non-Readers
Under 2000	3(40)%	1(15)%	1(13)%	4(69)%	5(75)%	93%
2,000 - 4,999	9(64)%	1(10)%	2(11)%	11(84)%	4(56)%	86%
5,000 - 9,999	15(58)%	6(23)%	4(14)%	26(95)%	16(61)%	73%
10,000 - 99,999	13(44)%	4(13)%	2(7)%	18(64)%	22(76)%	71%
100,000 - 249,999	18(54)%	4(13)%	3(10)%	26(77)%	23(76)%	67%
250,000 and over	14(43)%	7(21)%	4(13)%	25(77)%	25(79)%	69%
Distribution:						
Under 2000	12%	16%	19%	15%	17%	49%
2000 - 4,999	17	7	12	13	10	16
5,000 - 9,999	13	16	14	14	9	6
10,000 - 99,999	25	23	18	24	29	14
100,000 - 249,999	15	11	12	13	13	6
250,000 and over	18	27	25	21	22	9

Coverage figures in parentheses are for proportion of magazine reading public.

EMPLOYMENT STATUS ...

Coverage:	HEUTE	AUSLESE	RUNDSCHAU	All Three	All Others	Non-Readers
Employee	11(51)%	3(12)%	2(11)%	16(76)%	16(37)%	79%
Employer	9(46)%	4(19)%	2(11)%	15(76)%	15(37)%	80%
Independent craftsman	11(50)%	2(10)%	-	13(60)%	18(80)%	77%
Independent family member	10(42)%	6(25)%	3(12)%	19(78)%	21(88)%	76%
Housewife	6(52)%	1(11)%	1(7)%	8(73)%	8(66)%	88%
Distribution:						
Employee	45%	40%	46%	44%	44%	56%
Employer	11	13	12	11	11	9
Independent craftsman	4	3	-	3	4	3
Independent family member	6	12	9	8	10	6
Housewife	27	20	17	25%	25	39
Unemployed	5	7	9	6	3	4
No answer	2	5	7	3	3	3

Coverage figures in parentheses are for proportion of magazine reading public.

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VIENNESE REACTIONS TO NEW DENAZIFICATION LAWS

Report Number 54
3 April 1947
ODIC, Opinion Surveys Headquarters
OMGUS (Rear) APO 757

RESTRICTED

INTRODUCTION ...

In December 1946, shortly after the publication of the new denazification regulations, a cross-section of Viennese, living in the American and British Zones, were questioned as to their reactions to the new laws. In all, 1502 individuals were interviewed in their home. The cross-section, scientifically constructed, can be said to be representative of the entire adult population living within the two Zones. The interviewing was done by trained Austrian interviewers working under the directive of Opinion Surveys Headquarters, Information Control Division, OMGUS (Rear). The study was requested by Information Services Branch, USFA.

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MANY VIENNESE UNINFORMED ...

The public was asked first: "Have you heard that the National Socialist law has been changed?" A very large majority (85%) said that this fact had come to their attention. Practically all of those who had heard about the change (95%) said that the newspaper had given them the news, but about one in seven (13%) cited the radio as the source of their information. Few (3%) had heard about it in conversation. (Some people named more than one source of information.)

The few who said that they had not heard that the laws were changed were, however, largely in a position to have heard. Half of them (48%) claimed to read a newspaper regularly, and another third of them (35%) said they read a newspaper occasionally. A bare majority also (53%) claimed to listen to the radio. On the other hand, this group was heavily weighted with the more poorly educated. Three in ten (30%) had only gone through as much as seven years' schooling, while nearly all the rest (63%) had had the opportunity to go to school only eight years. The group indicated high apathy toward political affairs. Almost half of them (46%) either could not or did not express a party preference among the three licensed political parties. (Among the rest of the population less than half as many (22%) were unable to name a preferred party.)

... All those who claimed to have heard that the denazification laws had been changed were asked whether they liked the laws in their new form. A plurality (44%) of the population was unable to express a judgment pleading unfamiliarity with the specific proposals of one or the other, or both, sets of regulations. This large minority, again, was composed of relatively uneducated and relatively apathetic people. More than eight in ten (83%) had not gone beyond eighth grade in school and about three in ten (28%) held no political party preference.

The remaining population (41%) directly concerns us here. It is this group which claimed to have heard about the change in denazification procedures and which held an opinion about this change. A leadership group, composed of the most alert, well-educated, and relatively prosperous people in the community, their attitudes will undoubtedly help to crystallize the thinking of the uninformed or uninterested.

ATTITUDES OF THE INFORMED ...

Approval, or disapproval, of the new denazification procedures cannot be expected to be a simple, first-order judgment. Any thoughtful opinion on the matter is overlaid with attitudes toward National Socialism, attitudes toward known National Socialists, attitudes toward the Allies, and Allied efforts toward reconstruction of Austria, disposition toward the original denazification laws and, perhaps most important, the degree of personal effect which these laws may have.

A significantly larger proportion of the people sampled said they were NOT willing to go along with the new form of the denazification laws than said they agreed with the new laws. However, more than half the population either had not heard about the change or had no opinion on the change.

Comments were sought from those people who were in a position to speak to the point. Reasons given for agreement with the change in the laws centered around the statement that at least the truly guilty were going to get their just deserts. Others pointed out that the separation of PGs into two two groups - the seriously charged and the followers - was agreeable in that the first group now would be adequately punished while the second group would be justly dealt with. Adverse comments offered by those who disliked the changed regulations proposed, in the main, that the punishments for the lesser offenders and followers were too extreme. Others, as if by way of contrast, pointed out that punishments decreed for the really guilty were too easy. The few respondents who commented on both sides (after saying that they were "partly" in agreement with the changes in the laws) overwhelmingly said that the changes are to be commended because they will punish effectively the really guilty, but on the adverse side these "partial supporters" again overwhelmingly thought that the laws in present form are too harsh on "mere Party followers."

"Are you in agreement with the law in its new form?"

Yes	14%
Partly	3
No	25
No opinion	43
Had not heard change had taken place	15
	100%
Number	1502

If "Yes" or "Partly": what do you like about the change?

	"Yes"	"Partly"
Easier on "Little Nazis"	10%	8%
Harsher on seriously charged	56	82
Division into two groups of Nazis	15	8
Just punishments decreed	19	2
	100%	100%
Number	214	49

If "No" or "Partly": what don't you like about it?

	"No"	"Partly"
Punishments generally too harsh	26%	6%
Punishment for lesser chargees too harsh	27	80
Too easy on the really guilty	24	14
Too harsh on the seriously charged and too easy on the really guilty	11	-
Persecution of Nazis should stop; people just joined to keep alive	6	-
Requisitionin of property and homes unjust	2	-
Youth too harshly treated	2	-
Can't say, no opinion	2	-
	100%	100%
Number	358	49

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Group differences in regard to approval or disapproval of the new denazification laws indicate the ties of personal interest as well as the general orientation of some groups. Illustrative of the former type of motivation is the fact that the better educated tend more frequently than the more poorly educated to dislike the new laws. The more money that people earn, and the higher their social status, the fewer approve the changes in the laws. One can infer from these data that it is precisely these better-to-do groups which are more frequently affected by the denazification program. Since these groups tend to cluster within the CVP, supporters of this party more frequently are displeased with the new laws than are SPÖ followers. The findings, it should be noted, are independant of the fact that more people in the higher social groups express an opinion on the problem presented to them. The differences are so large that it does not seem likely that better information alone accounts for them. Rather direct interest undoubtedly plays a part.

ATTITUDINAL DIFFERENCES ...

In regard to differing orientation of population groups it is notable that the younger Viennese (under 30 years) are more extremely opposed to the changed law than any other age group. Not only does this group contain certain proportions who may be subject to punishment under the law, but many within the group undoubtedly still have some admiration for National Socialism. This is brought out clearly in the responses of those who still believe that National Socialism was a good idea, although badly carried out, rather than a bad idea. Nearly three in four of those who consider today that National Socialism was a good idea disapprove the denazification law. To the same end, those people who believe that the Allies are hindering the conclusion of a peace treaty with Austria more often condemn the new denazification laws than do those people who think the Allies are conscientiously working toward the conclusion of a peace treaty.

It can be concluded that little attention is being paid to the process of denazification by those people who are not being affected by the laws. The disposition of these people is generally one of approval for punishment of those who can be shown to have committed crimes or to have denied men some of the basic human rights. The criminals who can be charged in a court of law, and have the charges hold, are widely condemned. But throughout the population there is little support for the condemnation and punishment of people who supported the Nazis only by joining the Party and carrying a membership. The Austrian people, from these data, do not generally consider it a crime to have been a member of or supporter of the Nazi regime. However, public support is solid behind a review of the acts which one might have committed within such a position.

"Are you in agreement with the law in its new form?"

	Yes, or Partly		No		No opinion, or have not heard of changes	Cases
Total	17%	(41%)	24%	(59%)	59%	1502
Education						
12 years or more	20	(34)	39	(66)	41	157
9 to 11 years	19	(36)	34	(64)	47	128
8 years	18	(44)	23	(56)	59	1025
7 years or less	9	(53)	8	(47)	83	191
Socio-economic Status						
Upper Middle or higher	16	(33)	32	(67)	52	87
Lower Middle	18	(35)	33	(65)	43	323
Upper Lower	21	(45)	26	(55)	53	617
Lower Lower	14	(52)	13	(48)	73	394
On Relief	7	(41)	10	(59)	83	81
Family income (monthly)						
350 Shillings or more	22	(39)	34	(61)	44	472
250 to 349 Shillings	19	(46)	22	(54)	59	386
200 to 249 Shillings	17	(50)	17	(50)	66	243
160 to 199 Shillings	19	(54)	16	(46)	65	84
120 to 159 Shillings	11	(37)	19	(63)	70	119
Less than 120 Shillings	7	(33)	14	(67)	81	143
Sex						
Able-bodied men	24	(44)	30	(56)	46	531
Able-bodied women	15	(41)	22	(59)	63	754
Age						
Under 30 years	11	(34)	21	(66)	68	206
30 to 39	19	(44)	24	(56)	57	262
40 to 49	21	(44)	27	(56)	52	384
50 to 59	18	(39)	28	(61)	54	320
60 to 69	18	(50)	18	(50)	64	216
70 or older	12	(43)	16	(57)	72	115
Party preference						
KPÖ	36	(47)	43	(53)	19	37
SPÖ	23	(48)	25	(52)	52	641
ÖVP	17	(39)	27	(61)	56	429
Think National Socialism was:						
Bad Idea	27	(53)	24	(47)	49	679
Good Idea, badly carried out	12	(26)	35	(74)	53	514
No opinion	6	(86)	1	(14)	93	289
Think conclusion of peace treaty by Allies is being:						
Hindered	17	(37)	37	(63)	36	161
Furthered	26	(51)	25	(49)	49	522
Qualified replies	22	(34)	42	(66)	36	268
No opinion	7	(41)	10	(59)	83	551

PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD DENAZIFICATION

Report Number 55
15 April 1947

ICD Opinion Surveys Hq.
OMGUS (Rear) APO 757

INTRODUCTION ...

Periodic soundings of attitudes toward denazification procedures are made by opinion research techniques through scientific sampling of the populations of the American Zone and Berlin. Three recent studies have each included some questions relative to this problem. These surveys were carried out during ten-day periods within the months of December, 1946, January and February 1947. At least 3000 individuals were personally interviewed in their homes within Amzone, and an additional 400 in Berlin, to make up each miniature population representing the adults living in these areas. Overt interviewing was done by German employees of Military Government under the direction of the Opinion Surveys Headquarters of the Information Control Division.

SUMMARY ...

1. Knowledge about the denazification program is affected by educational background, but perhaps even more imortantly by direct interest in the proceedings. The well-to-do and better educated, as well as former PGs, were much more likely to know about how denazification is carried out, and much more likely to have heard or read about General Clay's speech to the Laenderrat, than were their counterpart groups. About two in ten people were so uninterested, or so unaffected by denazification, that they held no discernible attitude toward denazification.

2. The general public favors, by a small plurality (37%), that denazification be carried out -- as at present -- by Germans under American scrutiny. However, nearly as many (30%) would like to see the Americans assume full responsibility for the program, or direct the proceedings aided by German counsellors. Motivations behind this latter tendency proved to be a desire to thrust the responsibility upon the Americans and, on the part of a few, to introduce more firmness into the proceedings.

3. Nearly half (47%) the people had heard or read about General Clay's speech to the Laenderrat. Probably because the speech was given in Stuttgart residents of Wuerttemberg-Baden had more frequently heard about it than had Bavarians, Hessians or Berliners.

4. Most of those who had heard about General Clay's speech thought the remarks justified. But few had observed any change in methods in the first weeks following the speech.

5. Expressed satisfaction with denazification has been decreased over the past year. About as many said, in December 1946, that they were "satisfied" with the way it is being carried out, as were opposed to such methods. About one in seven more thought the Spruchkammer rulings "too easy."

6. Examination of free comments made upon the problem show that the entire German public feels about denazification as open critics of the program do. Many people suggest that "Followers" should be rehabilitated and reestablished in society, but accept present punishments for "Activists." Thus, in the main, people would like to see greater distinction made between punishments decreed for Activists and Followers even if the latter should always get off scot free.

7. A solid majority (62%) were opposed both to noting former NSDAP membership in PG's identification cards and keeping them from going back to their former jobs. Public sentiment, thus, was firmly behind a "forgive and forget" policy.

8. The general orientation of the German public, in a broader sense, is revealed in the relationship found between attitudes toward the two specific types of punishment just described, and general disposition toward Nationalsocialism. Only among the few (11%) who would NOT give PGs back their jobs, and WOULD identify them as PGs in their papers, did a majority hold Nationalsocialism a bad idea. The large body of the public most frequently thought Nationalsocialism a good idea, only badly carried out.

Knowledge about denazification procedures ...

A slim majority (56%) of the people polled were able to identify the correct one of four statements describing the line of responsibility for denazification.

"In your opinion, how is denazification being carried out at the present time?" (December, 1946)

By the American authorities without German participation	3%
Primarily by American authorities with the cooperation of German advisors	8
Primarily by German authorities under supervision of American authorities (Correct)	56
By German authorities alone without American supervision	12
Don't know, can't say	21
	100%

... Examination of group differences helps to identify those who are misinformed or uninformed about so fundamental an issue. Education level is of course an important factor. And direct personal interest because of former NSDAP membership makes for greater knowledge of the procedure. Conversely people who were not associated with the party tend to be less well-informed. Men, more politically alert than women, also tend to know how denazification is carried out. There too is a relationship between attitudes toward denazification and knowledge about it -- people who approve denazification in general are more likely than those who are critical actually to know how it is carried out. (A tabular break-down of these group differences appears on the following page.)

	% Correct Answer	Cases
Area		
Bavaria	59	1614
Hesse	53	731
Wuerttemberg-Baden	52	660
Berlin	50	409
NSDAP Membership		
Respondent a member	73	365
Member in family	57	504
Neither	53	2129
Education		
12 years or more	78	196
9 to 11 years	68	368
8 years	54	1304
7 years or less	51	1134
Sex		
Men, able to work	68	1146
Men, not ablebodied	54	121
Women, able to work	49	1603
Women, not ablebodied	38	133
Socio-economic Status		
Upper and Upper Middle	75	154
Lower Middle	61	755
Upper Lower	56	1344
Lower Lower	49	595
On Relief	35	153
How should denazification be carried out?		
As it is being done now	76	1117
By the Americans alone	58	336
By Americans with German cooperation	56	557
By Germans alone	54	350
"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way in which denazification is being carried out?"		
Satisfied	57	1023
Dissatisfied, too harsh	67	575
Dissatisfied, too easy	62	391
Qualified replies	65	386
No opinion	35	610

Knowledge of General Clay's speech ...

In order to measure degrees of alertness to the problems of denazification, respondents were also asked: "Have you heard or read that the American military governor, General Clay, criticised before the Laenderrat the way in which denazification is being carried out?" Not quite half (47%) had heard about General Clay's criticism. There were interesting Laender differences -- people in Wuerttemberg-Baden were much better informed (56%) than the Hessians or Bavarians (45%) or the Berliners (37%). This difference may well reflect a tendency of Wuerttemberg papers to play up the story more than other Laender papers did simply because it originated in Stuttgart. It also suggests that there may be disadvantages in using local capitals as a sounding-board for the Zone.

... Group differences parallel those on knowledge of denazification procedures. Again, former NSDAP members, the best educated groups, the well-to-do were more likely to know about the Stuttgart scolding than their counterpart groups. For example, twice as many former party members (79%) as non-members (42%) had noted the speech.

... Few people, however, felt that the reprimand had led to improved handling of the matter. At the time of the survey (December, 1946) only 13% claimed that the situation had changed. But the people who did see a change were again more often the people whose interest in the problem or whose breadth of outlook induced them to watch the situation closely.

... Most (72%) of those who had heard or read about General Clay's speech thought the remarks were justified. Because so many of these people are affected by the policy, their judgments merit special attention and are treated in more detail subsequently (page 5).

Comparisons were made between people's knowledge of methods of denazification and awareness of General Clay's criticism. Four identifiable groups emerged which are shown on the table below. Note that about a third (32%) are informed on both counts and that a group of almost similar size (29%) knew nothing of either. Again, the well-to-do, well educated, former party members and men tend to be the best informed.

Information Groups

I	Recognize correct description of denazification procedures, AND had heard of General Clay's speech at Stuttgart	32%
II	Incorrect identification of procedures, but had heard of General Clay's speech	15
III	Correct identification of procedures, but had not heard of General Clay's speech	24
IV	Incorrect identification of procedures, and had not heard of General Clay's speech	29
		100%

Within Group I were:

73% of those sampled whose education was 12 years or more
64% of those sampled whose status was Upper Middle or higher
62% of those sampled who were former NSDAP members
51% of the able-bodied men sampled, BUT ONLY

25% of those with 7 years or less schooling,
18% of those whose status is Lower Lower
28% of the non-NSDAP members, who had no members in the family
21% of the able-bodied women

How denazification should be carried out ...

Using the four statements on denazification procedures, already referred to, people were asked: "Of which of these types of denazification would you approve?" Results show a general disposition to shift responsibility to the Americans. Whereas 56% of the population knows what the present set-up is, only 36% approve it. And while only 11% think that Americans have major responsibility for denazification, 30% voted to give them the job. However, opinions on the issue are not solely a desire to get rid of an unpleasant task -- people who feel the Spruchkammer decisions are "too easy" also favor making the Americans responsible, presumably in order to tighten up the process.

... Certain group differences are revealing. The three Laender vary in their views ... Bavarians as compared with others give stronger support to the maintenance of the status quo, Hessians tend more than others to favor dropping the whole thing, while people in Wuerttemberg-Baden are more strongly in favor of American dominance of the proceedings. Former NSDAP members, though advocating different methods, are alike in that almost all of them express an opinion one way or another. Thus only 6% of them in contrast to 19% of non-members cannot make up their minds as to what should be done. This is also true of upper class people -- only 4% of the well-educated and 5% of the well-to-do as compared with 21% of the uneducated and 39% of poorer people are without opinions on the problem.

... The tendency to think "what is" is also "best" is present too -- especially when there is misinformation about "what is." Thus a plurality (36%) of those who think denazification is solely an American job, think that is the way it should be; and a similar number (37%) of the people who think Americans merely consult with Germans on the problem, favor that plan. Among those who are misinformed or uninformed about the present methods and favor other plans -- 37% vote for the present way of carrying out denazification, 36% vote to give all responsibility to the Americans; 20% want the Germans to have complete control or abandon the whole thing. The remaining 7% make no choice.

... Degree of satisfaction with denazification also has a bearing on preferences. People who are dissatisfied because verdicts are too lax tend to favor giving all authority to Americans. Those who express dissatisfaction because they think Spruchkammer actions are too harsh prefer the present way, as do those who are satisfied. This is noted on the following table.

"Which of these types of denazification do you most prefer?"

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way in which denazification is being carried out?"	Americans or Americans with German advice	As Now	Germans alone or none at all	No Opinion
Satisfied	27	45	14	14 ...10
Dissatisfied,				
too harsh	31	39	21	9
too easy	49	36	8	7
Qualified	35	35	24	6
No opinion	18	25	15	42

Dissatisfaction with present procedures is also voiced insistently by the small group (4%) which had heard about General Clay's scolding of the Laenderrat and thought the criticism unjustified. Among these

people a plurality (38%) think the Germans alone should run denazification or that there should be none at all, while about as many approve present methods (29%) as speak for American direction of these affairs (26%).

Evaluation of a stricter American policy ...

It has been shown that a large minority (47%) are aware of General Clay's advice to stimulate more firm decision in Spruchkammer proceedings. Most (72%) of those who had heard about the speech think the remarks justified. But only few (13%) had seen any change in methods in the first few weeks following the speech. Even among these people there is little general agreement as to the direction which these changes had taken. A few (6% of the total population) think court judgments are stricter, others (3%) think proceedings have been speeded up, and about as many (4%) say generally that they feel proceedings are now "more just" or "better". The remainder can not articulate what they claim to have observed.

Group attitudes toward the speech follow a consistent pattern. Somewhat fewer former PGs (70%) than non-PGs (77%) think the speech justified. Upper class representatives (6[illegible]%) are less warm than are Lower class people (76%). Those who think the Americans should take over denazification are overwhelmingly in approval of the speech (81%). But those who prefer solely German administration of denazification without American supervision are much less heartily in favor (65%), and still fewer of those who want no denazification at all support the speech. (38%). In spite of these tendencies, easily understood on the grounds of self-interest, it is remarkable that such large proportions applauded what must in many instances have been only an indication of bitterness in prospect.

Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction with Denazification ...

Intertwined and jumbled cross-currents of opinions on denazification have been shown above. This situation is again portrayed by the responses, directly considered, to a question testing general satisfaction os dissatisfaction with denazification. The table below show shows that about 13% think that sterner measures should be taken, while about one-third (34%) is satisfied with things as they are. Another fifth (21%) is too uninformed to offer judgment, and the remaining sizeable minority (32%) offer qualified judgments (usually critical in tone) or protest outright against the "harshness" of denazification.

"In general, are you satisffed or dissatisfied with the way in which denazification is being carried out?"*

	%
Satisfied	34
Dissatisfied	
too harsh	19
too easy	13
Qualified replies	13
No opinion	21
	100%

* This question has been asked periodically over the past year. Results of ten separate samplings since November 1945 allow the conclusion to be drawn that the proportion "satisfied" has declined about 15% over the period while the proportion "dissatisfied" and that expressing "no opinion" have both increased in size. A later report by this office will show the trend in detail.

... The critical group were asked to specify the reasons for their dissatisfaction. As the table below shows, sharp differences in viewpoints occur. Thus three-fourths of the people who think the program is "too harsh" feel it is unfair to the "little" nazis; almost as many of the group which criticizes the laxness thinks "some" punishments should be more severe. And people who give qualified criticism, divide, in general, into two main groups -- the one which complains about the harshness toward lesser offenders, and the other (in essence probably much the same) which complains of the inconsistency of the verdicts.

Comments by Critics of Denazification Program

	Program Too Easy	Qualified Replies	Program Too harsh
Too harsh on little people	4%	45%	74%
Some punishments should be harsher	72	2	1
Judgments too inconsistent	8	42	10
Procedures too slow	4	5	7
Other	3	1	1
No comment	9	5	7
	100%	100%	100%
Total Respondents	391	386	575

Group differences on the general question probing into satisfaction -- dissatisfaction are stable as re ds findings reported above. The best educated, the well-to-do, former NSDAP members indicate significantly greater dissatisfaction than do the poorly educated, the poor and non-Party members. Area tabulations examined indicate that highest dissatisfaction because of the "softness" of the denazification program occurs in Berlin. One-fourth (26%) of the Berliners polled (American and British sectors) say that denazification is too easy there. More Hessians (22%) than residents of the other two Laender (10%) give qualified replies. Thus Hessians tend to speak more frequently about inconsistent court decisions with the "little man" being punished as heavily as the "big shot." Better informed people (as seen above this group has a preponderance of those who are personally affected by denazification) more frequently criticise the Spruchkammer system as "too harsh" when compared with those who are ignorant about the facts of the situation. One-fourth (27%) of the better informed offer this criticism, but only one-tenth (11%) of the uninformed speak to the same point. Similarly, one-fifth (19%) of the better informed also give qualified, and critical, replies to the basic question compared with only few (5%) such replies given by the uninformed.

... Attitudes toward denazification are seen in sharper focus as a result of another question put to a representative cross-section in January 1947. Then people were queried as to possible improvements in carrying out denazification. The question was: "General Clay, Military Governor, said recently that in his opinion the Spruchkammer were not working as well as they should. What would you do to carry out denazification better?" About three in ten could offer no advice, but the remaining majority had something to say. As indicated below, the public at large views the matter in much the same way as do people who are admittedly dissatisfied with Spruchkammer proceedings. Differentiation -- that is, harsher verdicts for acting Nazis, milder verdicts for "followers" -- is again uppermost in popular thinking on the issue.

	Amzone
Differentiate more clearly between Activists and Followers, between guilty and non-guilty	25%
Punish the Activists more strictly	16
Install more just proceedings, more capable personnel, in the Spruchkammers, institute more thorough investigations	14
Denazification should be carried out more quickly	5
The American should supervise and review the Spruchkammers	3
Trade PGs for PsW	3
Do away with denazification; don't need denazification	2
Satisfied with it as it is	2
Other	1
No comments, no opinion	29
	100%

Treatment of former PGs ...

In March, 1947, another sample population was asked whether they thought former Party members should have their membership noted in their identification papers after they had paid whatever penalty was decreed by the Spruchkammer. Secondarily, the people were asked whether or not they thiught such PGs should be allowed to resume their former jobs. A solid majority of the population (62%) votes against such punishments on both counts, a large minority (27%) supports only one of the two types of punishment or expressed no opinion on one or both of the propositions, while the remaining tiny minority (11%) supports both types of decrees against former NSDAP members.

Replies to the two questions are, of course, interrelated. Both propositions are firmly opposed by large majorities -- 70% favor giving jobs back to PGs, 73% oppose noting Party membership in an individual's papers. But among those who hold the position that a PG's papers should identify him as a former member of the Party, six in ten (60%) think he also should not be given back his job. But among those who would not mark the papers only one in ten (10%) would not give PGs back their jobs.

Group differences ...

Area differences generally repeat what has been observed before -- Berliners tend most frequently to support a strict policy regarding PGs, Bavarians are next most ready, and least support for firmness is found in Wuerttemberg-Baden. The exception to be noted is the slightly less frequent willingness in the latter Land to give jobs back to former PGs. Actually no greater opposition to such a step is found in Wuerttemberg-Baden, but the proportion expressing no opinion on this question was higher (15%) than in the other two Laender (9%).

Former NSDAP members are overwhelmingly against both types of punishment. The wonder is that they were not unanimously opposed. But among people who are not former members, and who had no members in their families, only bare majority (53%) hold consistently to a "forgive and forget" principle. The best educated and college people more often oppose continued punishment than do those with less schooling (and much less likelihood of having been a PG).

High correlations were found between responses to these questions and responses to the question: "Was National Socialism a bad idea, or a good idea badly carried out?" The table below shows that the large group which favors discontinuance of punishment solidly supported National Socialism as a "good idea, badly carried out." Only among the small minority which urged continued punishment of PGs does majority sentiment hold that National Socialism was a "bad idea."

"Should all former PGs, who have paid their punishments through the Spruchkammer, remain marked as one-time PGs in their identification papers?"

If "Yes": "In spite of this, should these people be given the permission to resume their former occupations?"

If "No": "Should these people then be given the permission to resume their former occupations?"

	Do not ident. Give jobs	Identify, Give jobs	Do not ident. No jobs	Identify, No jobs	Other No opi
American Zone	62%	6%	7%	11%	14%
NSDAP Membership					
Pre-May 1937	86	1	3	2	8.10
Post-May 1937	84	4	3	3	6
Member in family	79	4	6	5	6
Non-PGs	53	7	9	14	17
Education					
12 years or more	76	4	4	7	9.10
9 to 11 years	74	4	6	6	10
8 years	61	7	8	11	13
7 years or less	58	5	7	12	17
Attitudes toward National Socialism					
Good idea, badly carried out	62	48	45	28	36
No opinion	11	8	7	5	27
Bad idea	27	44	48	67	37
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Cases	1861	178	215	327	418

GERMAN CHILDREN APPRAISE THE YOUTH PROGRAM

Report Number 56
26 April 1947

ICD Opinion Surveys Hq.
OMGUS (Re-r) APO 757



INTRODUCTION ...

Approximately a thousand boys and girls living in four German cities, Frankfurt, Kassel, Heidelberg and Munich wrote answers to 46 questions dealing with the American Youth Program.

In each city, the age range was from 10 to 18 years of age. About half were boys and half girls. The children were chosen from the entire group in this age range in such a manner that they can be said to represent the entire group in each city. These small but true cross-sections provide counterpart data to that gathered by Troop Information Branch, Information and Education Division, in a similar study of soldier attitudes. The four cities reported were chosen because the soldier population there is sufficiently large to provide reliable samples for comparison. Most of the questions were identical in these two studies (outside the language difference) and the time of the studies, early March 1947, was approximately the same. The method of questioning through a write - in questionnaire was used because soldier opinions are regularly obtained in this fashion. Comparative findings will be presented by I & E. This report presents the GYA program through the eyes of German youth.

THEIR BACKGROUND ...

Schooling ...

Most of the youth who took part in the questionnaire were in school, either in Volksschule, Mittel or Höhere Schule. A few attend vocational schools, and a minority have completed their formal schooling. The proportions for each of the four cities are:

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
Volksschule	41%	40%	42%	48%
Mittelschule	17	11	2	6
Höhere Schule	19	19	30	38
Berufsschule	3	5	10	6
Do not attend	20	24	16	2
Cases:	238	253	222	308

Age ...

There was little inter-city variation in the ages of the children, and they were proportioned quite evenly in each age group from 10 to 18 years.

Length of residence ...

Large majorities in each city were born and have lived their entire life in that city. Few have lived in the city for less than two years.

Lived in city:	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
All their life	73%	64%	63%	76%
More than two years	15	25	22	13
Less than 2 years	10	10	15	10
No answer	2	1	-	1

Religion ...

As would be expected, Munich children were preponderantly Catholic (76%). In the other cities the majority were Protestants, ranging from 52% in Heidelberg and 55% in Frankfurt to 83% in Kassel. In Frankfurt and Heidelberg about a third belonged to the Catholic Church; only 7% of Kassel youth were of this faith.

Father's occupation ...

Reflecting the German situation is the fact that more than a fifth of the children in each of the four cities say their father, if living, has no occupation because he is a PW, or missing, or ill, or unemployed. Among those whose parent is employed, the pattern in all of the cities is similar. Though all occupational categories are represented, most frequently mentioned are clerical and skilled worker occupations, with the official or Beamter class following in third place.

Father's Occupation

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
Professional	3%	6%	12%	6%
Businessmen	2	3	6	5
Officials	11	10	5	12
Independent craftsmen	4	4	3	6
Clerical	13	13	12	18
Skilled artisans	18	23	21	15
Skilled workers	5	6	5	2
Workers	5	5	5	6
Agricultural workers	*	1	1	*
Father dead, PW, missing, invalid, unemployed, etc,	21	20	28	22
Not ascertainable	2	2	2	2
No answer	11	7	*	6

* Less than one-half of one per cent

Ability to speak English ...

Most of the youths claim to speak English ... give directions. However, important minorities in each of the cities disavow any knowledge of English, and only a very few claim real proficiency. In the main, most of the children would be able to exchange a few words with Americans at clubs, if they attended them.

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
Speak no English	28%	33%	36%	35%
Enough to give directions	26	22	24	17
Enough for simple conversation	26	27	24	26
Enough to converse freely	13	10	14	19
[illegible]	2	2	2	1
No answer	5	6	*	2

* Less than one-half of one per cent

Participation in youth groups before the Occupation ...

A relatively large number of the young people questioned claimed to have taken part in youth groups of one kind or another before the war's end, but they tended to claim passive rather than active participation in those organizations.

"Did you belong to any club or organization before the end of the war?"

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
Yes	33%	55%	54%	38%
No	63	42	46	59
No answer	4	3	*	3

* Less than one-half of one per cent

Father's occupation ...

Reflecting the German situation is the fact that more than a fifth of the children in each of the four cities say their father, if living, has no occupation because he is a PW, or missing, or ill, or unemployed. Among those whose parent is employed, the pattern in all of the cities is similar. Though all occupational categories are represented, most frequently mentioned are clerical and skilled worker occupations, with the official or Beamter class following in third place.

Father's Occupation

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
Professional	3%	6%	12%	6%
Businessmen	2	3	6	5
Officials	11	10	5	12
Independent craftsmen	4	4	3	6
Clerical	18	13	12	18
Skilled artisans	18	23	21	15
Skilled workers	5	6	5	2
Workers	5	5	5	6
Agricultural workers	*	1	1	*
Father dead, PW, missing, invalid, unemployed, etc.	21	20	28	22
Not ascertainable	2	2	2	2
No answer	11	7	*	6

* Less than one-half of one per cent

Ability to speak English ...

Most of the youths claim to speak English well enough at least to give directions. However, important minorities in each of the cities disavow any knowledge of English, and only a very few claim real proficiency. In the main, most of the children would be able to exchange a few words with Americans at clubs, if they attended them.

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
Speak no English	28%	33%	36%	35%
Enough to give directions	26	22	24	17
Enough for simple conversation	26	27	24	26
Enough to converse freely	13	10	14	19
Speak it as well as German	2	2	2	1
No answer	5	6	*	2

* Less than one-half of one per cent

Participation in youth groups before the Occupation ...

A relatively large number of the young people questioned claimed to have taken part in youth groups of one kind or another before the war's end, but they tended to claim passive rather than active participation in those organizations.

"Did you belong to any club or organization before the end of the war?"

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
Yes	33%	55%	54%	38%
No	63	42	46	59
No answer	4	3	*	3

* Less than one-half of one per cent

... Children in Munich and Heidelberg tended to have taken a more active part than those from Frankfurt and Kassel. But in all cities, more claimed not to have been active than the contrary.

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
Very active	7%	15%	22%	19%
Fairly active	15	15	19	24
Scarcely nothing	37	40	35	40
Did nothing	41	30	24	27
Number with opinions:	88	143	130	124

Participation in youth groups since the Occupation ...

About four in ten children in the four cities said that they had taken part in meetings or group organizations since the end of the war. Most of these affairs were led by adults, not by the youths themselves. That some of the meetings were sponsored by Americans is seen in the fact that a few children claimed that Americans were present.

... Some of them also said that their groups had received donations from Americans, e.g. sports equipment, coal, or a meeting place. Most, however, said that they had received nothing from the Americans.

THE AMERICAN YOUTH PROGRAM ...

Knowledge of it ...

Over half of the boys and girls questioned said they had not heard anything about the program, or the equivalent, that they did not know whether they had heard anything or not. Only a small minority in each of the four cities claimed to have heard a "lot" about it. As the following table shows, there is remarkble agreement in the replies from the four cities:

"Have you heard anything about this German Youth Program?"

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
Yes, I've already heard a lot about it	12%	13%	11%	10%
Yes, I've heard something about it, but not much	27	29	35	37
No, I haven't heard anything about it	46	44	46	42
Don't know whether I've heard or not	12	12	8	10
No answer	3	2	-	1
Cases:	238	253	222	308

... Sources of information about the program varied. Citywise, Munich and Heidelberg youth cited newspaper accounts more frequently than did Kassel and Frankfurt children. In all cities, "friends" were an important source of information. The table below gives the frequency mention by those who had heard of the program.

Heard about the program:	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
From friends	30%	35%	21%	20%
In school	16	13	16	20
Posters, placards	21	16	20	14
Newspapers	38	36	49	52
From parents	-	14	9	4
Other ways	12	4	11	16
Number answering:	112	108	120	152

(Percentages add to more than 100 because some children mentioned more than one source.)

... Only a small number in each of the four cities claimed to be sufficiently well-informed about the program. The proportions saying they know well or fairly well what the program is about in each of the four cities are: 17% in Frankfurt, 22% in Kassel, 22% in Heidelberg, and 15% in Munich. The remainder either knew little or absolutely nothing about the aims of the program.

PARTICIPATION IN THE GERMAN YOUTH PROGRAM ...

Only a small minority of young German claimed to have taken part in the U.S.-sponsored youth program. A very large majority said they had never attended meetings. As noted in the following table, more boys than girls claimed to have participated. (An earlier report - Opinion Surveys Report #46 - showed that 10% of the parents in large cities said their children had taken part in the programs . The figures reported here are remarkably comparable.)

"Have you yourself ever taken part in one of these German Youth Programs?"

	Frankfurt		Kassel		Heidelberg		Munich	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Yes	16%	11%	13%	6%	17%	6%	9%	8%
No	80	88	83	91	82	93	89	90
No answer	4	1	4	3	1	1	2	2

... Indications are that most of those who have gone to meetings have attended infrequently. Attendance figures as per cent of the total population sampled are: *

Frankfurt ...
- 2% have attended once
- 1% " " twice
- 2% " " three or four times
- 5% " " five or more times

Kassel ...
- 4% have attended once
- 1% " " twice
- 2% " " three or four times
- 3% " " five or more times

Heidelberg ...
- 6% have attended once
- 2% " " twice
- 1% " " three or four times
- 5% " " five or more times

Munich ...
- 2% have attended once
- 0% " " twice
- 2% " " three or four times
- 2% " " five or more times

... Children who have participated most frequently said that they usually spend two hours there.

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*The figures on this and subsequent questions in which children were required to state again whether or not they had attended meetings do not correspond exactly with those found in the first question asking whether or not they had ever attended youth programs. This discrepancy is in part a function of a written questionnaire, and in part results from the difficulty of distinguishing between attendance at occasional rallies and the established program. However, despite variations the figures are remarkably consistent.

Number of Americans at meetings ...

The Americans have either been scarce or not recognizable as such to the German children who have attended Youth Program meetings, - most of them say no Americans have been there. A few say that "one or two" Americans were in attendance.

"How many Americans usually take part in these meetings?"

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
None	11%	9%	7%	5%
One or two	2	1	4	3
Three or four	1	*	*	1
Five or six	-	-	-	*
Seven or more	*	-	1	1
Don't attend or No answer	86%	90%	88%	90%

Number of German youths at the meetings ...

Estimates of the number of German boys and girls in attendance varies, though the direction is toward fairly large gatherings.

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
10 or less	1%	1%	*	1%
11 - 15	2	1	1	1
16 - 25	3	3	2	2
26 - 49	2	3	2	2
50 - 99	5	*	4	2
100 and over	*	3	2	2
Don't attend or No answer	87%	89%	89%	90%

* Less than one-half of one per cent

Leadership of the meetings ...

Children who have attended meetings think they have been well led, on the whole, though almost as many feel they were only "fairly" well led as think they were "very" well conducted.

"What do you think of these meetings -- do you think they are well led or not?"

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
Very well led	7%	6%	5%	4%
Fairly well led	4	4	5	3
Not well led	2	*	1	3
No opinion	4	1	2	2
Don't attend or No answer	83%	89%	87%	88%

Main reason for thinking the meetings are well conducted is that the children were "made to feel welcome", or "at home". Critics, in the other hand, confine themselves largely to saying they "didn't like it."

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE GERMAN YOUTH PROGRAM ...

Is the Program a good idea? ...

Asked whether they thought the current Youth Program was in general a good or bad idea, the children, who had opinions on the matter, voted that it was a good idea, though again almost as many said "fairly" as "very." In all cities, however, there was a very large "No opinion" vote, but whether this reflects doubt as to the value of the program or a cautious withholding of judgement because they were ignorant of the program is not clear.

Program is:	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
A very good idea	28%	28%	37%	25%
A fairly good idea	17	17	21	23
A poor idea	2	*	1	1
A very poor idea	1	1	*	*
Cannot say	47	48	47	47
No answer	5	6	4	4

Reasons for taking part in the Program ...

The main attraction of the Youth Program, as far as the children are concerned, is "bread and circuses." Next most important reason for participating is to use the opportunity to show Germany's former enemies what the Germans really are like. Evidentally this educational program is thought by some to be double-edged. Opportunities presented by the program for self-improvement, e.g. learning English, learning about the United States, a profitable use of leisure time, etc. are less attractive, which is probably not surprising in view of the drabness of most of these children's lives at present. Asked to select the main reason for participation in the program, this is what those with opinions chose:

"What is the main reason for taking part in this Youth Program?"

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
To get candy and food	45%	44%	30%	41%
To have a chance for sports & games	21	28	31	24
To show our former enemies what Germans really are	29	22	19	22
To learn English	22	10	3	33
To learn about America from soldiers	13	8	7	8
To learn to know some Americans	11	8	11	11
Learn about democracy	6	9	3	7
Occupy leisure time	5	6	1	6
Have a change	7	9	6	1
Learn how democratic organizations are run	5	3	2	3
Other reasons	2	-	2	3
Program has no value for me	16	13	4	9

(Percentages total more than 100 because some children gave more than one reason.)

... Food is not only considered a most important reason for attending youth meetings, but 51% of all the children queried think it is the capstone of the program. Asked, "What seems to you to be the most important thing about this German Youth Program?" the reply "to get supplementary food" was selected by 56% in Frankfurt, 59% in Kassel, 45% in Heidelberg, and 43% in Munich. The other seven reasons listed were chosen by very small numbers.

Do they enjoy the Program? ...

Despite this preoccupation with "hand-outs" — or maybe because of it — the children tend to think most boys and girls enjoy the program. In any case, relatively few feel that people do not enjoy the program but come just because they have nothing to do or only to keep warm.

"Do you believe that German boys and girls enjoy the Youth Program or that they only come because they have nothing else to do or to keep warm?"

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
Nothing else to do, or to keep warm	8%	8%	5%	8%
Really enjoy it	26	26	37	20
Some enjoy, some nothing else to do	25	24	23	31
Don't know	37	41	35	37
No answer	4	1	-	4

"How many boys and girls enjoy it?"

All of them	15%	16%	20%	13%
Most of them	20	21	30	19
About half	7	8	6	11
Only a few	5	6	5	6
None of them	1	1	1	1
Don't know	49	46	38	47
No answer	3	2	-	3

Interest in various activities ...

As to the various activities offered by the Youth Program, the young peoplequestioned show greater interest in sports, hiking and trips than in the more sedentary and "educational" activities. Asked to indicate on a check-list the one activity that interested them most, they voted as follows:

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
Sports and games	29%	35%	34%	41%
Hikes, motor trips, etc.	38	23	23	36
Handicrafts	19	13	7	14
Music, theatre, art	12	19	16	24
Vocational training	9	12	6	12
General activities	7	8	4	13
Parties, etc.	8	6	1	10
Films	8	8	5	12
Children's books	7	13	1	13
Boy Scout activities	3	6	3	7
Religious affairs	5	2	2	5
YMCA, etc.	1	3	1	3
Discussion groups	1	2	*	2
Other	1	2	3	3

* Less than one-half of one per cent

... Interests of the boys and girls differ somewhat, but not nearly to the extent that might be expected. And often the differences that do exist are not consistent from city to city. Boys show greater interest in sports activities than do the girls, but with girls, too, sports and games are top choice. Girls are almost as interested in hikes and trips as are the boys, but show far greater interest in parties than do the boys. Girls prefer handicrafts more than the boys do, and boys tend to prefer movies more than do the girls. Both like music and arts equally well. On the whole, however, the similarity rather than the disparity of tastes is the important finding here.

Separate clubs for girls? ...

This community of interest is borne out in the tendency to vote for "co-educational" participation in youth activities. Very few of the young people questioned thought it was a poor idea to have boys and girls take part in the same organizations. (Only in Heidelberg where 17% were of this opinion was there any considerable tendency in this direction.) In all cities the largest vote went for joint participation which was supplemented by a number who thought that only in certain should there be separate organizations for girls. Nor was there any important sex difference in attitudes. More girls than boys thought that there should be some exceptions to common organizations, and, true to their sex, more of the girls found it difficult to make up their minds. But the direction of opinion was similar for both groups, as indicated on the following table:

"Do you think it is a good idea for boys and girls to take part in this program together?"

	Frankfurt		Kassel		Heidelberg		Munich	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Is a good idea	43%	40%	41%	44%	37%	37%	56%	48%
Good idea for most groups, but not for all	8	16	17	19	17	14	17	12
Bad idea for most groups, but not for all	2	1	7	-	7	3	1	1
It is a bad idea	8	4	9	7	14	20	7	3
Cannot judge	33	39	20	30	25	26	18	33
No answer	6	-	6	-	-	-	1	3
Cases:	124	112	133	115	112	109	152	151

... Asked further whether there should be organizations especially designated for girls, the children who had opinions on the matter, replied affirmatively. However, a very large proportion (more than four in ten) felt unable to express an opinion. Only in Heidelberg where there was a fairly large vote (40%) for special girls' groups was the affirmative position stronger than the doubtful one. Girls tended to favor the idea more than the boys did, but again, the differences were not outstanding or marked.

...

Suggested improvements ...

All the children were asked what they would do to improve the program. In reply, a variety of suggestions were made, two of which were advanced more frequently than others. One was to provide more material help, more to eat, or to wear (this was especially a popular suggestion in Frankfurt); the other was to provide more sports and sports activities (Heidelberg children were particularly insistent on this point). Relatively few gave suggestions about the organization and leadership of the program. Their suggestions are given on the following table.

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
Help us get more food, clothing, shoes, etc.	37%	12%	4%	9%
More sports opportunities, equipment, etc.	12	15	47	13
Joint American-German clubs, cooperation, etc.	3	-	5	2
Improve the organization, more definite aims, etc.	3	1	1	6
Broaden scope	1	2	3	6
Unite all youth groups into one organization	1	1	-	1
Other suggestions	-	9	16	8
No opinion	9	4	10	15
No suggestions	5	4	5	*
No answer	45	58	18	46

(Percentages add to more than 100 because some children made more than one suggestion.)

* Less than one-half of one per cent.

... Queried whether they would take part in the youth activities program if it were set up just the way they wanted it, a majority said Yes, but a significant minority would not, even then, be induced to take part. Indeed in Frankfurt a quarter of the children who replied said they would not attend even under these conditions. About the same proportion of German adults (68%) found something good to say about the GYA program in reply to the question: "What do you think of such a program?" (Report #46).

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
Would take part	68%	78%	73%	73%
Would not take part	25	15	18	18
Already take part	7	7	9	9

... However -- not as many children are firmly opposed to participating in the program as the above negative vote would imply, as a much smaller number definitely stated they had no desire to take part -- when asked directly to that effect. Even so, as the following table shows, there are many children who are not too enthusiastic about the project. Most (84%) parents permit their children to take part. (Report #46).

"Do you have any desire to take part in case you already do not do so?"

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
Would like to very much	39%	43%	58%	36%
Probably would do so	22	26	19	29
Don't know if I would	17	10	7	12
Do not think so	6	5	4	9
Know I would not	6	4	4	5
Already take part	7	6	8	6
No answer	3	6	-	3

The need for the Youth Program ...

To ascertain whether the young Germans were aware of some of the broader purposes of the program they were asked to rate the need for the program in certain specific interests: social development, education, vocational choice, religion, music and art, sports and games, democratic experiences, German and world problems. Most frequent answer (except as regards "religious matters") was that the program was "very necessary" though the proportion so thinking naturally varied from question to question. There was, as throughout, a large proportion of "No opinion" answers, which as already stated probably stem from uncertainty about what the program is rather than hesistancy as to whether the program can fulfil these purposes. The replies to each question follow in tabular form on the next page.

"Do you think that in the following things we need to be helped by the German Youth Program?"

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
Social development:				
Very necessary	21%	29%	34%	17%
Necessary	11	15	24	14
Somewhat necessary	13	9	12	8
Not necessary	6	3	5	12
Don't know	44	42	25	45
No answer	5	2	-	4
Education:				
Very necessary	25%	26%	37%	19%
Necessary	11	15	25	11
Somewhat necessary	10	11	10	17
Not necessary	15	13	11	23
Don't know	33	31	16	26
No answer	6	4	1	4
Vocational choice:				
Very necessary	18%	27%	25%	17%
Necessary	11	13	14	15
Somewhat necessary	13	8	12	10
Not necessary	16	14	20	23
Don't know	34	35	28	30
No answer	8	3	1	5
Religious matters:				
Very necessary	18%	24%	23%	11%
Necessary	8	12	18	11
Somewhat necessary	13	8	9	14
Not necessary	21	12	21	31
Don't know	34	39	28	29
No answer	6	5	1	4
Musical and artistic interests:				
Very necessary	18%	31%	30%	22%
Necessary	13	10	23	13
Somewhat necessary	15	10	17	12
Not necessary	12	10	8	18
Don't know	36	34	21	31
No answer	6	5	1	4
Interest in sports:				
Very necessary	31%	38%	45%	28%
Necessary	17	20	26	22
Somewhat necessary	15	8	11	17
Not necessary	7	6	6	10
Don't know	26	25	12	21
No answer	4	3	*	2
Learning democracy:				
Very necessary	16%	27%	23%	19%
Necessary	15	10	18	16
Somewhat necessary	10	4	9	11
Not necessary	12	10	10	13
Don't know	42	44	39	38
No answer	5	5	1	3
Understanding German and world difficulties:				
Very necessary	24%	36%	40%	25%
Necessary	19	16	24	17
Somewhat necessary	9	7	8	10
Not necessary	7	4	7	13
Don't know	36	33	21	31
No answer	4	4	*	4

* Less than one-half of one per cent.

The program and democratic education ...

Two questions regarding the part youth activities play in democratic education were asked: one was whether the participant himself received a better idea of the meaning of democracy; the other queried how many boys and girls had received a better idea of democracy through participation. To both questions there were very many "No opinion" answers, but again it is difficult to say whether they represent doubts or a withholding of judgement because of lack of information. In any case, few children went so far as to say that nothing about democracy was learned, though opinions divided almost evenly on whether a much better or only a little better idea of democracy was achieved.

Understand democracy:	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munic
Much better	9%	19%	9%	12%
A little better	7	10	11	10
No better	3	3	3	5
Don't take part, don't know, etc.	81	68	77	73
How many have a better understanding of democracy:				
All	3	9	7	3
Most	7	15	13	10
About half	7	6	8	7
Only some	8	7	4	5
None	2	5	5	5
Don't know	73	58	63	70

... Opinions were relatively more crystallized on the contribution of the activity to the maintenance of peace. And of those with opinions, a large majority in each city thought the contribution important.

"Do you believe that the present German Youth Program contributes to the preservation of peace?"

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munic
Very much	13%	19%	22%	13%
Fairly much	17	12	20	17
Only a little	4	7	4	12
Nothing	3	4	4	8
Is a way to lasting peace	3	8	7	2
Don't know	56	48	43	43
No answer	4	2	-	5

American gains from the Program ...

Several questions were asked to ascertain what advantages the children thought the Americans would derive from the program. One queried the children directly on what America would win from it. Their selection of replies again demonstrates their concern with immediate problems, for, as noted in the table below, a majority in all of the cities thought that the best thing Americans could gain was either to learn about German conditions or to learn really to know the Germans.

"What do you think is the most important thing that the Americans will gain through their participation in the German Youth Program?"

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munic
Learn problems and needs of the Germans	32%	35%	33%	32%
Learn really to know Germans	22	26	35	28
Learn about Germany from children	8	4	9	7
Something to do in spare time	3	2	5	6
Time for relaxation and play	10	12	6	12
Learn to speak German	7	2	9	5
Others	3	2	2	1
No answer	15	17	1	9

... Another question asked for an estimate of how many Americans who participated would get a better understanding of the Germans. Again, larg numbers were unable to make an estimate (the average for the four cities was 61%), but those who did have an opinion tended to think that half or more of the American participants would come out with a better understanding.

Long-range advantages of the Program ...

The children were also asked whether they thought the Youth Program would have a long-time advantage to the American people, and as a parallel question, whether in the long run the German people would benefit from it. Large numbers were unable to make up their minds about any ultimate American benefit, but those who did tended to think that America would derive much, rather than little, advantage from the program, largely because they would win over German youth by it. The children did not have as much difficulty making up their minds about Germany's advantage, though even here the "No opinion" vote was very lar and those with opinions again saw the program as an important help to Germany, the main reason being that it was doing a job which the Germans themselves were now unable to do.

Attitudes toward the Americans ...

It will be recalled that many of the children who have attended youth activity programs saw very few, if any, Americans there. Thus their opinions on American leadership as well as of Americans generally are based for the most part on acquaintence with Americans outside the program or on observation or hearsay.

... First, few children felt that the Americans who take part in youth activities do so out of compulsion. Rather, most of those with opinions thought the Americans enjoy participating.

"Do you have the feeling that the Americans who take part enjoy the German Youth Program or that they only come because they are ordered to do so?"

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
Ordered to come	5%	4%	3%	5%
Really enjoy it	26	24	26	17
Some ordered, some enjoy	16	13	22	21
Don't know	47	53	49	49
No answer	6	6	-	8

... They also tended to be optimistic about becoming better acquainted with American soldiers through the youth program. A majority of the children who have opinions on the matter felt that German youth would get to know Americans better, and more than half of these thought they would know them well.

"Do you believe that German boys and girls will really get to know the American soldiers through the Youth Program?"

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
Will know them well	25%	30%	40%	28%
Know them somewhat better	24	19	22	27
Know them only a little better	3	8	6	10
Will not know them better	5	3	2	4
Don't know, no answer	43	40	30	31

At present, however, about a third of the children in the four cities have a poor impression of American soldiers. But a majority has a good impression, though they tend to rate them "fair" rather than "very good". City differences are interesting -- with Frankfurt most complimentary to the American soldier and Munich least so.

"What do you think about the American soldiers?"

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munic
Very good	31%	21%	22%	16%
Fairly good	37	39	45	36
Not so good	23	22	24	28
Bad	6	13	9	15
No answer	3	5	*	5

* Less than one-half of one per cent

... Their opinions of the American people were somewhat higher than of the American soldier. Again, however, a significant minority had a poor opinion of Americans generally, and again, Frankfurt children thought relatively better of them than did those in other cities, especially in Munich.

"What do you think about the American people?"

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
Very good	38%	29%	33%	18%
Fairly good	43	44	47	53
Not so good	10	13	16	16
Bad	5	7	3	6
No answer	4	7	1	7

... A sizeable majority of the children in the four cities did not, however, know any Americans personally so the opinions expressed above are presumably based on observation or hearsay.

"Do you know any Americans here in Germany well or fairly well?"

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
Some very well	15%	16%	21%	10%
Some fairly well	11	13	14	11
Know none, but have spoken to them	25	32	28	31
Never have spoken with any	35	35	37	42
No answer	4	4	*	6

* Less than one-half of one per cent

... Finally, the boys and girls expected that they would learn something about the U.S. and its aims through the youth groups. But again only a minority (though a sizeable one) felt that a great deal would be learned, and also again a large proportion could not say.

"Do you believe that the German boys and girls will learn much about the U.S. and its aims through this Youth Program?"

	Frankfurt	Kassel	Heidelberg	Munich
A great deal	27%	31%	38%	32%
Something	18	22	29	25
Only a little	4	2	2	6
Nothing	1	3	2	3
No opinion	46	38	28	30
No answer	4	4	1	4

READERSHIP AND POPULARITY OF THE FRANKFURT NEWSPAPERS.

Report Number 57
29 April 1947
ODIC. Opinion Surveys Headquarters
OMGUS (Rear) APO 757

INTRODUCTION ...

Frankfurt is the only city in the U.S. occupied areas of Germany with two licensed newspapr. The Frankfurter Rundschau was licensed in July 1945, the Neue Presse in April 194 Each appears three times a week on alternate days. The number of published copies of each is approximately the same. Distribution of the paper is not confined to the city of Frankfurt but also covers outlying towns and villages.

The relative popularity of the two papers has been under examination and discussion since the Presse began to publish. Several studies have been published by ICD, the most detailed being found in "Attitudes Towards Licensed Newspapers in Some American Occupied Areas" (Opinion Surveys Report # 21, 25 September 1946) with a summary, a supplement, and various appendices published later. The present report offers more recent data obtained by scientific sampling techniques. A true cross-section of adult Frankfurt residents (300 individuals) was questioned during the third week of April 1947. Interviewing was done by trained German interviewers working under the direction of personnel of the Opinion Surveys Section, Research Branch, Information Control Division.

READERSHIP ...

More Frankfurt residents read the Rundschau than the Neue Presse, though both papers publish almost the same number of copies. As the figures below show, the Rundschau more than the Presse is read by those who read a paper only occasionally. Thus the situation today (April 1947) is very similar to that found in June 1946. In 1946, 55 out of every 100 readers of Frankfurt news papers read the Rundschau, compared with 45 who read the Presse. Today the comparable figures are 58 and 42.

Some Frankfurt residents (12%) do not read any paper at all, and a smaller number (6%) do not read a local paper. hereas nine in ten people (82%) read a Frankfurt paper, and less than half the adult population (48%) read a local paper regularly.

However, among regular newspaper readers the margin of choice of the Rundschau is reduced almost to insignificance. As will be shown later, the relatively more prosperous people tend more frequently to read both papers, to read at least one of them regularly and to prefer the Presse. It is not surprising therefore to find that regular readers as a group tend to pick up the Presse more often than do occasional readers.

TABLE I

Readership of Newspapers in Frankfurt

Rundschau		
Regular	22%	35%
Irregular	13	
Presse		
Regular	13	17
Irregular	4	
Both papers		
Regular	13	19
Irregular	6	
Irregular either		11
No Frankfurt paper		6
No paper at all		12
		100%

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS ...

The distribution of the reader populations of the Rundschau and the Presse do not differ in three important respects -- religion, sex and education. About the same proportions of men and women, of Catholics and Protestants, *of average and better than average educated people are found reading each paper. A large and important difference between the two groups of readers is found in reported income. Significantly more (52%) of the Presse than of the Rundschau (30%) readers report that they earn 250 RM or more a week.

Probably dependent on this difference are others. More Presse than Rundschau families contain former NSDAP members, while fewer Presse men were in the Wehrmacht. It may be inferred that as leadership elements in the Nazi society, Presse readers tended to play an active political role and to hold draft-deferrable jobs. Today, however, readers of the Neue Presse tend to withdraw from political life more frequently than Rundschau readers. More than four in ten (44%) of the former say they like "none" of the present political parties, but only one in three (34%) Rundschau readers answer similarly. Finally there is a slight tendency for Presse readers more than Rundschau readers to be drawn from younger members of the Frankfurt society.

Other differences deserve a better notation. People who claim to read both newspapers are particularly marked by the fact that most (70%) of them are men. While their incomes do not average as much as that of the Presse readers, they are more frequently credited with being members of the upper and middle classes. Nearly half of them (48%) also have acquired a better than average education. They tend, even more frequently than Rundschau readers to have present-day political interests.

Occasional readers, who may pick up any paper, and people who admit to being non-readers have much in common. Both groups are composed largely of women, and nearly all members of both groups have had only an average or less than average education. The two groups differ mainly in that the irregular readers are drawn in about equal proportions from the lower middle (50%) and lower (47%) classes, while the non-readers are classified much less frequently (17%) as lower middle, and most often (72%) as lower class members.

The tiny group (6% of the entire population) of people who read only non-Frankfurt newspapers is surprisingly characterized. Most (63%) are middle and upper class people, most(63%) are men, most (63%) have had an above average education; large minorities are under 30 years of age (47%), are Catholic (47%), have an income over 250 RM a week (45%) or have former NSDAP members in the family (37%). Yet the group contains fewer people (21%) than any of the other groups who deny having settled upon a present-day political party preference.

*It should be noted that the editors of the Presse are reported to be deeply religious. One is a devout Catholic. Their religious inclinations have obviously not made themselves felt in editorial pronouncements.

These group differences make it possible to draw certain inferences regarding preferences for one paper as against the other. Quite evidently the Presse, as a newspaper which appeals to the presently well-to-do, who were frequently NSDAP members, and tend today to reject political affairs or interests is sharply distinct from the Rundschau which is supported by lower middle and lower class readers with more frequent political interest and much less frequent ties to the leadership groups of the Third Reich.

TABLE II

Group Characteristics

	Readers					
	Presse	Rundschau	Both	Irregular any	Non-Frankfurt	Non-Readers
Member political party	2%	10%	10%	-	-	-
Party Preference						
SPD & KPD	36	40	41	28	21	39
CDU/LDP, other	14	24	31	38	47	14
None	44	34	28	34	21	47
No opinion	6	2	-	-	11	-
NSDAP Membership						
Self	12	5	19	13	26	3
Family	20	13	7	16	11	14
Neither	68	82	74	71	63	83
Income (weekly)						
None	4	9	9	25	11	6
1 to 159 RM	18	30	24	31	33	37
160 to 249 RM	26	31	24	16	11	37
250 or more	52	30	43	28	45	20
Education						
8 years or less	76	72	52	88	37	83
9 years or more	24	28	48	12	63	17
Age						
Under 30	26	21	29	22	47	11
30 to 49	46	47	35	50	21	70
50 or older	28	32	36	28	32	19
Sex						
Men	46	46	70	31	63	39
Women	54	54	30	69	37	61
Army Service						
PW	20	19	33	6	21	17
Non-PS	2	9	10	6	11	6
Religion						
Catholic	30	29	28	28	47	47
Protestant	64	62	57	56	47	50
Other	6	9	15	16	6	3
Status						
Middle Middle or higher	22	17	35	3	63	5
Lower Middle	38	48	33	50	32	17
Lower	36	35	29	47	5	72
No information	4	-	3	-	-	6

READERS' OPINIONS ...

Preferences ...

People who identified themselves as readers of one of the newspapers were asked whether they liked it better than the other, or not so well. Presse readers proved to be significantly more firm in their allegience to their paper than were Rundschau readers. When the replies of the two groups are combined the Presse is preferred in the ratio of three to two among those with stated preferences. These results are slightly, but not sharply different from those found in June 1946. At that time the shading of preference for the Presse was more pronounced. Thus, if any change can be noted it is a change favorable to the Rundschau.

TABLE III

"What impression does the Neue Presse (Rundschau) make on you. Do you like it better than the Rundschau (Neue Presse) or not so well?"

	Presse Readers	Rundschau Readers
Like better	50	22
Same	8	12
Not so well	16	22
No opinion	26	44
	100%	100%

	Replies combined	
	April 1947	June 1946*
Like Presse better	31	41
Like Rundschau better	20	15
No difference	11	11
No opinion	38	33
	100%	100%

*Question asked of 82% who said they had at one time or another read both newspapers.

There was a slight tendency for more of the Presse readers to say they would not read the Rundschau if they had an opportunity than vice versa. However, very large majorities of the readers of each paper would not refuse to read the other paper.

TABLE IV

"Would you read the (Neue Presse) (Rundschau) if you had an opportunity?"

	Presse Readers	Rundschau Readers
Yes	84%	94%
No	16	6

Half of the Presse readers (8%) who objected to reading the Rundschau baldly stated that their objection is based upon their feeling that the Rundschau is too biased, too politically distasteful. The remainder (8%) agreed with the few Rundschau readers (6%) who said they would not read the Presse in maintaining that one paper is enough, that there is not enough time to read two, that they are satisfied completely. Hence, within the total Frankfurt population the minutest group only (1%) rejects the Rundschau completely for the frequently noted charge that the Rundschau blatantly alienates readers by its harshly-toned editorials, or its shrill political inclinations.

Readers of "both" papers were asked: "Please take everything into account comparing the two newspapers and tell us which of the two -- Neue Presse or Rundschau -- you most like to read?" A solid majority (60%) voted for the Presse while as many (21%) held no opinion as stood for the Rundschau (19%). It should be remembered that the income and class similarities of people who claim to read both papers with those of Presse readers is pronounced.

In a positive direction, readers of each paper were asked to state the reasons for reading their chosen newspaper. The chief differences in replies between the two groups were a somewhat more articulate justification of the news value of the Rundschau by its readers, and a repetition of the charge by the tiny group of Presse readers that the Rundschau alienated them by its "Communist leanings."

TABLE V

"Why do you read this newspaper?"

	Presse Readers	Rundschau Readers
To inform myself, get the news	28%	38%
Like it better	12	13
To follow politics	4	5
Can only get this one	40	35
Rundschau is Communistic	8	-
Out of habit	-	10
No opinion, can't say	10	5
	102%*	106%*

*More than one answer given by a few.

Confidence in Newspapers ...

It has been pointed out that the "Neue Presse has followed a milder approach than the Rundschau and, as a result, may be achieving more in the line of reorientation than the Rundschau with its sledge-hammer blows." While no evidence is available directly in this regard, the degree of public confidence in the newspapers presents some insight into their possible reorientation value.

On each of three counts investigated the Presse is given a consistently higher vote of confidence. But the results of only one of the three questions can be said to be significantly different. The probabilities are that there is some carry-over from recognition of the political bias of the Rundschau to a reduced confidence in its proposals in other directions.

TABLE VI

"Do you believe that the news in the press, in general, is complete and trustworthy?"

	Presse Readers	Rundschau Readers
Yes	50	49
No	42	32
No opinion	8	19
	100%	100%

"Do you think that the newspaper you read presents trustworthy news?"

Yes	56	43
No	36	44
No opinion	8	13
	100%	100%

"Do you believe that the newspaper you read does not present enough news about, or tends to avoid, certain topics which interest you and your friends?"

Yes	26	33
No	58	49
No opinion	16	18
	100%	100%

"In your opinion, is the newspaper you read politically impartial when it deals with political questions, or does it prefer a certain party?"

Prefers a party	2	29
Impartial	90	52
No opinion	8	19
	100%	100%

It should be noted, however, that while somewhat fewer Rundschau than Presse readers consider their paper trustworthy, general confidence of Rundschau readers in the press today is of a slightly less antagonistic character. Rundschau readers, as it were, are aware of some bias of their paper, but in general are better disposed toward the new German papers. It could be argued then that Presse readers need more thorough-going reorientation than do Rundschau readers. The degree of confidence of Presse readers in their paper could be said to be an indication that the Presse is more highly regarded partly because it is not doing the reorientation job needed to be done. That is, it does not arouse suspicion of "subservience" to the occupation powers as frequently as the Rundschau merely because it fails to represent our point of view as directly or forcefully, or effectively.

When people were asked to state specifically what topics were avoided by their paper, the Rundschau was criticised by its readers for spending so much time being caustically dissatisfied with all political groups except the Communists. These few reader-critics proposed that they would like the Rundschau better if it would consistently point to the errors and weaknesses of the Communist Party as well as those of all other parties.

Others proposed, on quite a different plane, that cultural matters (art, literature, etc.) are not fully enough developed in the Rundschau. Queried directly to the point, "Are you of the opinion that the newspaper you read should devote more space for entertainment features (feuilleton)?" Rundschau readers (37%) speak scarcely more frequently for more such coverage than do Presse readers (30%). In general, readers of both papers are satisfied with the present space allotments here. Some slight criticism was voiced of the Presse, however, because it does not print enough news about, or tends to avoid, such topics as denazification or the refugee-evacuee problem.

But all such criticism were maintained by tiny elements in the population. The largest of these small groups which criticize the avoidance of certain topics, specified that the newspapers seem to be divorced from the realities of everyday life. More sympathetic treatment of the little man struggling against difficulties of food, clothing, unemployment was demanded. One could infer from some of these complaints a desire that the papers propagandize for the "poor German."

Satisfaction with News and Feature Coverage ...

The Rundschau, it has been seen, was criticized by its own readers, on two scores: political bias, and lack of cultural coverage. There is also apparent a concomitant factor — somewhat fewer Rundschau than Presse readers credit their paper with trustworthiness. On the other hand, a very few Presse readers note the reservation with which the Presse deals with topics such as denazification. To test further satisfaction with the topic coverage of each paper, readers were asked to say which of a list of eight items they would like more fully handled in their paper. The results indicate that Presse readers are slightly more frequently hungry for Frankfurt news, Rundschau readers for material on educational topics. Readers of each paper most frequently call for more world news, news about economic questions and news of Germany. The paper shortage probably eliminates much readjustment in these regards.

TABLE VII

"Please look at this list and tell me which of these topics you would like to see more of in your newspaper."

	Presse Readers	Rundschau Readers
News about Frankfurt	24	18
News about Germany	32	37
World events	48	52
School and educational affairs	12	23
Economic problems	220	220
Sport	8	6
Economic questions	36	39
Public welfare	16	17
	196%*	211%*

*More than one topic mentioned by many.

Hindsight on National Socialism ...

Problems of reorientation are encumbered by persistent respect for the aims and ideals of the Third Reich. Rundschau readers, and readers of both newspapers, are much less frequently burdened by such attitudes than those who read only the Neue Presse. The Rundschau ability to attract and hold this "better" audience must not be minimized.

TABLE VIII

"Was Nationalsocialism a bad idea, or a good idea badly carried out?"

	Readers						
	Presse	Rundschau	Both	Irregular any	Non-Frankfurt	Non-Readers	Total Population
Bad idea	30	43	48	19	37	33	39
Good idea, badly carried out	68	41	45	81	58	50	53
No opinion	2	11	7	-	5	17	8
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

CONCLUSIONS ...

Residents of Frankfurt are largely aware of the differences which set apart their two newspapers. They see, largely, that the Rundschau is an "anti" paper -- anti-Nazi, anti-Conservative, anti-all political parties but the KPD. Some few remark, too, its lack of cultural items. The Neue Presse, at the same time, is recognized to be a reserved, unpolitical, more cultured paper. Its advertising slogan, "The independent newspaer," characterizes it aptly, for it strives to rise above some of the affairs which arouse the Rundschau editors to write shrilly, caustically, incisively.

Both papers, however, are most frequently criticised for failure to show enough sympathy for the "poor German." Related to this criticism is widespread distrust of newspapers in general as factual reporters of events. This distrust is most frequently coupled with remarks about American censorship. Readers dissatisfied with the papers as their voice speaking to a broader public feel that "probably the newspapers say as much as they dare say today in criticism of the occupation."

This attitude reflects the general orientation of the Frankfurt public which is markedly, in some sections, antipathetic toward our reorientation aims. Thus that part of the public found to like the Presse better than the Rundschau is also found to view Nazism most highly among the various readership groups.

Preference for one paper over the other arises out of:

a) Differently disposed segments of the population. Residual National Socialists, and people still unmoved by basic criticism of National Socialism, prefer to avoid the outspoken anti-fascist tone of the Rundschau and prefer reading the "impartial" pages of the Presse. Well-to-do, cultured, and the politically shy prefer the Presse for its broader and more conservative outlook, its quiet tone regarding orientation programs.

b) Different orientations of the papers themselves. While people, because of their differing characteristics and attitudes are moved to seek out differently styled and toned newspapers, in Frankfurt they have presented to them a rather sharp contrast between the two papers. It could be maintained that the papers tend to crystallize the thinking of people in this direction. At best, such differently toned papers as these present us with separate audiences to whom separate reorientation approaches are possible.

c) The early publication date of the Rundschau. People have become accustomed to the paper and buy it out of habit. Frankfurt was always a town with top-flight newspapers. One respondent in this survey likened the Rundschau to the former Generalanzeiger -- once Frankfurt's second best newspaper. Few, however, compare either the Rundschau or Presse to the old Frankfurter Zeitung, formerly one of Germany's best newspapers. Yet the Presse, today, is a more likely candidate for such a comparison than the Rundschau. The slight, yet strongly vocal opposition, however, is numerically so small that it can be disregarded. The Rundschau has not lost its audience since the appearance of the Presse. If anything it has strengthened its position.

It is recommended that the lack of pre-censorship be dramatized, that the content of the directive regulating post-censorship be publicized. The effect should be an increase in public confidence in the reportorial functions of the newspapers. At the same time, the Frankfurt situation is more ripe for exploitation, as regards reorientation and reeducation programming, than is perhaps true of other major cities in the Zone. Reorientation efforts intelligently cast into two separate and palatable moulds can be more effective than any single trial.

CONFIDENCE IN NEWS
IN
PRESENT-DAY GERMANY

Report Number 58
1 May 1947
ICD-Opinion Surveys Hq.
OMGUS(Rear) APO 757

INTRODUCTION ...

It can be safely said that, in Germany today, none of the limited editions of books, magazines, pamphlets or newspapers remain long on the shelves or in the kiosks unsold. Among a people groping for reassurance and stability the printed word does not go unread. Similarly, too, almost no one who has a radio in working condition fails to tune in regularly. The Germans are constantly on the watch for what may happen next. Under these conditions, too, rumors are heard, noted and passed on for whatever they portend. Rumor-mongers, indeed, tend most frequently to be those who are the more alert, better-informed members of the population. As could be expected, the type of information which is most frequently scanned, read thoughtfully or weighed carefully is whatever can be labeled "news".

Yet the scarcity of news is not as great as might be indicated. The 44 newspapers in the American Zone publish about three and a half million copies when they go to press. About nine in ten people claim to read a newspaper at least occasionally. The three radio stations cover the Zone adequately and provide as frequent news coverage as do American stations. The reported activity of the public, then, suggests some feeling of dissatisfaction with stories which are broadcast and published as news. In order to evaluate the level of confidence in news sources in Germany a scientifically constructed sample of the German public was questioned to the point. Approximately 3400 individuals were met in their homes by trained German interviewers working under the direction of the Opinion Surveys Section of the Research Branch of Information Control Division. The sample represents a true cross-section of the adult residents of the American Zone and the American and British sectors of Berlin. Berlin results are shown separately in each instance.

News today compared with wartime news ...

Questioned directly, a large majority of people in the Zone and an even larger majority in Berlin say that the news are now getting is more trustworthy than that which they received during the war.

"Does the present day news when compared with that published during the war seem more, or less, trustworthy?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	Wuerttemberg-Baden	Total Amzon	Berlin
More	77%	70%	73%	74%	85%
Less	4	6	3	4	5
No opinion	19	24	24	22	10

The size of the "No opinion" vote is significantly large, especially in the Zone. Probably some of the critics of the American-licensed press avoided expression of their true attitudes by this means. On the whole, however, most of this vote comes from people who found the problem too sophisticated to judge. This is borne out by examination of characteristic replies of various population groups. As indicated in the following figures, people with less education, women, and people who profess no interest in today's political parties are less inclined to say that present news is more truthful and are correspondingly reluctant to express a decided opinion. Former NSDAP members do not differ markedly from non-members on the issue, though relatives of PG's are less certain, probably because there are so many women among their number.

	Comparison of trustworthiness of today's press with wartime press:			
	More	Less	No Opinion	
By sex:				
Men	84%	3	13	(100%)
Women	69%	5	26	
By education:				
8 years	72%	6	22	
9 - 11 years	76%	4	20	
12 or more years	79%	5	16	
By age:				
Under 40 years	70%	6	24	
Over 40 years	77	3	20	
By party preference:				
Prefer a party	81%	3	16	
Express no party preference	55%	7	38	
By NSDAP:				
Former member	77%	4	19	
" " in family	67%	6	27	
Non-member	76%	4	20	

Indirect comparison of the news ...

To ascertain whether people when not directly questioned would continue to hold that present news is more reliable than it formerly was, replies to two questions were cross-analyzed. One of the questions queried how much of today's news is accurate: all, most, about half, or little. A parallel question made the same inquiry about wartime news. When the replies to both questions are correlated, the following pattern emerges:

... 18% say that present and wartime news have the same veracity
... 58% say that present news is the more truthful
... 4% say that wartime news was the more truthful
... 20% withhold judgement on one or the other (6% of the total have no opinion on both).

Thus when not taxed with the need to make a direct comparison, 58% rather than 74% as on the direct question consider today's news more reliable than wartime information. Except for this, the correspondence between the replies is remarkable close -- and, of course, some of the people in the 18% group think present news is accurate, too, but they cannot be considered very reliable witnesses.

... Further light is thrown on the thinking of these groups when their attitudes toward National Socialism are compared with their views of news veracity. As the bar charts show, the more one is inclined to suspect present news, the greater the sympathy for the idea of National Socialism (See chart).

Confidence in the News

Related to Residual Respect for National Socialism

National Socialism was a :

	Bad idea	Good idea, Badly Carried Out
58% think more news accurate today than in war	49%	51%
18% think same amount news accurate today as in war	25%	75%
4% think less news accurate today than in war	11%	89%

(Excluding "No Opinion" answers)

Accuracy of the news ...

It does not necessarily follow that because a majority of people think that present news services are more reliable than that of the Nazi regime, they have a high opinion of present news. Indeed when questione as to the accuracy of the news today, 46% said that all or most of it was truthful, 27% said that about half of it was truthful, 9% said little of it was, and 18% had no opinion. This was a much better showing than wartime news received, as 55% felt that little of it was truthful.

... It is clear, however, that many people who are disillusioned about their wartime information have not gained confidence in the veracity of the news they now receive. By comparing people's attitudes toward the accuracy of today's news with their attitudes toward the accuracy of news in the Third Reich, it is possible to identify eight different attitudinal groups:

	Proportion of Population:
GROUP I TODAY: Most, or large part of news is reliable, and in WARTIME: Half, or little was reliable	42%
GROUP II TODAY: Half WARTIME: Little	16
GROUP III TODAY: Little WARTIME: Little	6
GROUP IV TODAY: Half WARTIME: Half	9
GROUP V TODAY: Most, large part WARTIME: Most, large part	3
GROUP VI TODAY: Half WARTIME: Most, large part	2
GROUP VII TODAY: Little WARTIME: Most, large part	2
GROUP VIII TODAY and/or WARTIME: No opinion	20

... The population characteristics of these groups reveal more sharply the orientation and thinking of their members. Table I below shows that within Groups V, VI and VII (all quite small) there are proportionately more of the younger, well educated, more prosperous people. Bavarians, on the contrary, are underrepresented in these groups. People who were affiliated directly or through family ties to NSDAP are also attracted to these groups, as are those who think that National Socialism was a good idea, though badly carried out. The three groups combined make up less than a tenth (7%) of the total adult population in the Zone -- and represent the fermented opposition of the new German publications, opposition grounded on a National Socialist outlook.

Strongly inclined in the same direction are Groups III and IV. Again people who think the idea of National Socialism was good are over-represented as compared with their number in the total population. This is also true of younger people. These two groups combined make up about one-seventh (15%) of the population.

The chief difference between the two largest groups (I and II) and the others is the lessened respect found for National Socialism among the membership.

... Clearly demonstrated by this study is the residual influence of nazism on confidence in the press. Wherever respect for National Socialism is held reduced confidence in the present press occurs. It can be concluded that the prime factor undermining confidence in the news service today is the persistence of National Socialist indoctrinated distrust of any other news dissemination.

Question: "How much of the news published in the newspapers expresses and represents the truth -- most of it, a large part, about half, or little?"
"How much of the news published during the war was, in your opinion, exact and trustworthy -- most of it, a large part, about half, or little?"

Today: / Then:	I Most, large pt. Half, little	II Half Little	III Little Little	IV Half Half	V Most, large pt. Most, large pt.	VI Half Most, large pt.	VII Little Most, large pt.	% of total pop.
NSDAP members in family	29%	28%	32%	38%	50%	43%	49%	31%
National Socialism a good idea	45%	42%	61%	16%	68%	55%	88%	54%
Under 40 years	43%	39%	39%	60%	56%	60%	56%	45%
More than 9 years schooling	20%	17%	14%	18%	38%	29%	33%	28%
Men	51%	45%	46%	35%	62%	38%	30%	44%
Upper and Middle Class	29%	31%	31%	31%	45%	35%	42%	30%
Resident in Bavaria	57%	59%	58%	44%	33%	41%	40%	49%
Number of Respondents*	1252	485	185	261	103	63	60	

*Not shown are the 584 respondents who failed to express an opinion on one or both the questions. They tended to be rather typical of "no opinion" groups -- poorer, more frequently women, more poorly educated than the average for the population.

Radio and newspaper compared

Everyone was also asked: "Which brings the most trustworthy news -- the radio or the newspaper?" The radio was given preference over the newspaper in the Zone among those who offered a judgement. But, evidence of confidence in the newspaper, is the fact that nearly four in ten (37%) answer that both are equally trustworthy. Again, only a very tiny proportion (3%) deny reliability to both media. And this latter group is highly correlated with those who find little reliability in the news published today, and with those who prefer Nazi reporting to present-day reporting.

In Berlin, on the contrary, a slightly larger proportion of people credit the newspaper with a higher level of reliability than so judge the radio. And only half as many as in the Zone say that both media are equally reliable. These findings bear out those reported earlier (Opinion Surveys Report #45) in which it was shown that Berliners are highly suspicious of their radio service and tend very frequently to disparage the "propaganda" which they find on the Russian-sponsored Radio Berlin.

On the score of "completeness" of news, the newspaper comes out on top both in the Zone and Berlin. Berliners, better able to judge because more sophisticated, and because more possess radios, are more decided on these questions than Zonal residents. Antipathy toward Radio Berlin, of course, helps them to make up their minds too.

Question: "Which brings the most trustworthy news -- the radio or the newspaper?"
"Which is more complete -- news in the newspaper or on the radio?"

	Zone	Berlin
More trustworthy		
Radio	24%	26%
Newspaper	8	32
Both equal	37	19
Neither	3	6
No opinion	28	17
More complete		
Radio	22	21
Newspaper	43	59
No opinion	35	20

RESTRICTED

EXPECTATIONS REGARDING REPARATIONS

Report No. 59
10 May 1947
ICD Opinion Surveys
OMGUS APO 742

RESTRICTED

INTRODUCTION ...

The payment of German reparations after the first World War was widely exploited by German nationalist propagandists for political purposes. The Nazis, once in power, continued this propaganda as official German history. The argument ran that sums were required to be paid which could only depress the standard of living in Germany to the economic advantage of the victorious States. Such "dollar diplomacy", it was argued, was designed to enslave the heart of Europe to the benefit of non-Aryan corporations and individuals.

Reparations, then, are viewed by the German people as arising out of a pernicious history . . . but a history of conqueror's rights. The German public can be expected to think about reparations following this war much as they have been taught to view previous history. Emotional stereotypes can be expected to compromise their attitudes toward the problem. Reparations can easily become, as previously used by the Nazis, a scapegoat for many economic difficulties which in actuality are not induced by or affected by any reparations policy which the Allies agree upon.

To determine some of the public dispositions toward reparations, a sample of the adult population living in the American Zone and in the American and British sectors of Berlin was asked a few exploratory questions on a regular study of the Opinion Surveys Section of the Information Control Division. In all, more than 3400 individuals were questioned in their homes by trained German interviewers. The sample provides a true cross-section of the adult population. Interviewing was completed during the last two weeks of February, 1947.

GENERALIZED SENTIMENT ...

An important finding of the study was the fact that nearly all population differences are indiscernible. Men do not differ in their dispositions and expectations from women, young people from old, former NSDAP members from non-members, left-wing political party supporters from right-wing supporters, poor from the well-to-do, or the poorly educated from the college groups. The implications are that awareness of national self-interest is all-pervasive and overrides more simple lines of division among the people. It can be said that the German public will stand solidly with anyone of their leadership who presents plausible interpretations of and gives meaning to final Allied decisions regarding reparations. Such interpretations stand a good chance of acceptance if it can be plausibly shown that Germany is able to pay the reparations demanded and that, in paying them, Germany will earn the right to international respect and to full dignity as a people who are expiating their just debts. Should, however, the more plausible case reside in a denial of these propisitions, the German public would be more than ready to support this leadership and to reject reparations as an unjust imposition.

One important difference in disposition over the range of questions posed is that found between Berliners and residents of Amzon. Berliners are, as usual, more sophisticated and have a heightened degree of awareness of facets of the problem compared with people in the Zone. But, more, as shown below, Berliners tend to be somewhat more optimistic as regards the future of Germany while appreciating even more fully than Amzon residents that the Russians are prepared to insist upon stiff reparations from the German economy.

EXPECTATIONS ...

Practically all people interviewed believe that a higher reparations bill will be submitted to the German people for this war than was submitted after the First World War. Less than one in ten people thought the payment required would be smaller and only a negligible proportion thought it would be the same. Berliners and residents of each of the Laender do not differ in their views.

Question: "Do you think that after this war Germany will have to pay higher or lower reparations than after the first World War?"

	AMZON
Higher	82%
Lower	7
Same	3
No opinion	8
	100%

A large majority, too, consistently enough expect that it will take a very long time to pay off the reparations. However, Berliners tend to be somewhat more optimistic than residents of the Zone, while fewer Berliners are undecided about this matter. Considering the replies of those with opinions only -- three in ten Zonal residents (30%), but nearly four in ten Berliners (36%), believe that the reparations can be paid off in 25 years or less. The complete tabulations are shown below.

Question: "About how long do you think it will take Germany to pay all the reparations?"

	Berlin	Zone
Under 20 years	13%	10%
20 to 25 years	16	10
26 to 40 years	13	10
Over 40 years	26	15
Very long time, generations, lifetime, etc.	13	22
Don't know, can't guess	19	33
	100%	100%

METHODS OF PAYMENT ...

Large majorities estimate that the payment of reparations will generally be accomplished by means of goods or through production. Fewer believe that reparations will be paid by the removal of factories and machines. However, an actual plurality of the population in the Zone considers that both types of payment will be made. In Berlin, on the other hand, more people think that goods and production will be used to pay reparations than think that this as well as factories and machines will be required to satisfy Allied demands. Bavarian and Hessian estimates are very similar, but residents of Wuerttemberg-Baden tend to follow the thinking of Berliners.

Question: "How do you think reparations will be paid -- by giving up goods and items of production, or by the removal of factories and machines?"

	Zone	Berlin	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden
Goods, production	30	48	29	28	37
Factories, machines	14	13	13	15	14
BOTH	44	33	44	47	38
No opinion	12	6	14	10	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number	2998	401	1610	731	657

The people who expect that reparations will be paid through goods alone are inclined to be slightly more optimistic regarding the length of time which it will take to pay the debt. One-fourth of these people (25%) guessed that all reparations would be paid in 25 years or less, while about one in five (21%) of those who thought factories and machines simply, or both factories and production together (19%), estimated as much as twenty-five years.

... Popular understanding of the international forces militating against an easy revival of an unburdened German economy follows clearly defined lines of thinking. Nearly all Germans think that the Russians will demand the heaviest reparations, about half the Germans see the French as imposing the most stringent demands, while only about one in ten put the English, and about one in twenty the Americans, in this position. On the other face of the coin, about six in ten (59%) feel that the Americans will insist upon the smallest reparations. The English are next most frequently (22%) nominated for this distinction, and nearly no one holds that the French or the Russians will take this easy attitude. Berliners are even more inclined than Zonal residents to point to the Russians as the most insistently demanding country.

Question: "Which country or countries will demand the highest reparations? And which the lowest?"

	HIGHEST		LOWEST	
	Zone	Berlin	Zone	Berlin
Russia	74%	84%	*	2
France	50	39	1	1
England	8	14	22	25
U. S.	5	4	59	62
Poland	15	17	*	1
Holland & Belgium	4	7	6	11
Other	9	5	17	21
No opinion	13	5	23	11
	178%	175%	128%	144%

(Percentages total more than 100% since more than one reply was frequently given. Asterisk indicates less than ½ of 1%)

... It is curious to record that in the face of the black future envisaged by the German public -- very heavy reparations laid on by a vengeful enemy over the next generation -- a considerable minority within the Zone believes living conditions will improve over what they are today. In part, this may be explained by pointing to the optimism of the public expressed on an earlier opinion survey. In January 1947, a similar sample of the Zone was asked: "Does your personal future look black to you, or do you believe that everything will turn out for the best?" Seven in ten (71%) of the people indicated optimism in their replies and one-fourth (25%) thought the future looked black, while very few (4%) did not commit themselves. Without in any way minimizing the distress exhibited by the important minority of pessimists, it does seem that the tone of these proportions exhibits a public which appreciates largely that things can scarcely get worse but must, indeed, improve.

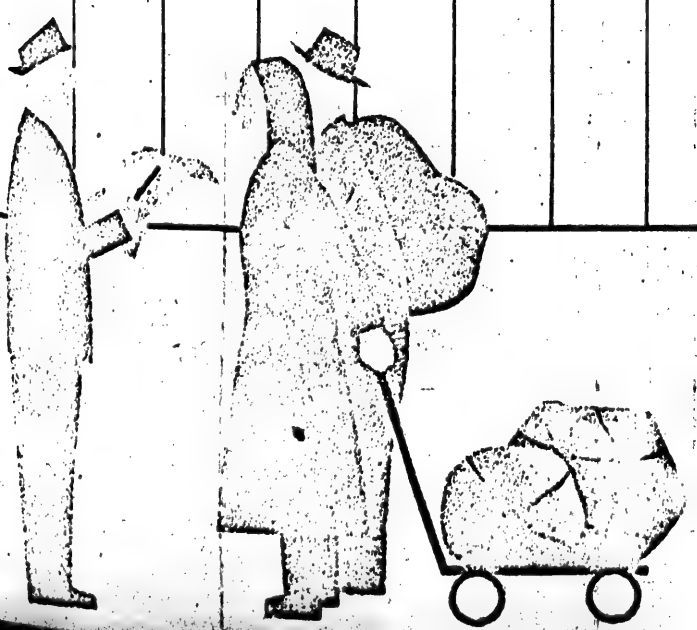
Nowhere near as optimistic future is popularly envisaged in regard to reparations, however. The public was asked: "Do you believe that an improvement in the present German living standard is possible while Germany is paying off her reparations?" A solid majority (56%) of the Zonal respondents thought an improvement is not possible; But one in three people (33%) answered "Yes". In Berlin, replies tended to be quite the reverse. There a bare majority (52%) thought the standard of living could possibly improve, while slightly fewer (44%) thought it would not.

INTERPRETATION ...

The interpretation is offered that while most German people are beginning to see their personal life reconstituted with some security after the dislocations and upsets of the war, many react automatically to the thought of the imposition of reparations. Such automatic reaction probably takes the direction of such thinking as has been previously taught -- that reparations provoke the most

grave reaction upon the entire economy involving deterioration of the currency, a worsening foreign trade situation, the disappearance of consumer goods from the market, and the export of needed raw materials. The results shown in this report strongly indicate that the German public is very largely unprepared to understand what effects (economic as well as psychological) the payment of reparations can have. Rather the payment of reparations is viewed as a great force designed to break down the German way of life and to depress for at least a generation the German standard of living. The German people, then, appear still to be horrified at the bogy of reparations. The political capital that could be made of this situation by some groups must not be viewed lightly. It is indicated, finally, that German political leaders might well serve their posts by taking an opportunity, in advance of the imposition of reparations, to indicate the meritorious uses and effects of the payment of reparations. Any such program, designed to undercut anti-occupation propaganda, would do well to clear away, at the start, some of the historical mis-information upon which Germans today have built their attitudes.

TRENDS IN GERMAN PUBLIC OPINION



REPORT NUMBER 60
APRIL 1947
OPINION SURVEYS SECTION
INFORMATION CONTROL DIVISION

INTRODUCTION

For more than a year and a half, the Opinion Surveys Section of the Information Control Division has been measuring the reactions of Germans living in the American Zone. This report summarizes the major trends of their opinions. In graphic form, it records the fluctuating response of a defeated and occupied people to many issues — the ever-present problem of food and prices, interest, or lack of interest in political affairs, the trials of the former nazi great, the newspapers they read, and radios they hear. And, most important of all, it presents the pattern of their general orientation — their present reactions to National Socialism as well as their readiness to accept new responsibilities, new ways of thinking.

***

The Opinion Surveys Section was organized in late 1945. The first questionnaire was sent into the field for interviewing on 26 October of that year. In the intervening 18 months, 40 complete studies of the American Zone have been conducted. An additional 23 surveys of smaller size and in restricted areas have been made.

The first survey was based on a total of 365 interviews. The sample then, as today represented a cross-section of the German population in the American Zone. The most recent study sent to the field on 7 April 1947 is based on a sample of 3500 interviews and represents not only a miniature of the German population in the zone, but also a true sample of the populations in Bavaria, Hesse, Wuerttemberg-Baden and the American and British Sectors of Berlin. Berlin was added to the sample in March of 1946. At first, interviewing was conducted only in the American Sector, with the British Sector being included later.

A conservative estimate of the number of interviews conducted by the field personnel of the Opinion Surveys Section would place the total beyond 75,000.

In addition to the regular studies, special surveys have been conducted on various problems. A cross-section of the population was interviewed and their reactions made available within 24 hours after the verdicts of the Nurnberg Trials were made public. To determine the relative popularity of the German language newspapers, individual studies were made in 26 cities in the zone in which papers are published. Attitudes on social, economic and political problems; the food, fuel, clothing and housing situation; currency revaluation; opinions on the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Germany; attitudes toward the occupation; newspaper readership and radio listening — all these have been covered by studies conducted by Opinion Surveys.

This report presents some of those questions which have been asked several times in the last 18 months and thus provide a trend in German public opinion over practically the entire period of occupation.

Results represent only the American Zone as a whole. Berlin is not included; and no breakdown tabulations are offered in the desire to retain simplicity and ease in comprehension of the overall picture. The one exception occurs in the trend in political party membership or preference. Here, results are given for each Land and Berlin (American and British Sectors) as well as for the entire zone.

Time points on the charts in this report represent the date on which the survey was sent into the field for interviewing. This operation, except in the case of the study dated 3 October 1946, usually took about two weeks. The October study mentioned was a special survey conducted to test immediate reactions to the Nurnberg verdicts, and interviewing was completed on the day following the release of the verdicts.

More than 55 reports have been issued by Opinion Surveys in analyzing the results obtained from the questionnaires. Detailed tabulations of the questions appearing in this report can usually be found in the complete report dealing with the particular subject. A complete list of publications is appended to this report, and the reader is invited to refer to the office of the Opinion Surveys Section for further information.

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Newspaper readership
Radio listening

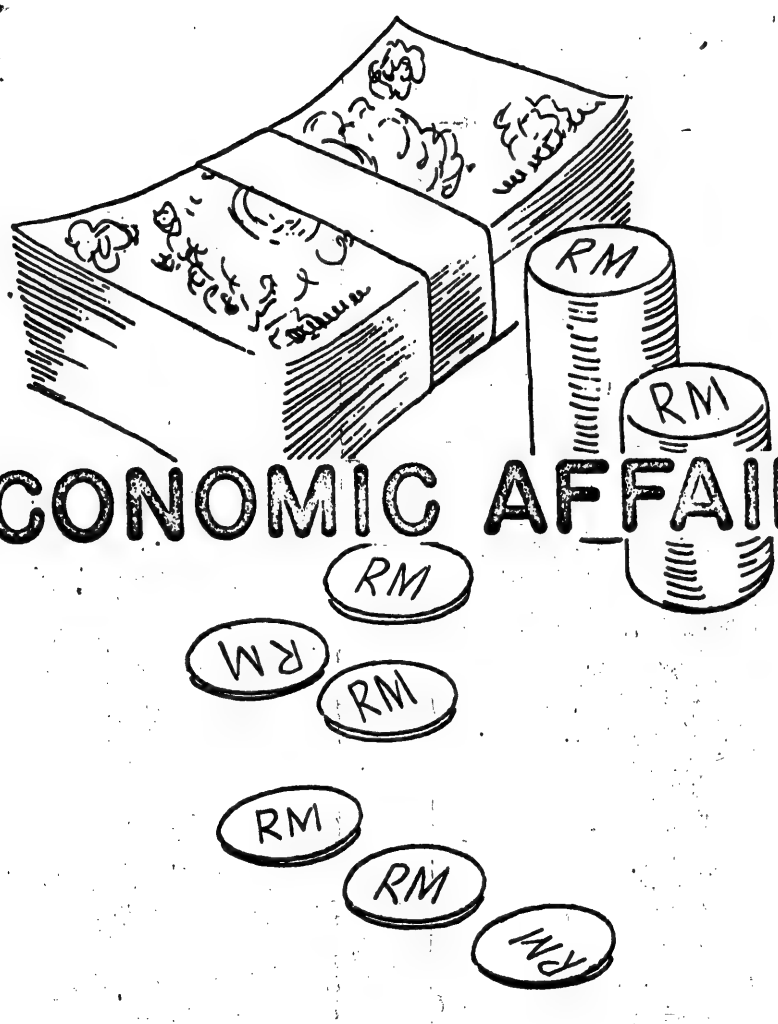
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Interest in politics
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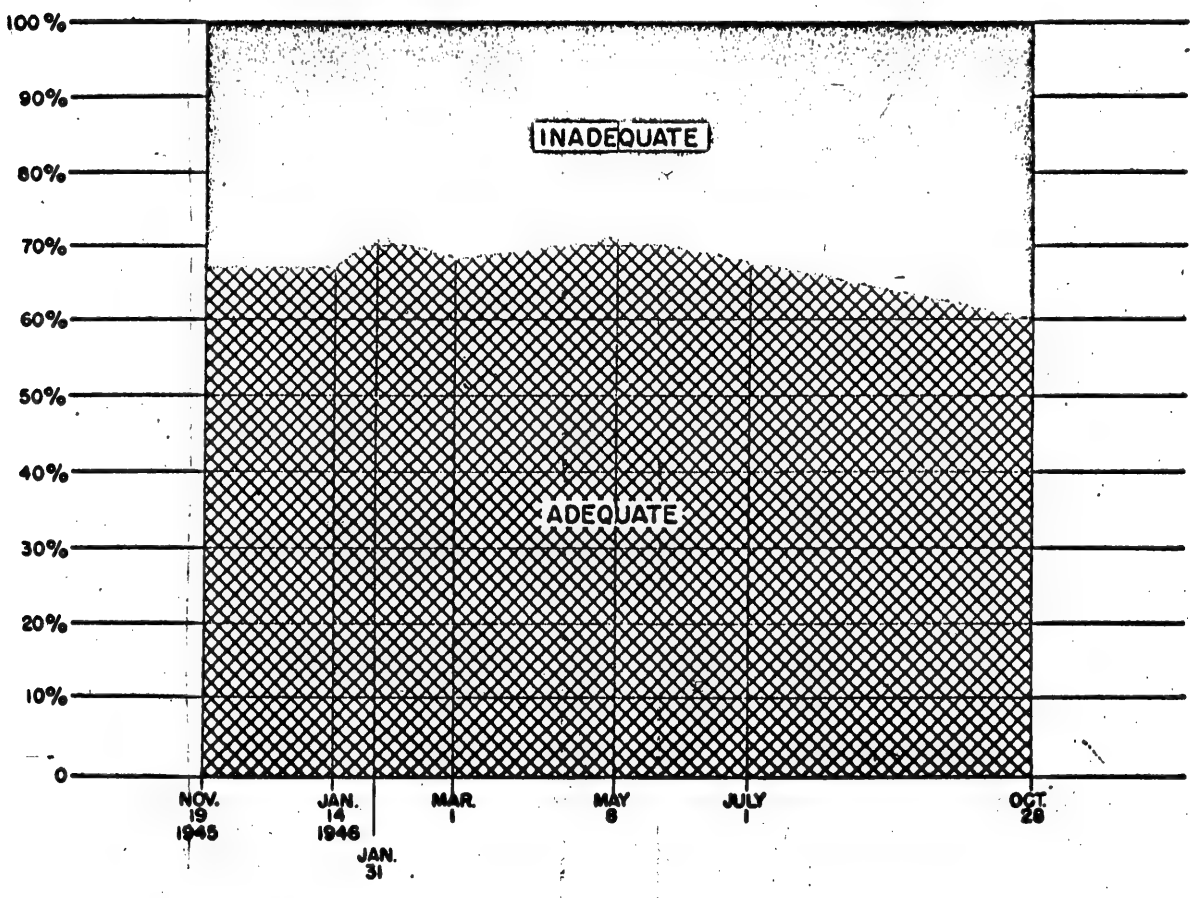
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ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

ADEQUACY OF FAMILY INCOME

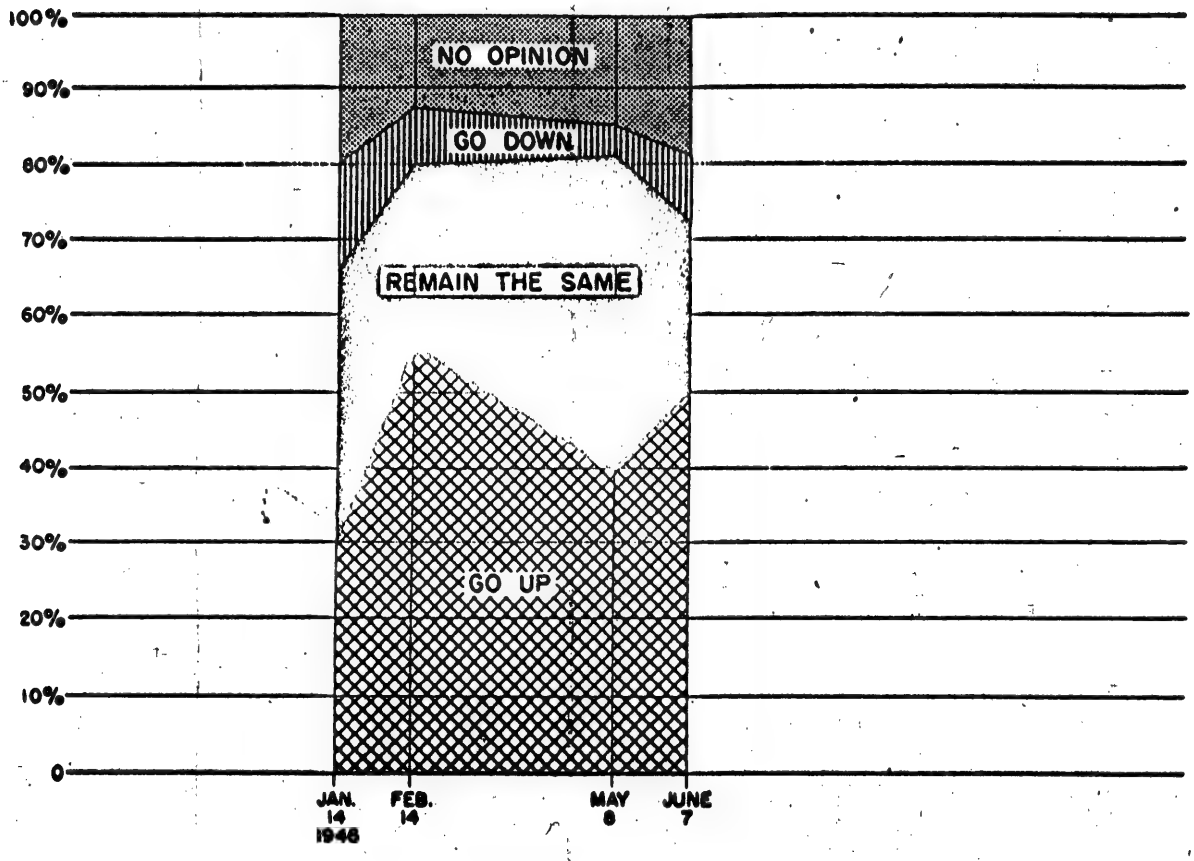


"Is the total income of your family high enough to cover necessary living expenses?"

The proportion of the population who think their incomes are adequate remained constant over a period of six studies, but then began to decline until in the most recent survey, 60% said their income was high enough to cover necessary living expenses.

Other evidence, principally a decrease in the size of family income, lends credibility to the decline in the proportion indicating adequacy.

RISE OF PRICES



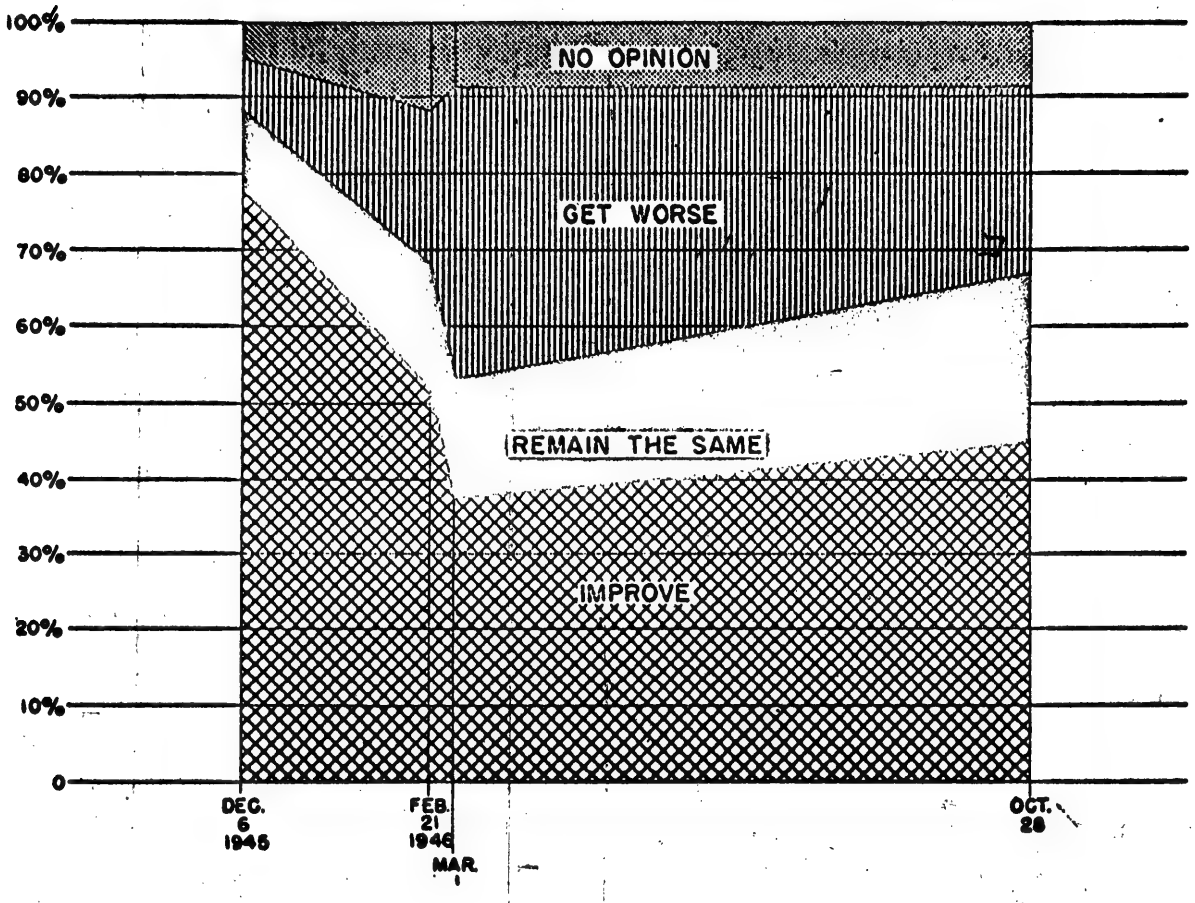
"Do you think that most prices will stay the same or that they will go up or down?"

General opinion that prices will rise increased sharply in the period between January and June, 1946.

The latter study reveals that half the population believed that anti-inflationary measures will not succeed and that prices will go up. Very few, one in ten persons interviewed, think that the cost of living will go down, while about one quarter of the population indicates that there will be no change.

The trend shows that people are becoming more pessimistic, and that there is not much confidence in the ability of authorities to hold prices in check.

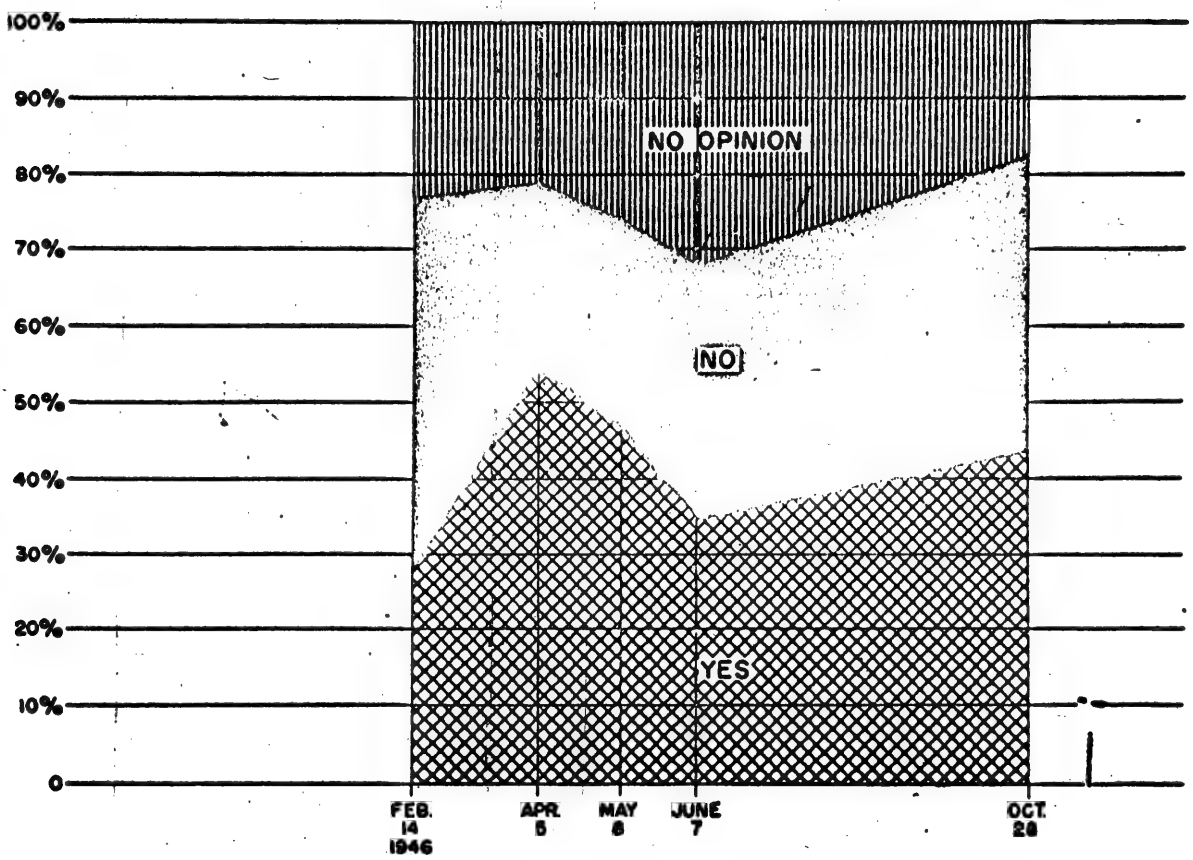
IMPROVEMENT IN ECONOMIC CONDITIONS



"Do you believe that economic conditions in the American Zone will improve or get worse in the next six months?"

Optimism about future economic conditions decreased sharply between December 1945 and October 1946. On the earlier date it was found that nearly eight in ten people thought conditions would improve within six months; while the most recent study finds only 45% holding this opinion. At the same time, the proportion saying that conditions would get worse or at most remain the same has increased from 17% to 46%.

VALUE OF THE REICHSMARK



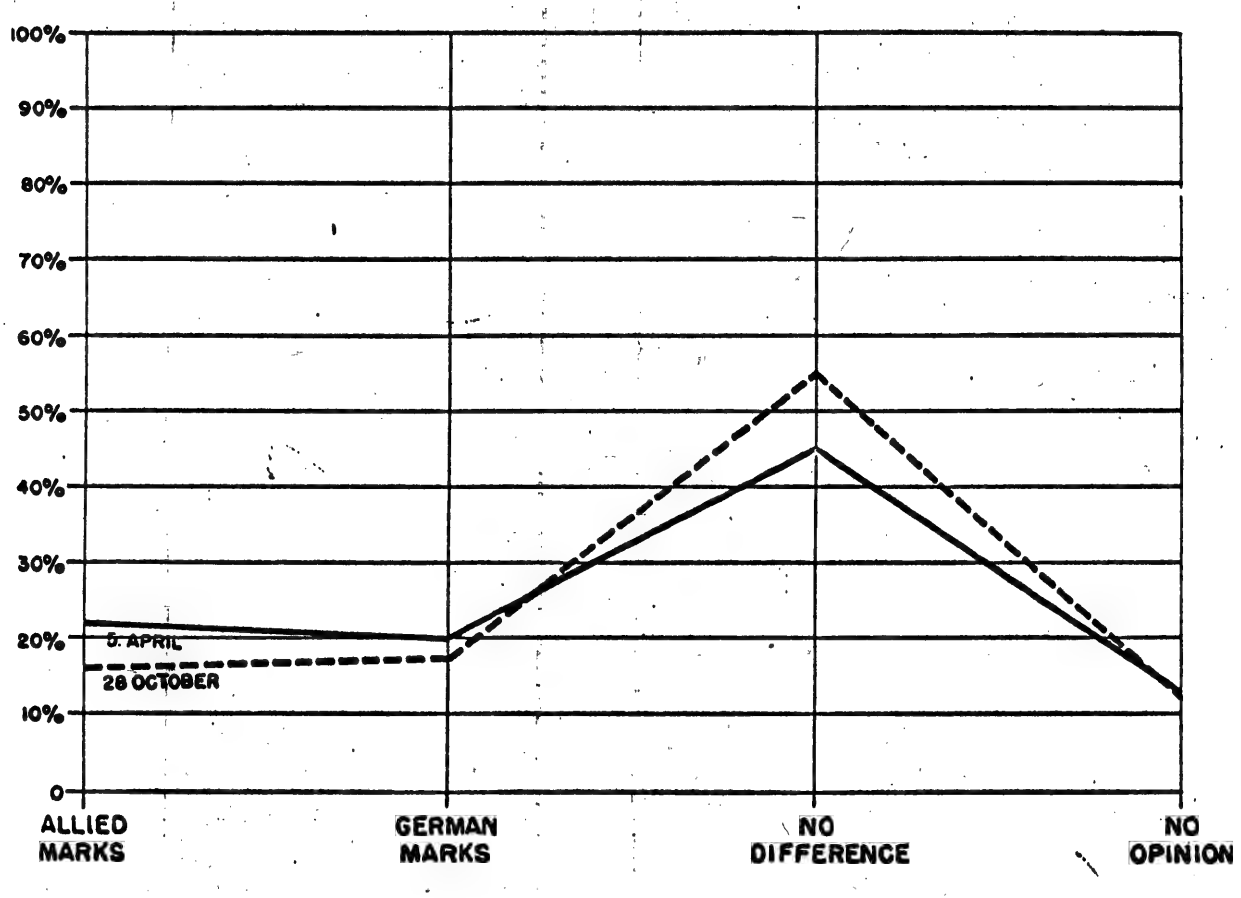
"Do you think that the Reichsmark will be worth as much in six months as it is today?"

Confidence in the continued value of the Reichsmark has suffered a constant decline since April, 1946 when it reached its highest level with 54% of the population in the American Zone saying that the mark would be worth as much in six months as it was at that time.

In contrast, by October, 1946 a 43% plurality in the American Zone thought that the mark would drop in value within six months.

This evident lack of confidence probably results in part from the continued discussions by American and German authorities on devaluation of the mark.

CONFIDENCE IN THE CURRENCY

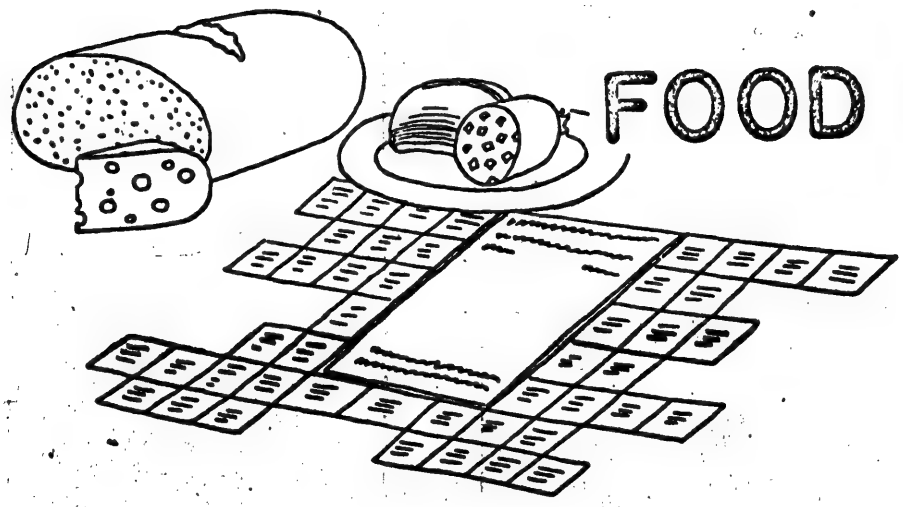


"In which money do you have more confidence- in Allied military money or in the German Reichsmark?"

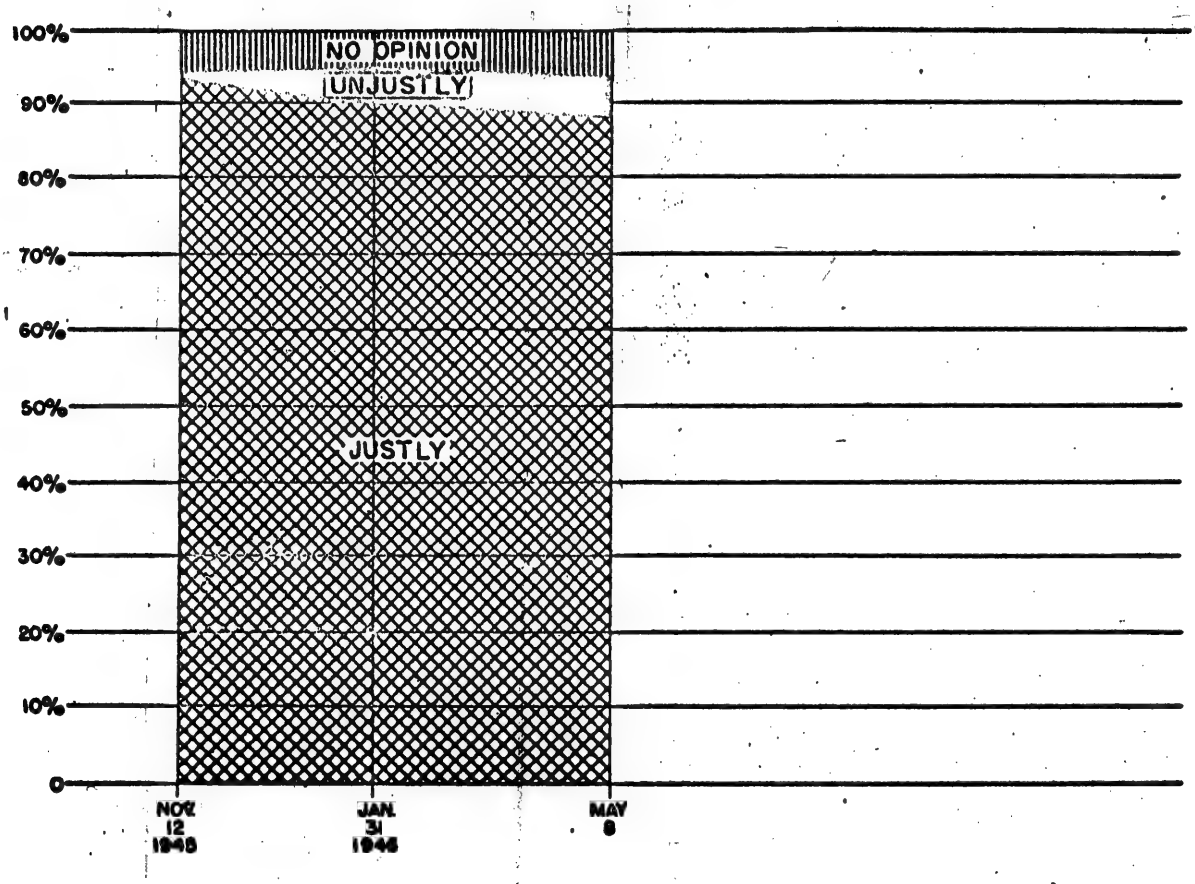
Confidence in both Allied money (AM's) and the German Reichsmark declined between April and October, 1946. Conversely, the group saying they see no difference between the two currencies has increased.

The group which has greater confidence in the Allied money is as large as that preferring the Reichsmark — 16% and 17% respectively.

The significance of the results lies principally in the proportion saying there is no difference between the two. It is impossible to determine whether these people — more than half of those interviewed — signify equal confidence in both or a lack of confidence in either. The fact that those groups which feel most strongly that the Reichsmark will decline in value or fear that economic conditions will get worse tend also to avoid expressing greater confidence in one money over the other, lends weight to the latter hypothesis.


FOOD

RATION CARD SYSTEM



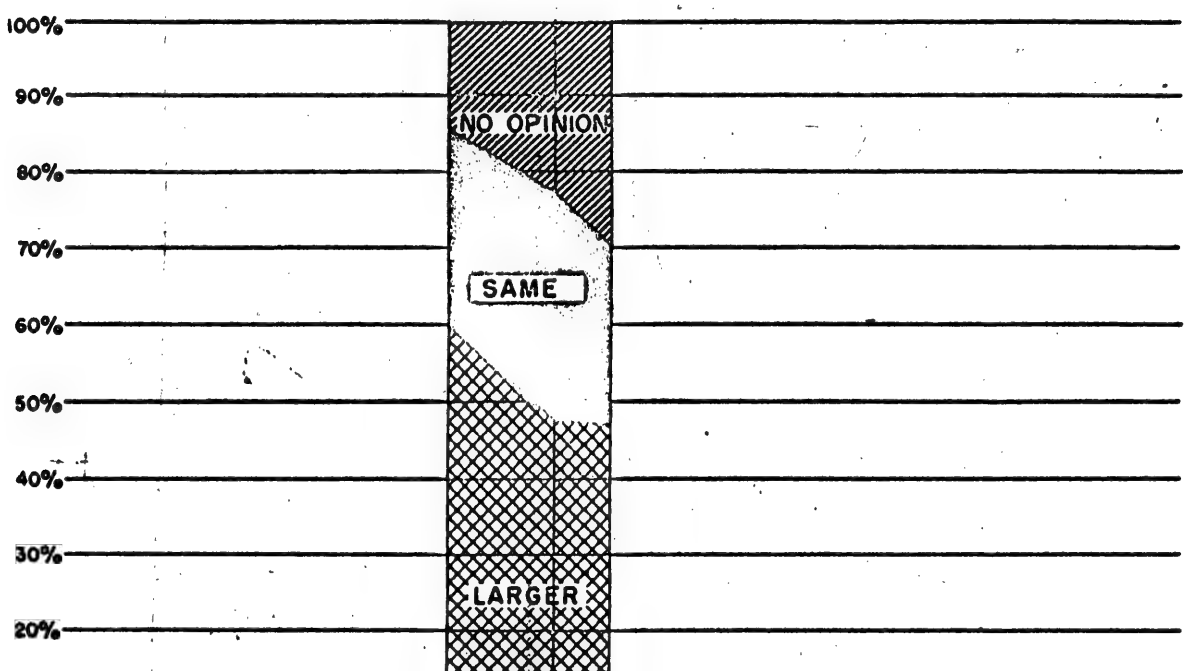
"Do you think the food ration card system is being handled justly or unjustly?"

Though the complaints against the food ration may be many and loud, people in the American Zone are in complete agreement that the ration card system is being handled justly.

Some decrease in the proportion is noted between November, 1945 and May, 1946 — from 93% to 88%.

In contrast to this wholehearted support for the system in the zone, only 37% of the people interviewed in Berlin (May, 1946) say that the system is being administered justly. The remaining six in ten people disagree.

SIMILARITY OF RATION AMONG ZONES

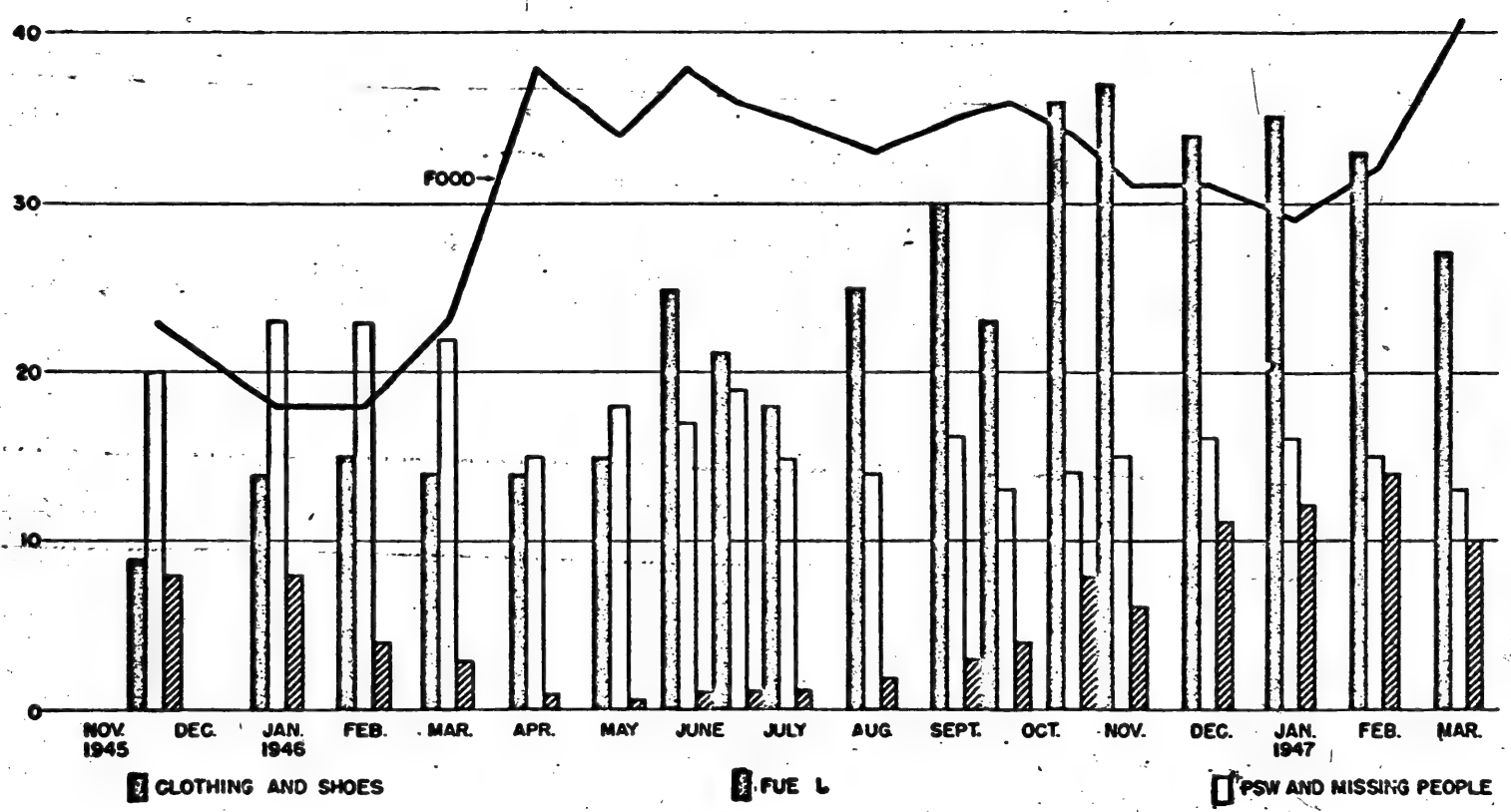


"Do you think the food ration is the same in all four zones, or is it larger in some?"

Belief that the food ration is larger in some zones than in others gained less support in May 1946 (47%) than it did in March of the same year (60%).

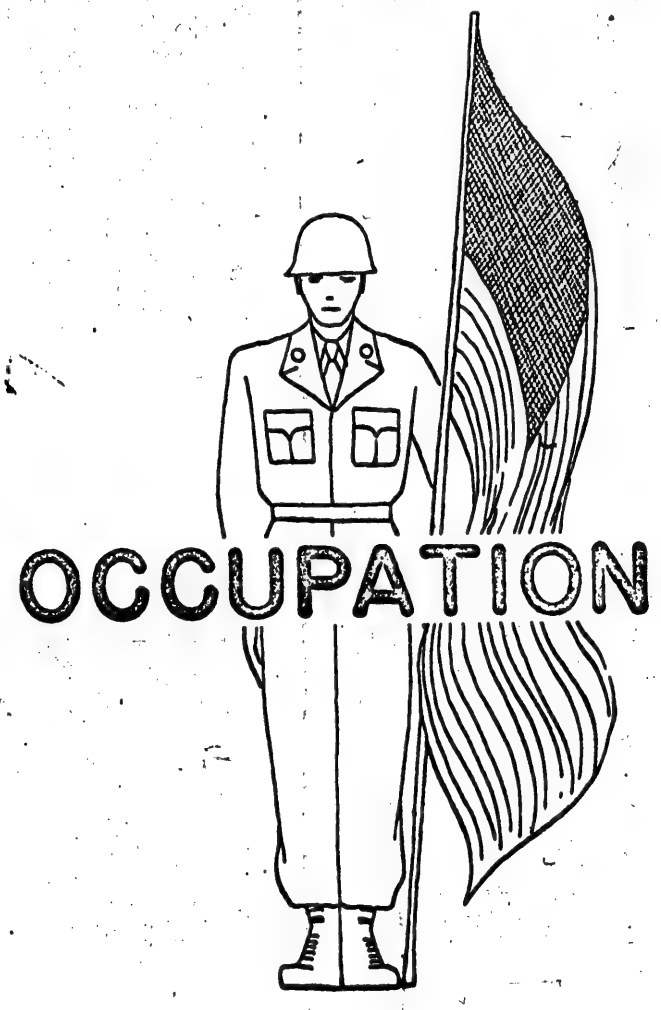
Opinion is, in general, rather uncrystallized on the question. People frankly admit that they don't know, and are more willing to say this on the later study than on the two earlier ones.

CHIEF CARES AND WORRIES

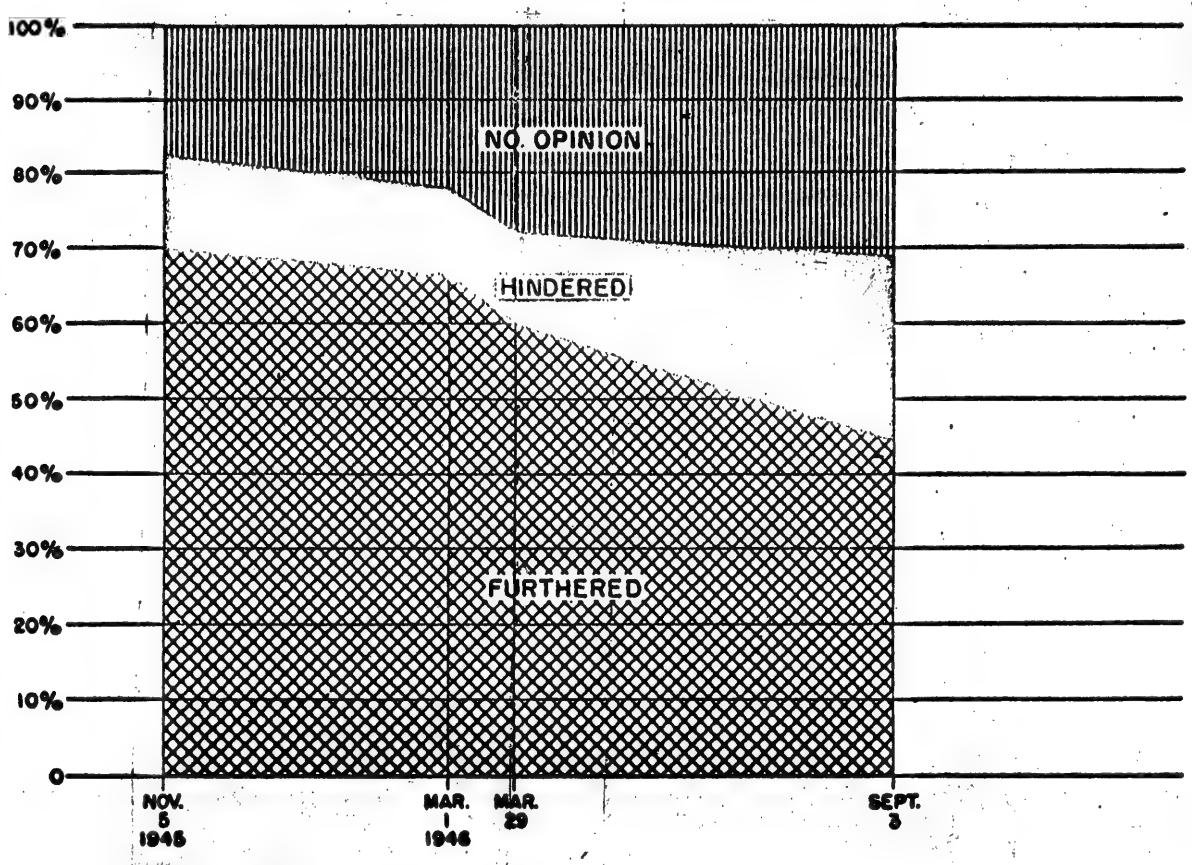


"What are your greatest cares and worries at the present time?"

People have spoken of being worried about food more than about any other matter during the past year and a half. Only twice have other worries superseded food -- concern over absent prisoners of war during the first winter of the occupation, concern over clothing and shoes during the past winter. Other cares and worries less frequently mentioned than the ones shown in the chart are, unemployment or lack of adequate support, housing shortages, scarcity of industrial equipment, difficulties as an evacuee or refugee, general insecurity, problems of health. The number of mentioned cares and worries per person was 1.3 in the Fall of 1945, 1.5 in the Spring of 1946, 1.7 in the Winter of 1946-1947. In the Spring of 1947, it was 1.5. Not shown in the chart are group differences in cares and worries. City people mention food three times as often as rural people. The latter, in turn, complain about the lack of clothing and shoes twice as often as city dwellers.


OCCUPATION

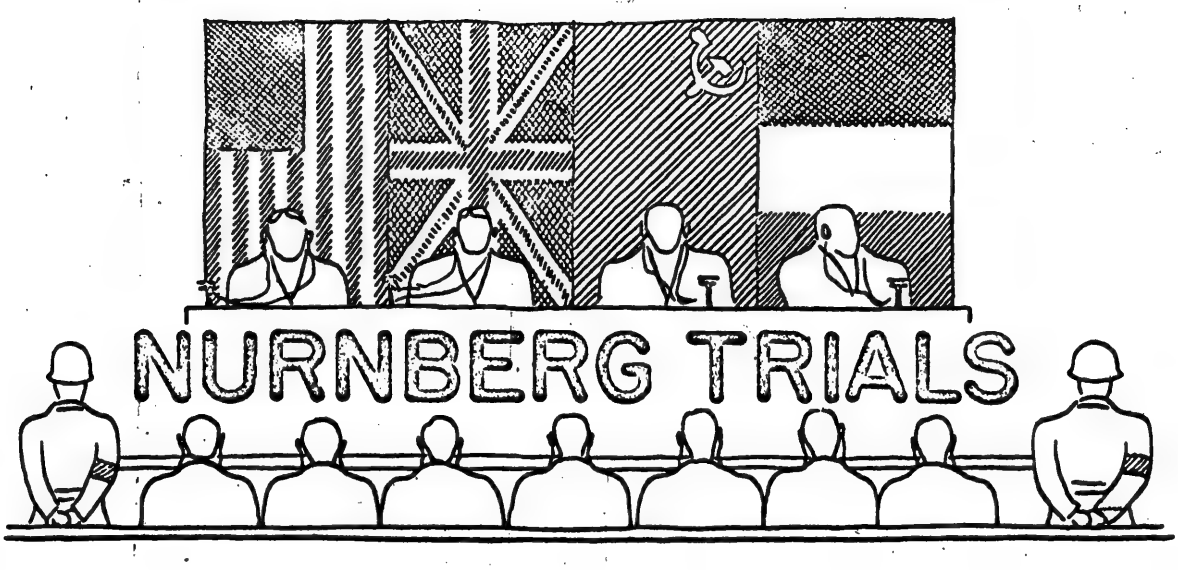
CONTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATION FORCES



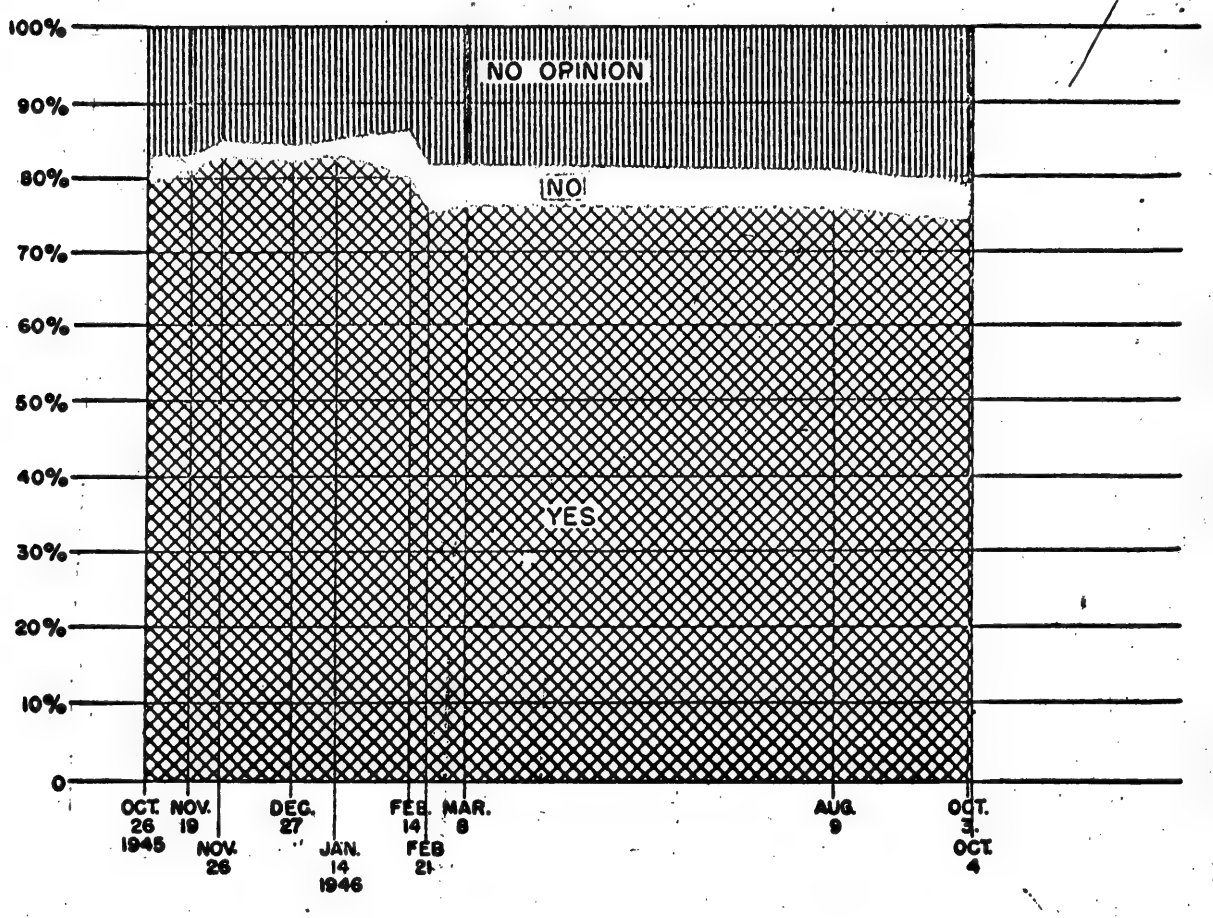
"Have the Americans furthered or hindered the reconstruction of Germany?"

Conclusive evidence indicates that more and more people feel that the Americans are not doing much to further the rebuilding of Germany. In November, 1945, 70% of those interviewed in the American Zone said that the American occupation forces have furthered the reconstruction of Germany; by September, 1946, this proportion had shrunk to 44% of the population interviewed in AMZON.

This defection has resulted in a steady increase in the size of the group without opinion on the issue; with a sharp increase in the proportion saying the Americans are hindering the reconstruction of Germany evident in the last two surveys.


NURNBERG TRIALS

CONDUCT OF THE TRIALS



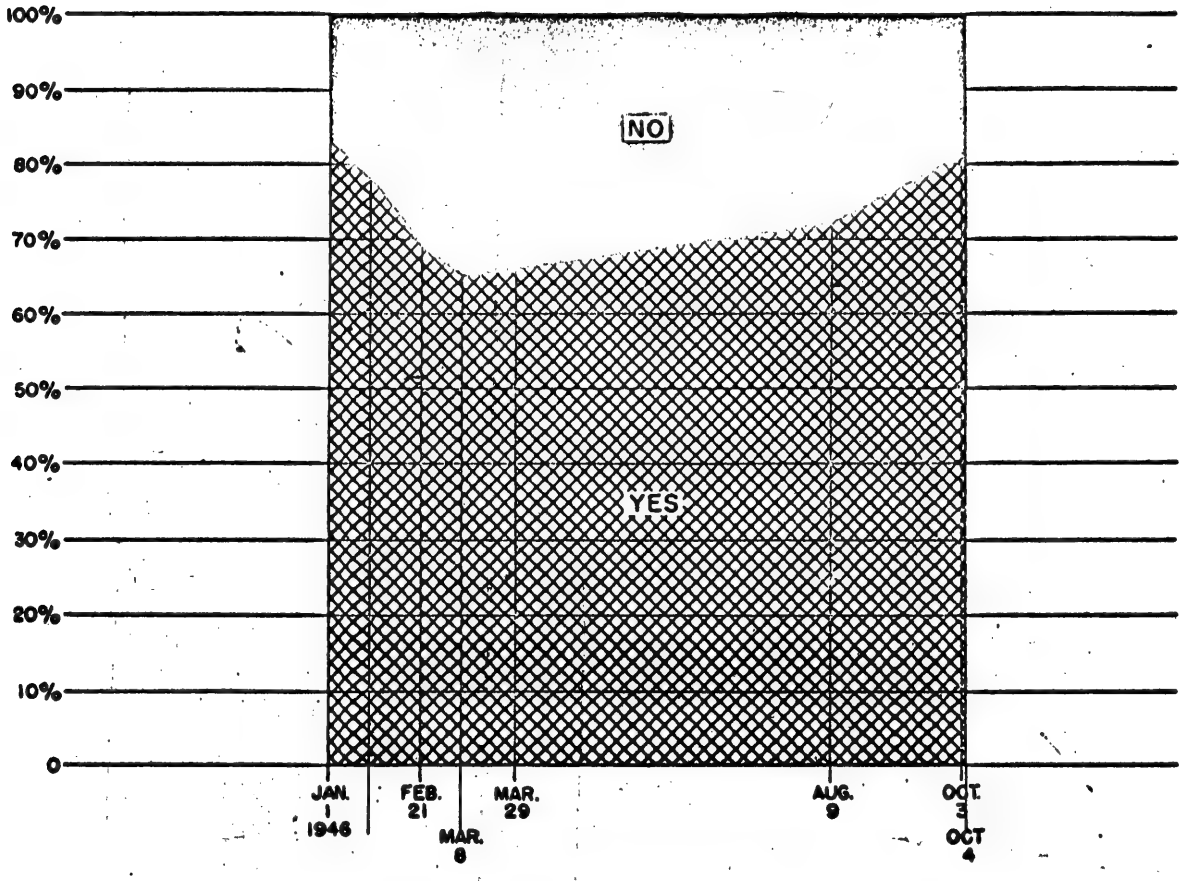
"Do you think the Nurnberg Trials are being conducted justly?"

Regardless of how people may have sided in the controversy over the legal basis for the Nurnberg Trials, (actually, few people spoke in such sophisticated terms) a heavy majority, about eight in ten persons, felt that they were conducted justly — both during and after the proceedings.

Some decrease in confidence is noted in the results of studies made during the latter part of the trials, when the defence was presenting its case.

The survey dated 3 October 1946 was conducted in its entirety on the day immediately following the release of the verdicts, while the following study was completed in the usual time period of about two weeks.

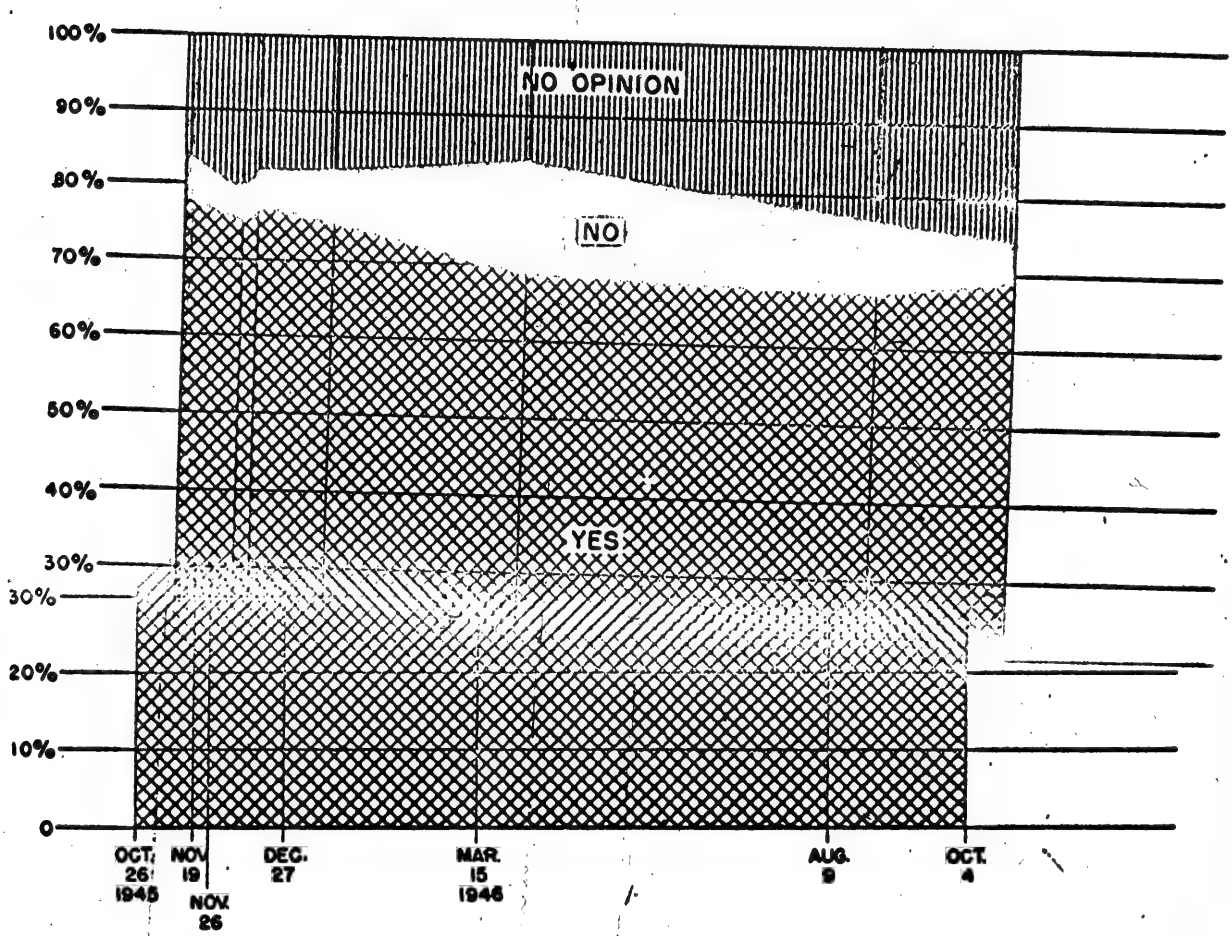
READERSHIP OF NEWSPAPER REPORTS



"Do you read the newspaper reports of the Nurnberg Trials?"

The study made in January 1946, to determine readership of newspaper reports about the Nurnberg Trials found more than eight in ten people considering themselves as readers. From that time through the middle of March, 1946, when it reached a low of 65%, readership declined. The curve then took an upward swing and reached its former high on the day following publication of the verdicts. This interest in follow-up stories continued for at least two weeks after the culmination of the Trials.

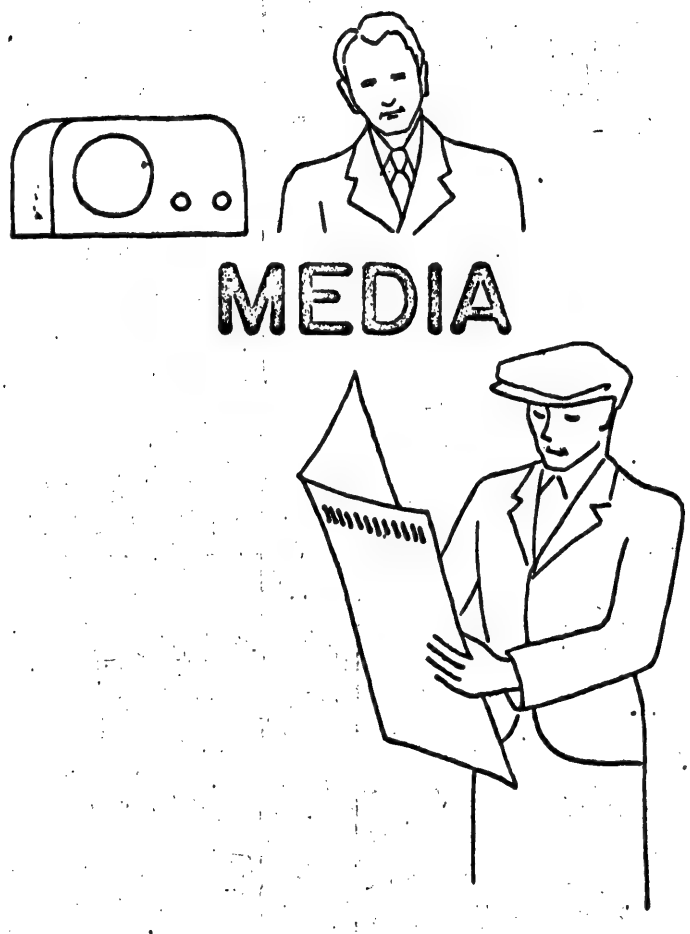
RELIABILITY OF NEWSPAPER REPORTS



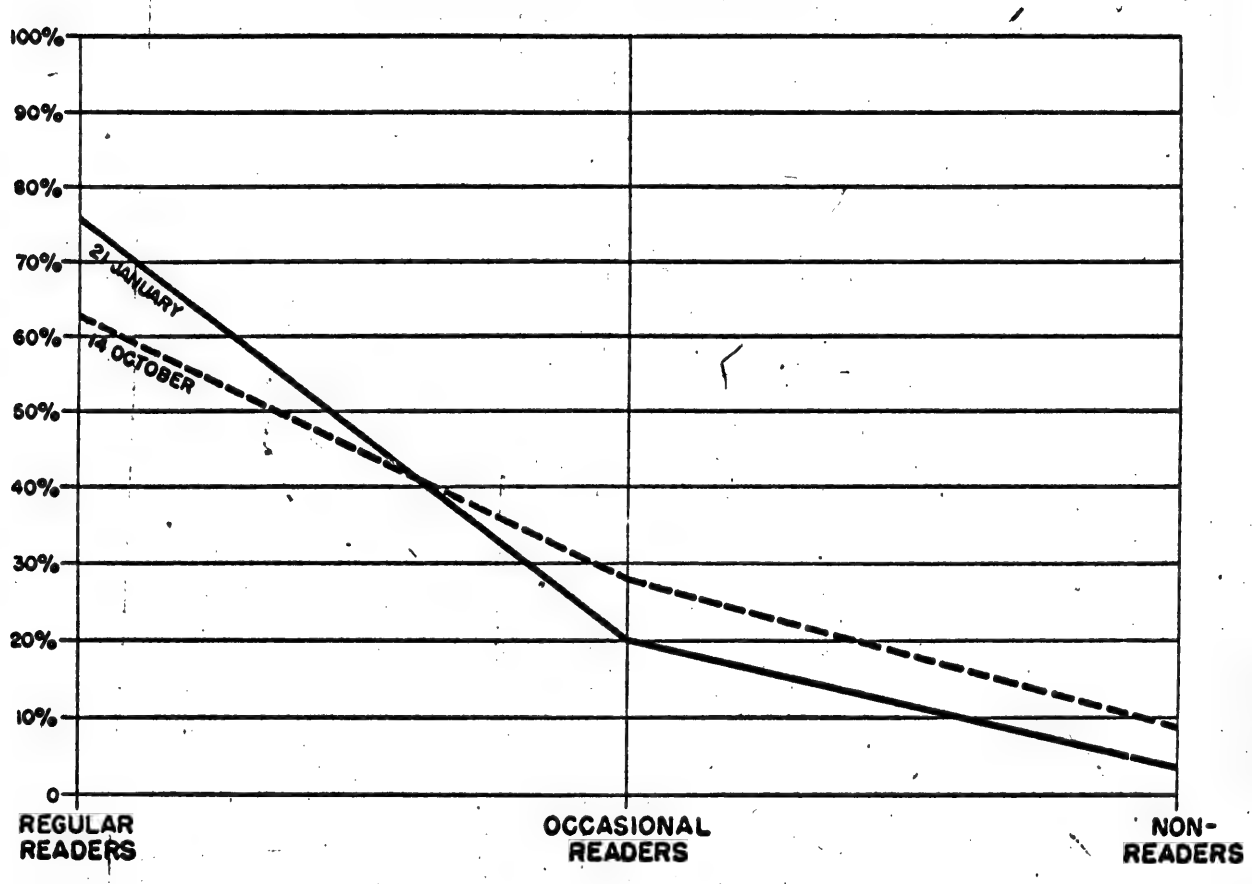
"Do you think the newspaper reports of the Nurnberg Trials are complete and trustworthy?"

As the trials continued, waning confidence in the completeness and trustworthiness in the newspaper reports was displayed. The usual justification given for this view was that the newspapers did not report defence arguments as fully as desired. Nevertheless, seven in ten people (at the lowest point) were satisfied with the integrity and detail of the reports.

Greatest lack of confidence in the newspaper reports was expressed in studies made in March and August, 1946. And as the number of people expressing confidence decreased, the proportion indicating lack of knowledge about the completeness and trustworthiness of the newspaper stories increased.


MEDIA

NEWSPAPER READERSHIP



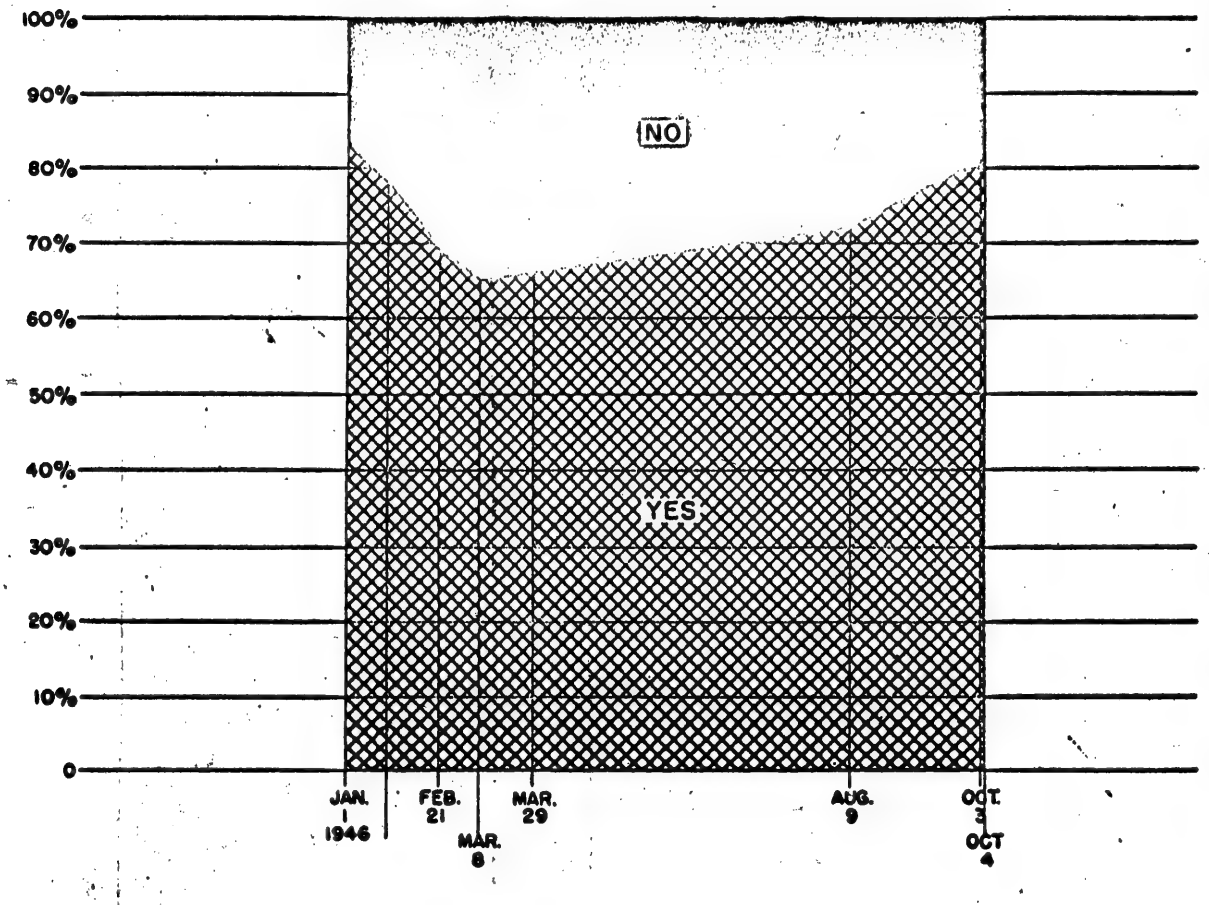
"Do you read a newspaper - regularly, occassionally?"

Regular newspaper readers among the AMZON population have decreased as noted in two studies, the first in January, 1946 and the second in October of the same year..

The latter study finds 63% of the German population in the American Zone claiming to be regular newspaper readers — a decrease of 13% from the earlier survey. Both the group claiming occasional readership and those who are non-readers have increased; the former by 8% and the latter by 5%. The change is undoubtedly correlated with shortening supplies of newsprint.

In view of apparent difficulties in obtaining newspapers, it is surprising that more than 9% are not deterred from reading.

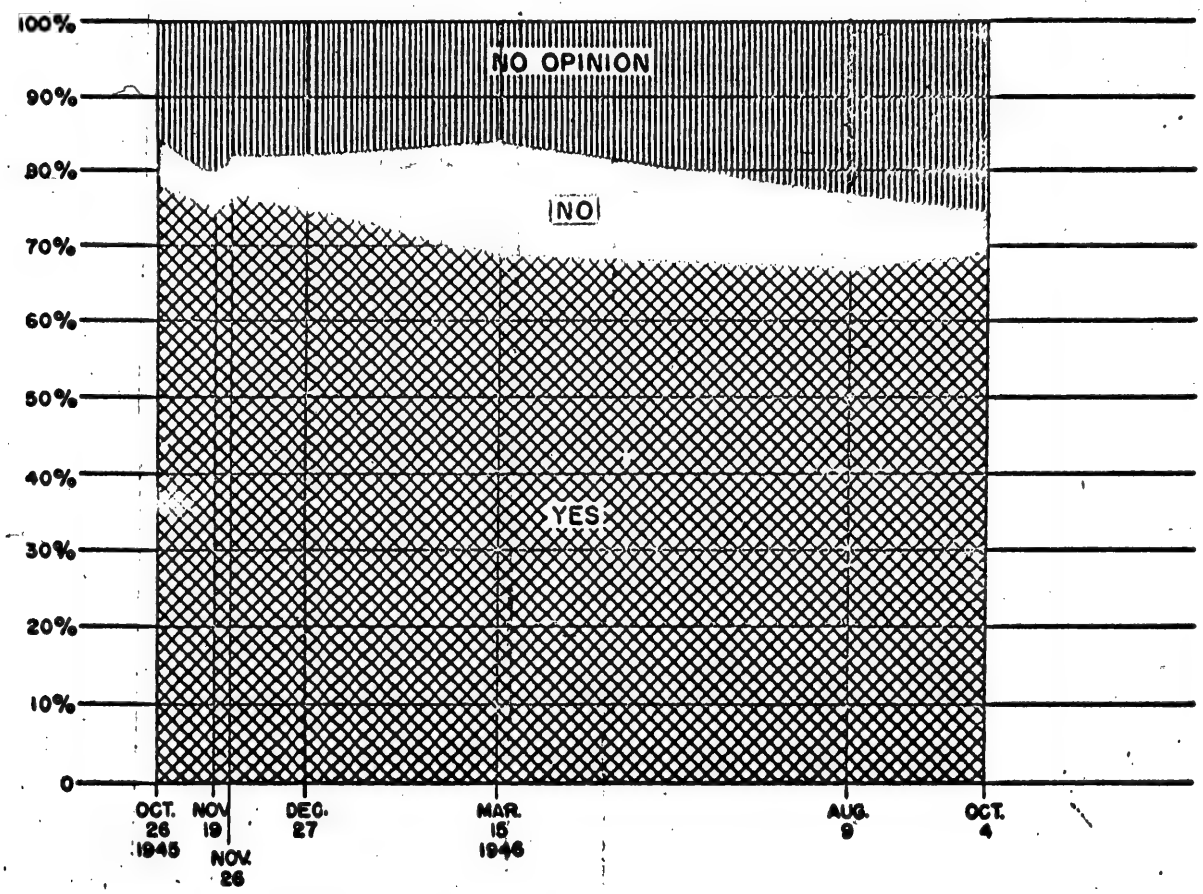
READERSHIP OF NEWSPAPER REPORTS



"Do you read the newspaper reports of the Nurnberg Trials?"

The study made in January 1946, to determine readership of newspaper reports about the Nurnberg Trials found more than eight in ten people considering themselves as readers. From that time through the middle of March, 1946, when it reached a low of 65%, readership declined. The curve then took an upward swing and reached its former high on the day following publication of the verdicts. This interest in follow-up stories continued for at least two weeks after the culmination of the Trials.

RELIABILITY OF NEWSPAPER REPORTS

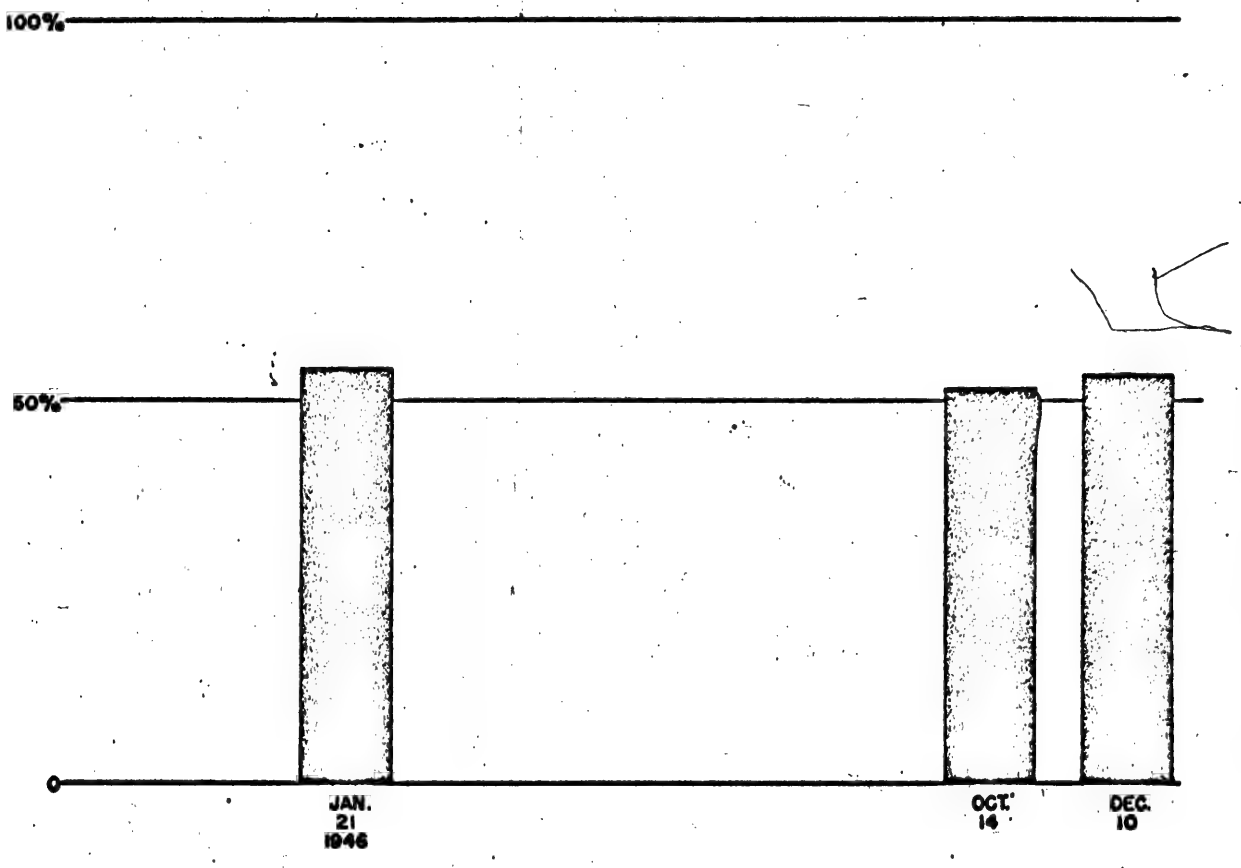


"Do you think the newspaper reports of the Nurnberg Trials are complete and trustworthy?"

As the trials continued, waning confidence in the completeness and trustworthiness in the newspaper reports was displayed. The usual justification given for this view was that the newspapers did not report defence arguments as fully as desired. Nevertheless, seven in ten people (at the lowest point) were satisfied with the integrity and detail of the reports.

Greatest lack of confidence in the newspaper reports was expressed in studies made in March and August, 1946. And as the number of people expressing confidence decreased, the proportion indicating lack of knowledge about the completeness and trustworthiness of the newspaper stories increased.

RADIO LISTENING



"Do you listen to the radio?"

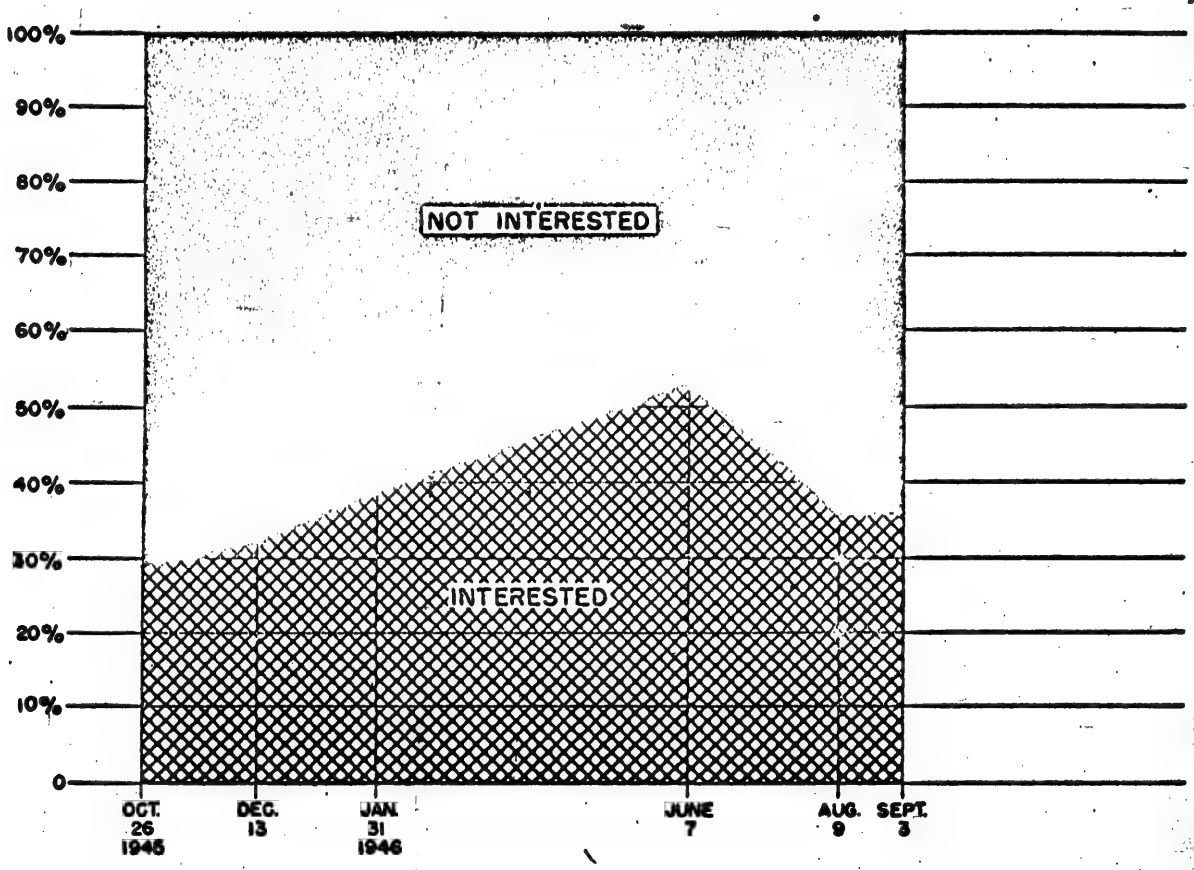
Three surveys conducted between January and December, 1946 reveal that slightly more than one half of the population in the American Zone listen to the radio.

This same question asked in Berlin finds that radio listening there is much more frequent than the average for the zone with seven in ten people claiming to be radio listeners.



POLITICS

INTEREST IN POLITICS



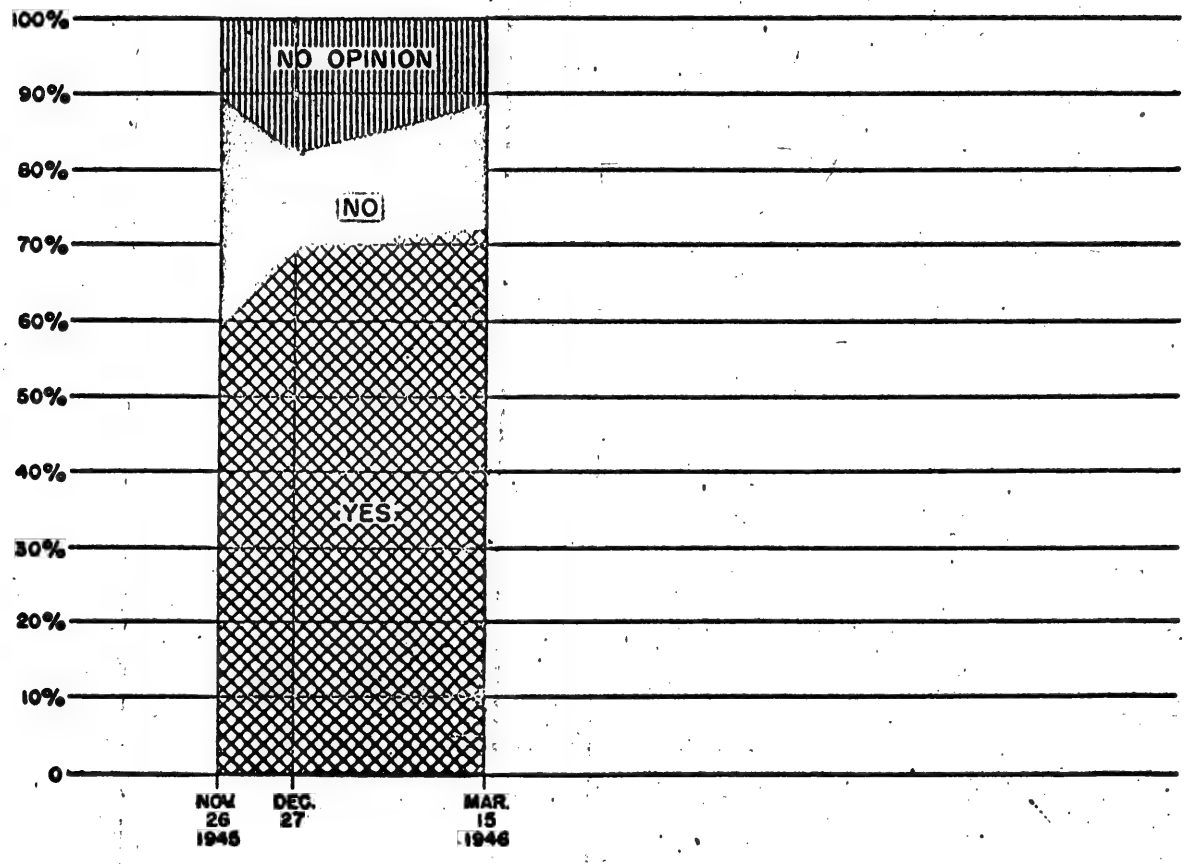
"Are you interested in politics or do you prefer to leave it to others?"

The trend of claimed political interest — between October 1945 and September 1946 — shows a gradual rise to a peak in June and a sharp drop in the following two studies. (Local elections were held between January and June, with general elections in the latter month.)

On the average, about four in ten people say they are interested in politics. This apparent lack of interest may in part stem from remembering the part played by politics in Germany during the last three decades. On the other hand, an interest in politics today might indicate a healthy desire for the creation of a peaceful state and might well prevent a rebirth of National Socialism.

Men are considerably more interested in politics than are women. And, interestingly enough, lack of information does not appear to have a bearing on interest. Actually, it would appear that those people who indicate interest in politics are the ones who make an attempt to avail themselves of information.

DESIRABILITY OF POLITICAL MEETINGS



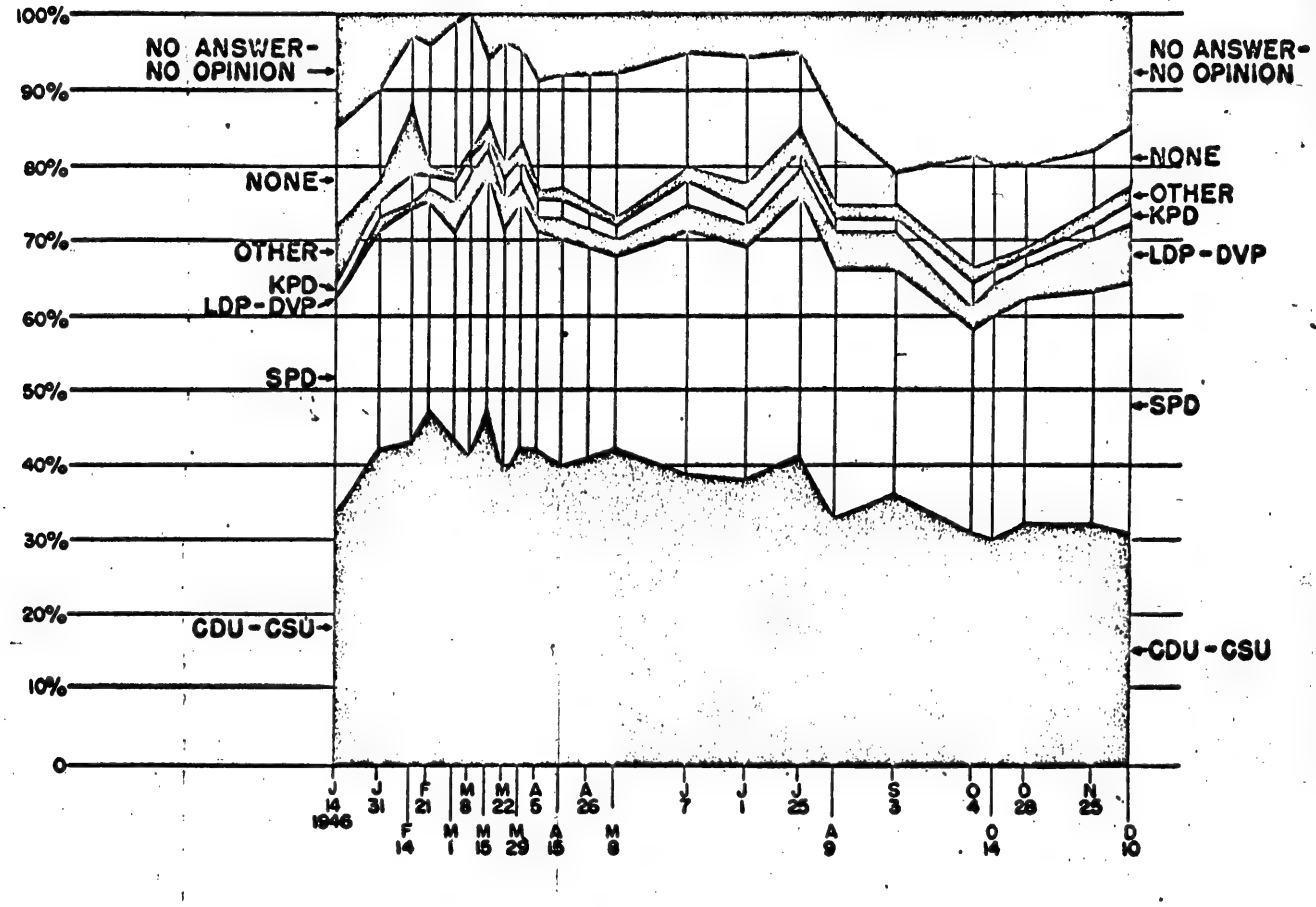
"As you know, political meetings are once more permitted. Do you think such meetings are worthwhile?"

Political meetings, banned under National Socialism but a right enjoyed in a democratic state, are considered worthwhile by a conclusive majority of people interviewed in the American Zone.

In fact, more and more people are beginning to hold opinions on this question, and the proportion indicating desirability of political meetings shows a rise from 60% to 72% over a period of about four months.

Also revealing an increase is the group saying such meetings are not worthwhile. But while the group favoring meetings has increased by 12%, those opposing have gained only 5%.

PARTY PREFERENCE OR MEMBERSHIP



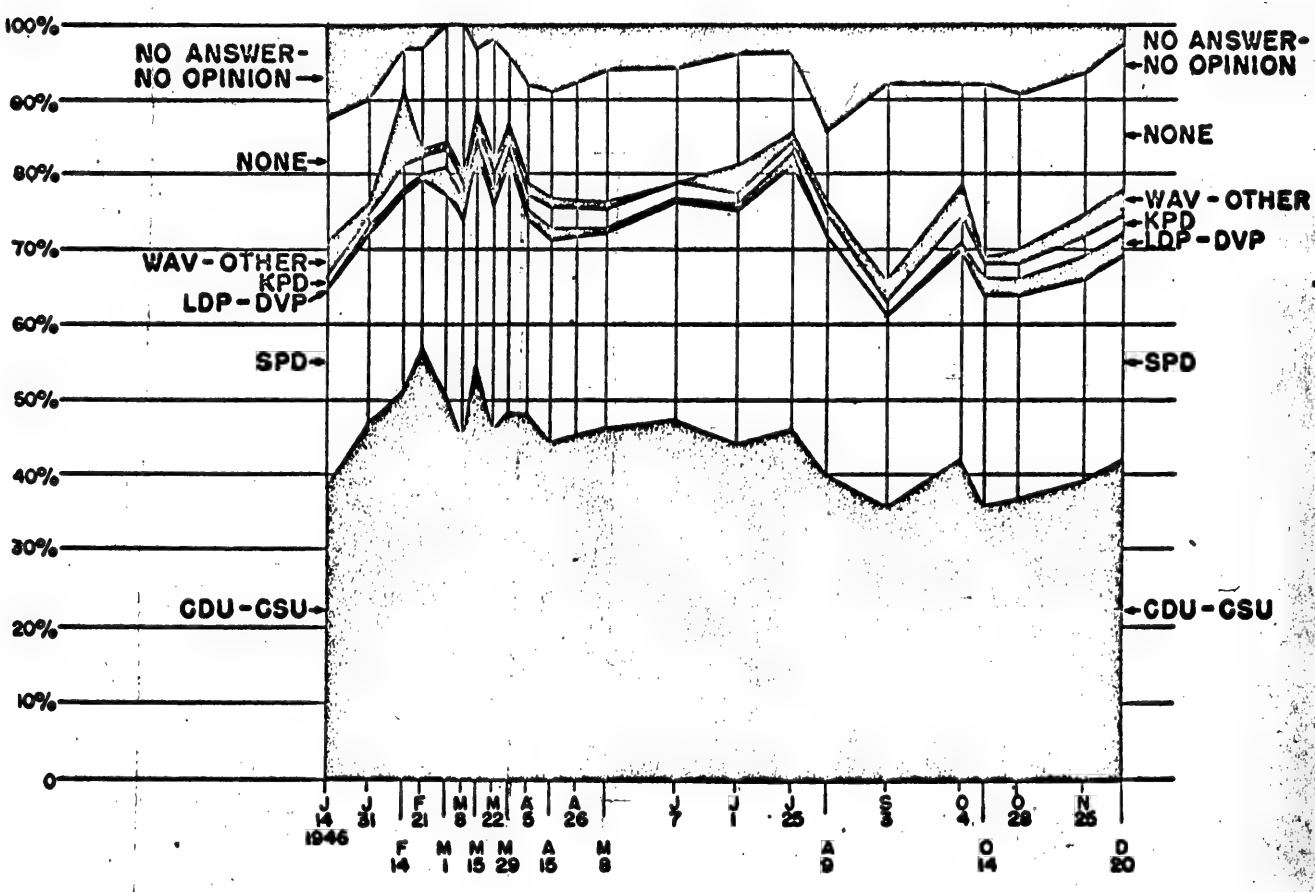
"Which political party do you belong to or do you prefer."

AMZON

Until mid-summer 1946, the CDU/CSU enjoyed about a 40% plurality of membership or preference over other parties, with the SPD in second place, favored by about 30%. Later studies reveal, that while the SPD did not make any substantial gain, the CDU/CSU suffered a loss of about 10% of its following. Interestingly enough, this group did not as a whole change over to other parties, although some gain is registered in the strength of the LPD/DVP. Most of the loss is felt in people who now indicate that they favor NO party or who express no opinion (at present somewhat more than two in ten).

The LDP/DVP is supported by slightly less than one in ten people, and an additional 5% give their vote to other parties. The strength of the KPD has remained very constant — between two and three per cent.

PARTY PREFERENCE OR MEMBERSHIP

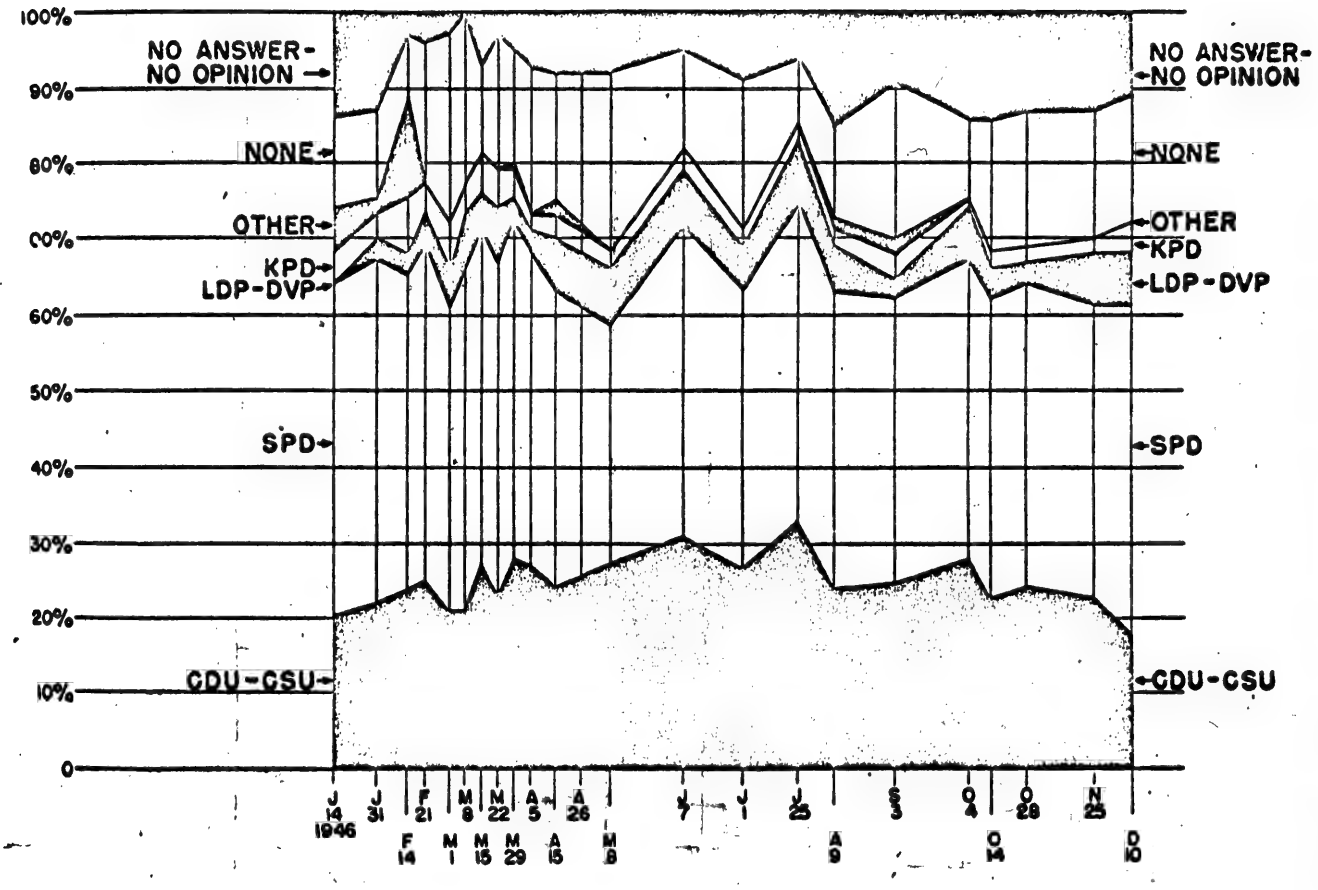


"Which political party do you belong to or do you prefer."

BAVARIA

The CSU is the foremost party in Bavaria, with an indicated membership or expressed preference of about four in ten people. A loss is felt in this Land of about 10%. The SPD is the second most favored party — about three in ten people indicating preference. In Bavaria particularly, the swing is noted away from party membership or preference. Most recent studies reveal about one quarter of the population saying they prefer NO party or holding no opinion. The KPD and the LDP hold about 5% of the population, while the WAV — first receiving noticeable mention in November 1946 — claims three or four per cent.

PARTY PREFERENCE OR MEMBERSHIP

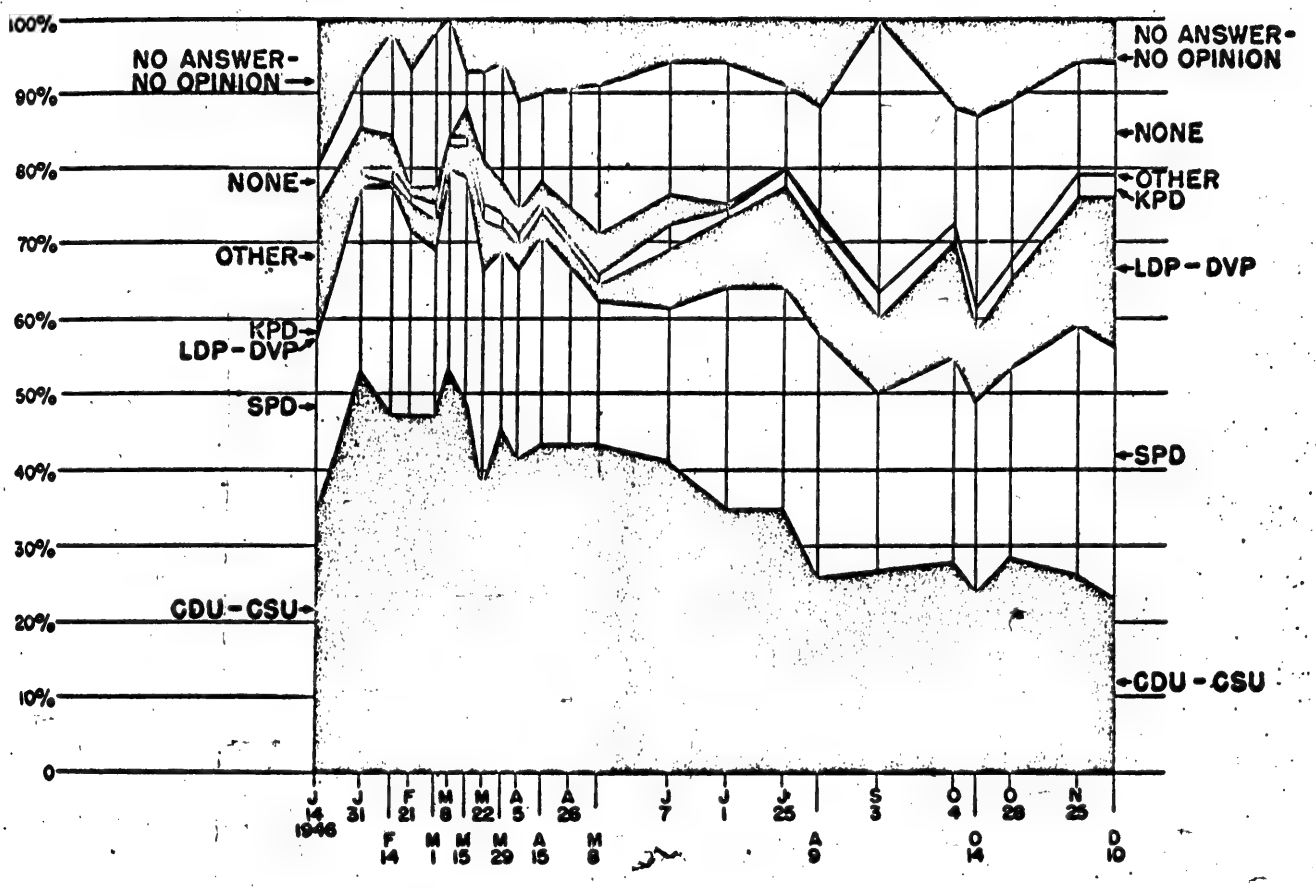


"Which political party do you belong to or do you prefer?"

HESSE.

Residents in Hesse appear less politically conscious, or are less ready to accept one of the present political choices, than persons living in the other two laender. About three in ten people say they prefer NO party or fail to express any opinion. Membership or preference for the SPD is higher than for any other party — about four in ten. Loss in party strength of the CDU is also noted with recent surveys finding membership or preference by about two in ten people. The remaining 10% indicate a choice for either the KPD or the LDP, with the latter being favored by about two to one.

PARTY PREFERENCE OR MEMBERSHIP



"Which political party do you belong to or do you prefer?"

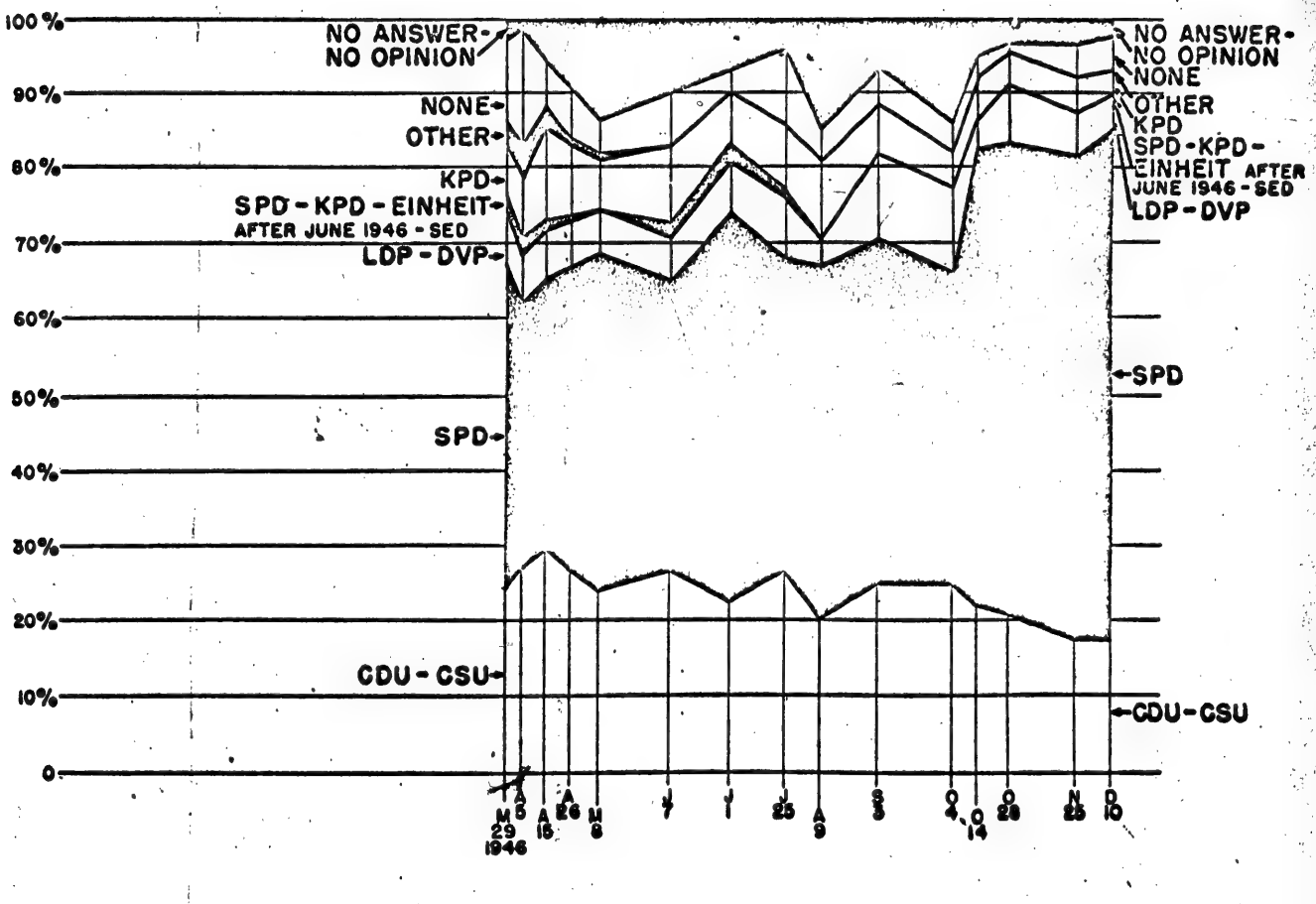
WUERTTEMBERG - BADEN

The CDU and the SPD alternate as being the favored party by people in this land. The former appears to have the edge over a period of time, although the SPD reveals strong gains in the latest studies.

The LDP seems to have lost most of its following which has been absorbed by the formation of the DVP, first mentioned in appreciable strength in the summer of 1946.

The KPD claims two or three per cent, with a large, although decreasing, proportion claiming no party affiliation or preference.

PARTY PREFERENCE OR MEMBERSHIP



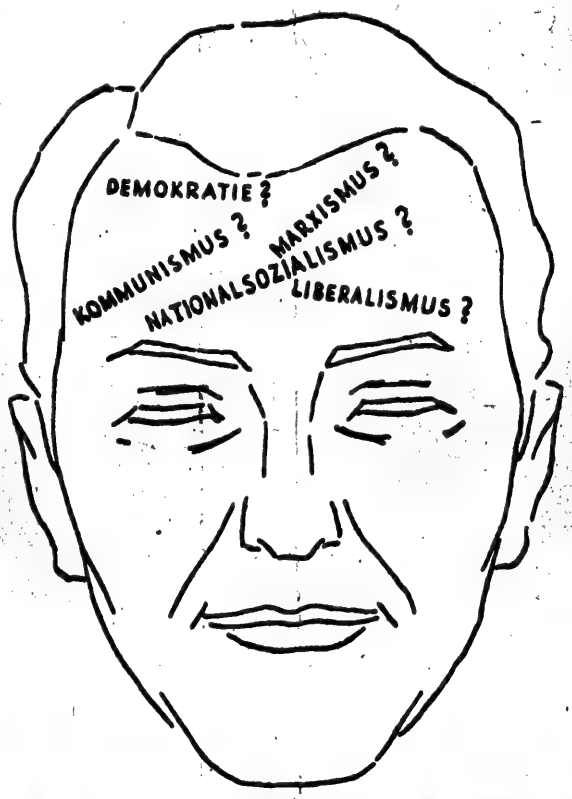
"Which political party do you belong to or do you prefer?"

BERLIN...

From a low point of 36% in the spring of 1946, the SPD has attracted a remarkably strong following with 68% of the people interviewed in December, 1946 indicating membership in or preference for this party. Some of the following gained by the SPD came from the ranks of the CDU, with less than two in ten people expressing preference for this party. The LDP/DVP also appears to have suffered, as has the KPD and the SED which later replaced it.

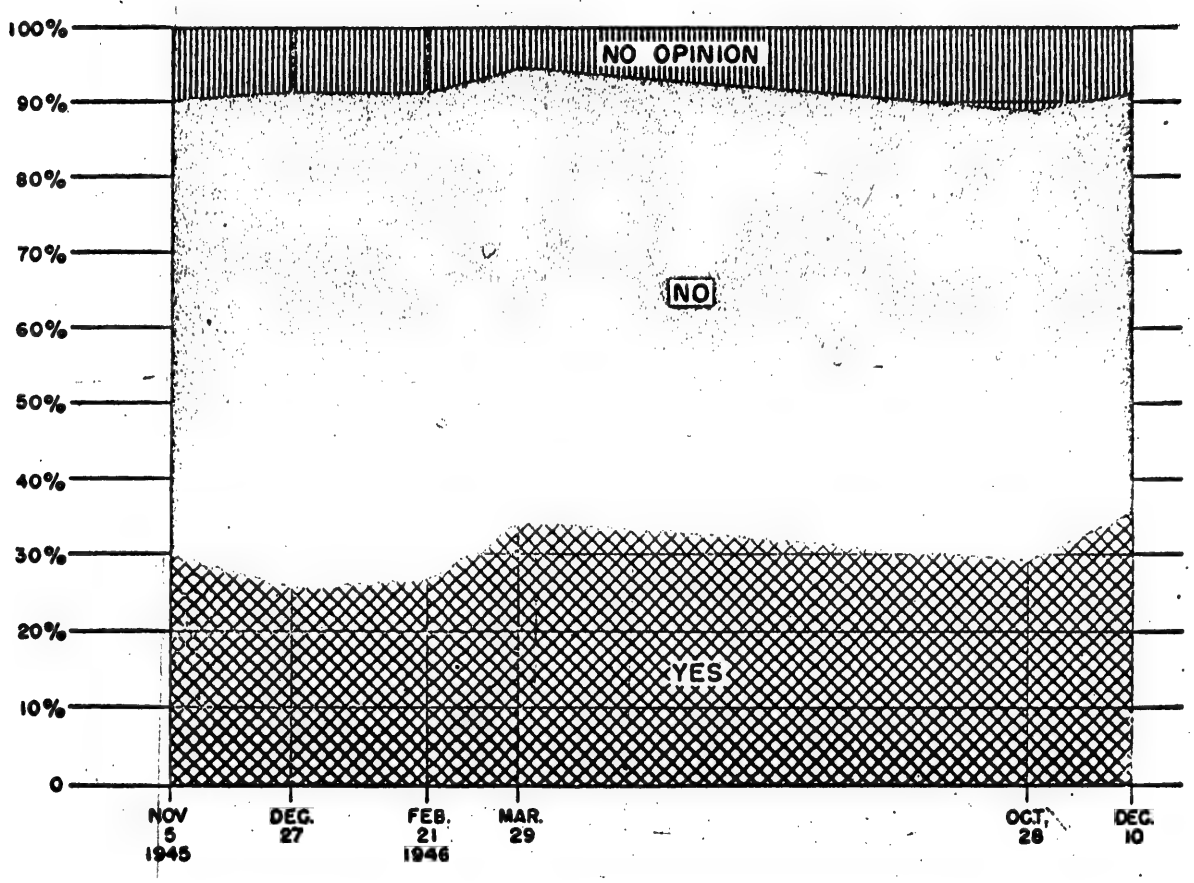
Political interest and consciousness is increasingly evident among Berliners, with but very few people indicating that they have no party preference.

Party membership (regardless of party) is restricted to about 3% of the people in the American Zone. Membership is slightly higher among residents in the American and British Sectors of Berlin.



REORIENTATION

HUMILIATION OF THE OCCUPATION

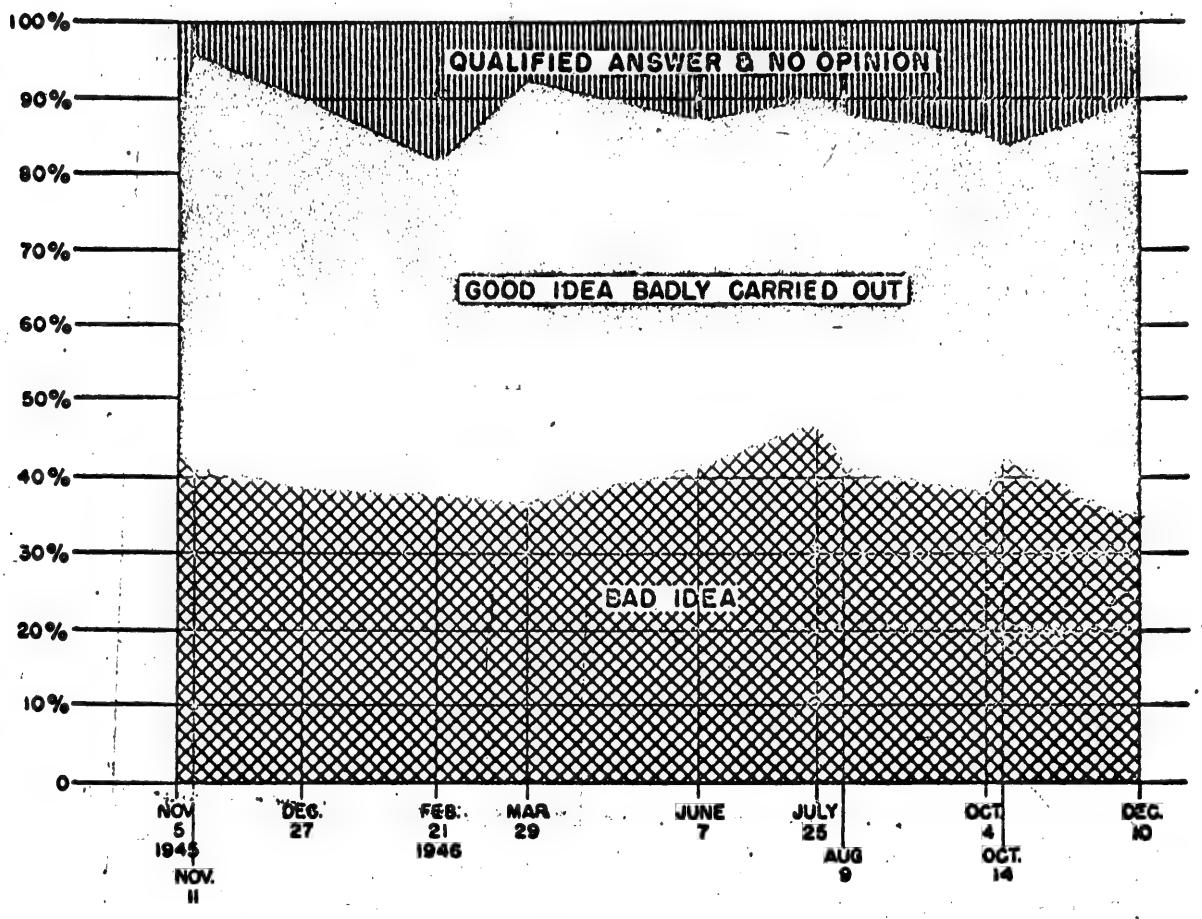


"In your opinion is the occupation of Germany by foreign powers a national humiliation?"

It is difficult to comprehend the mental processes of a people of which well over half say the occupation of their country by foreign powers is not a national humiliation. A possible explanation is that the answers are given in terms of humiliation to the individual rather than to the nation, and in view of the fact that Germans in the American Zone say that the occupation is less harsh than they expected, they may consider themselves more fortunate than humiliated. Another possible answer is that it again domonstrates the readiness of the Germans to follow regardless of who may lead.

Nevertheless, the proportion saying that it is not a humiliation shows a slight downward trend while the other group — those who say the occupation is a humiliation — reveals some gains. The group holding no opinion remains comparatively constant.

NATIONAL SOCIALISM - GOOD IDEA OR BAD IDEA



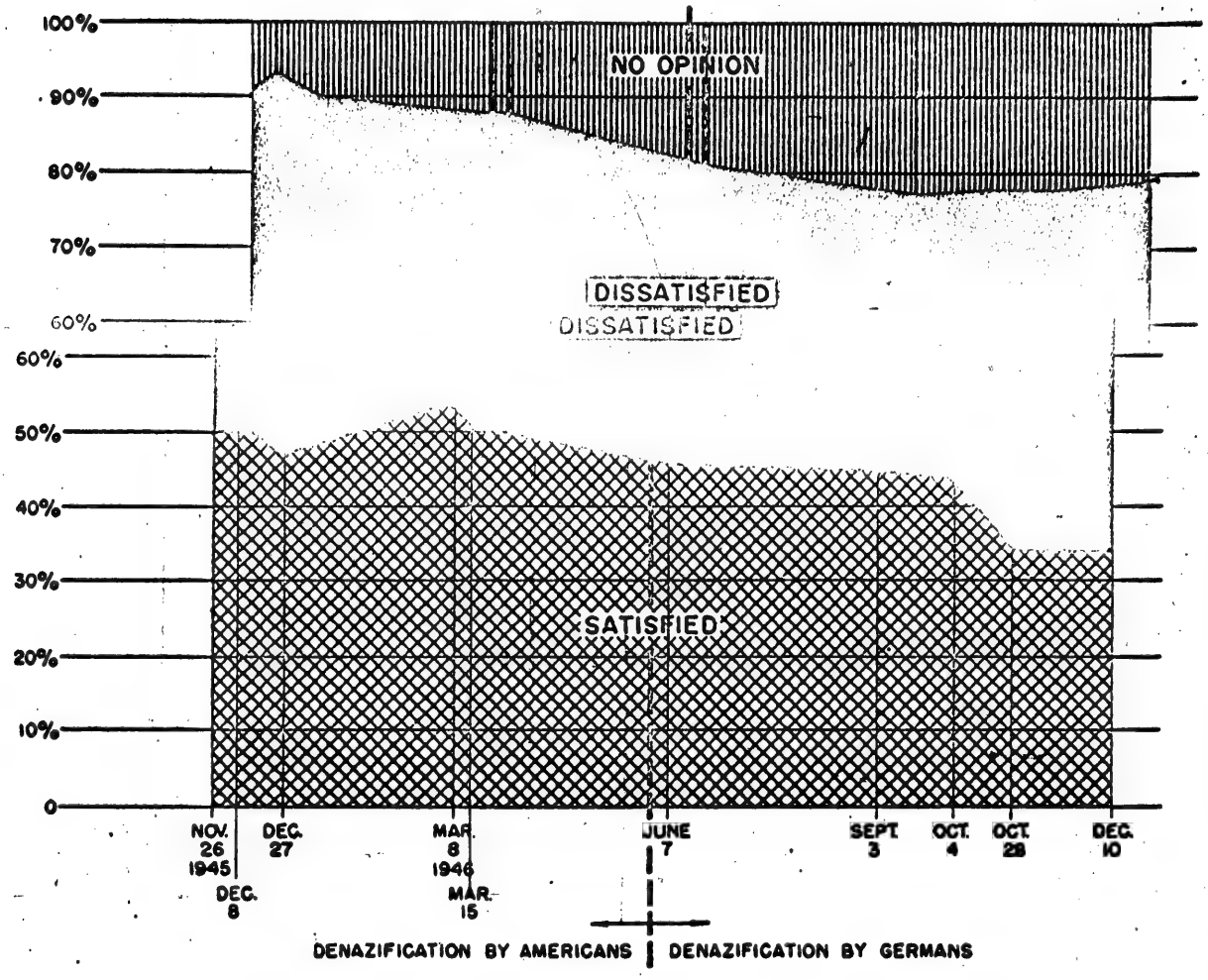
"Do you think that National Socialism was a bad idea or good idea badly carried out?"

This question, asked eleven times over a period of 13 months, reveals that more people believe National Socialism was a good idea badly carried out than think it was a bad idea. Only twice was the preponderance of opinion slightly reversed in the other direction.

The average for the eleven studies shows 47% thinking that National Socialism was a good idea, badly carried out; 41% saying it was a bad idea; and 12% holding no opinion on the question.

The category, "qualified answer," comprises a very small proportion who say, " National Socialism was both good and bad."

SATISFACTION WITH DENAZIFICATION



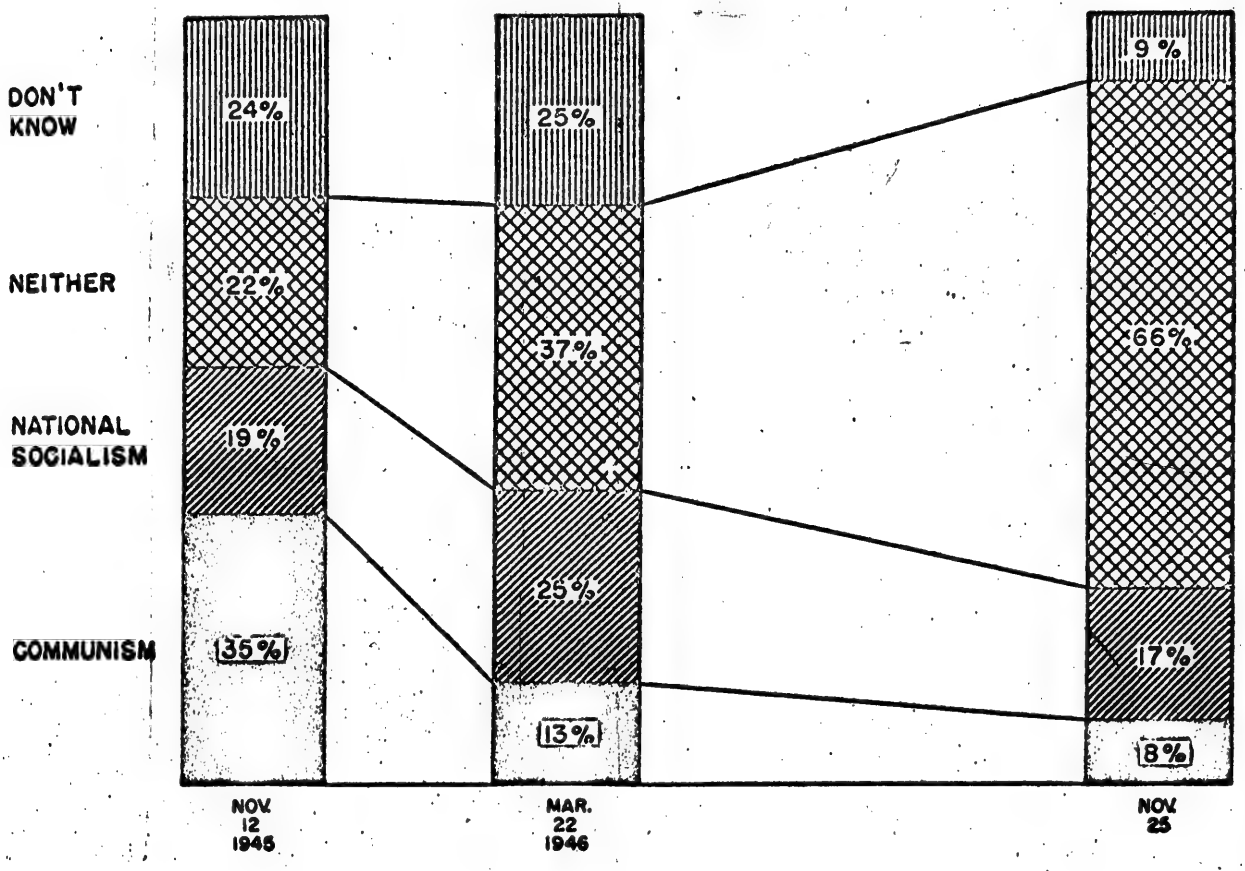
"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way in which denazification is being carried out?"

The trend in attitudes shows that since November, 1945 satisfaction with the administration of denazification has declined.

A constant decrease is noted, with 31% indicating satisfaction in December, 1946 contrasted with 50% in November, 1945 and 57% in March, 1946.

On the other hand, the proportions either expressing outright dissatisfaction or having no opinion have both increased in size.

COMPARISON BETWEEN COMMUNISM AND NATIONAL SOCIALISM

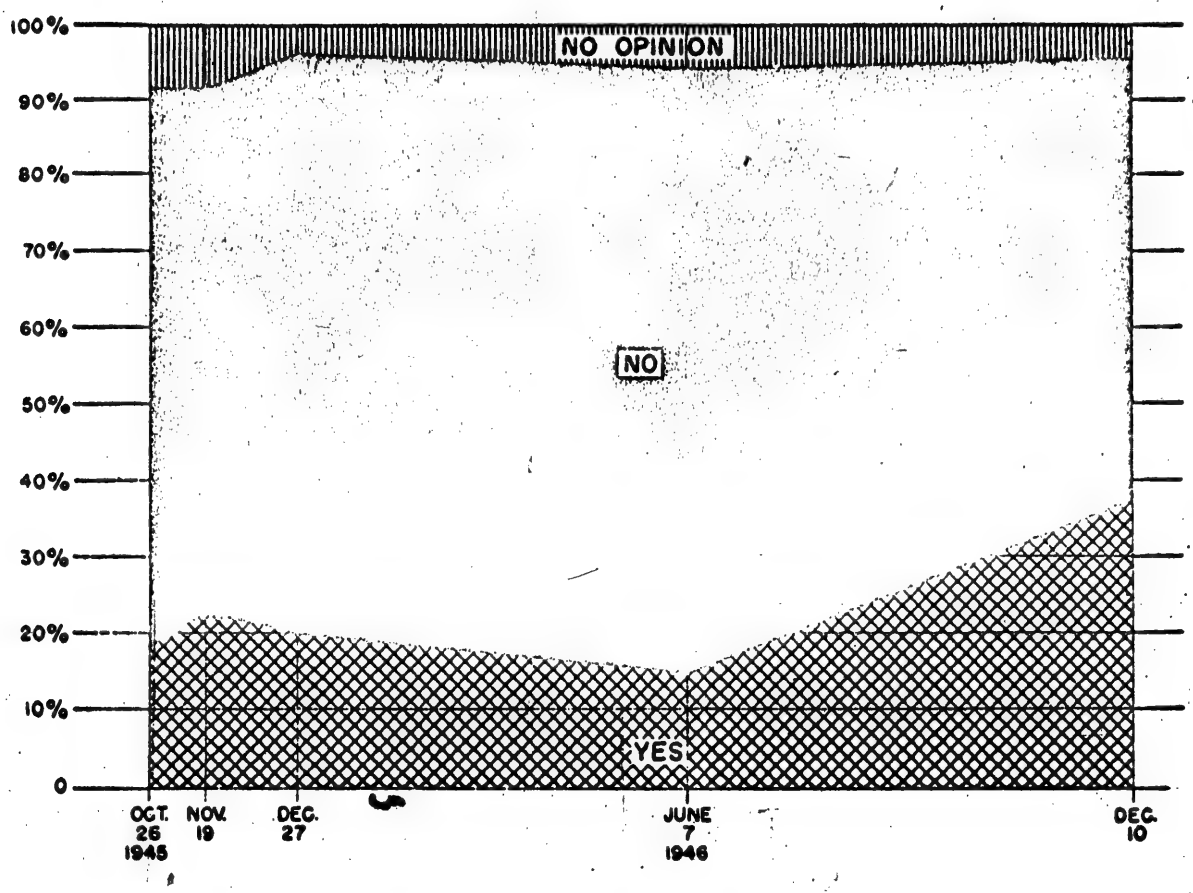


"If you had a choice between Communism and National Socialism, which would you prefer?"

Of noteworthy interest is the fact that the proportion of the German population in the American Zone who say they prefer NEITHER Communism nor National Socialism rose from 22% to 66% in the year between November, 1945 and November, 1946.

This increase was made at the expense of the proportion voting for Communism. In addition, a considerable decrease is noted in those holding no opinion. Unfortunately, however, the group favoring National Socialism shows little change. The support which gave the NSDAP its power appears still to hold firmly to its convictions.

ACCEPTANCE OF WAR GUILT



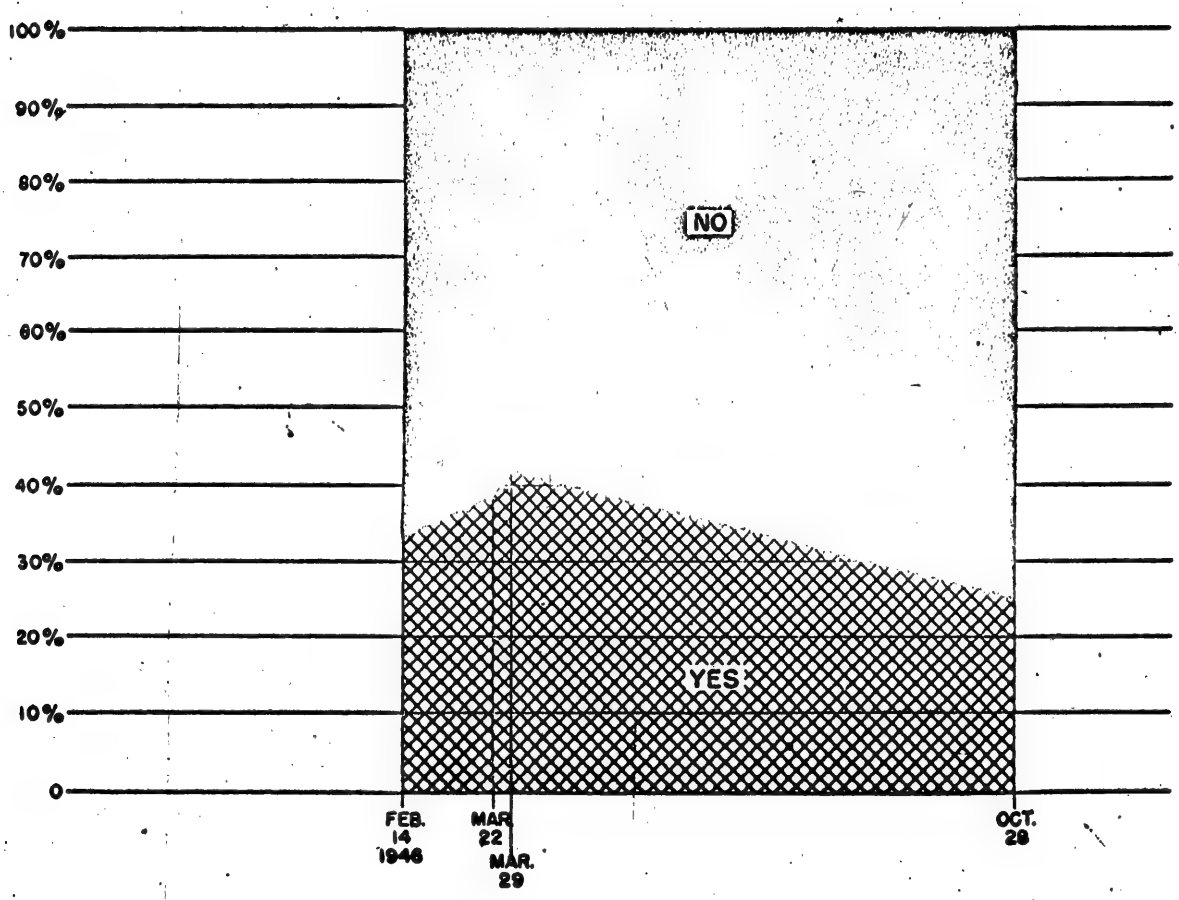
"Do you think the entire German population is responsible for the war because they permitted a government to come into power which planned to plunge the whole world into war?"

Regardless of how well the German population may react to attempts at reeducation, they refuse to see any connection in their support of a warlike government and their responsibility for the war.

About seven in ten people say that the Germans are not responsible for the war in answer to this question. Other attempts to gain admission of war guilt have received similar negative reaction.

One bright spot is the fact that a considerable and significant increase has been noted between June and December 1946 in the proportion exhibiting willingness to accept war guilt. In this interval, the group increased in size from 15% to 28%, while an almost similar decrease is noted in the proportion denying their responsibility.

INCIDENCE OF RUMORS



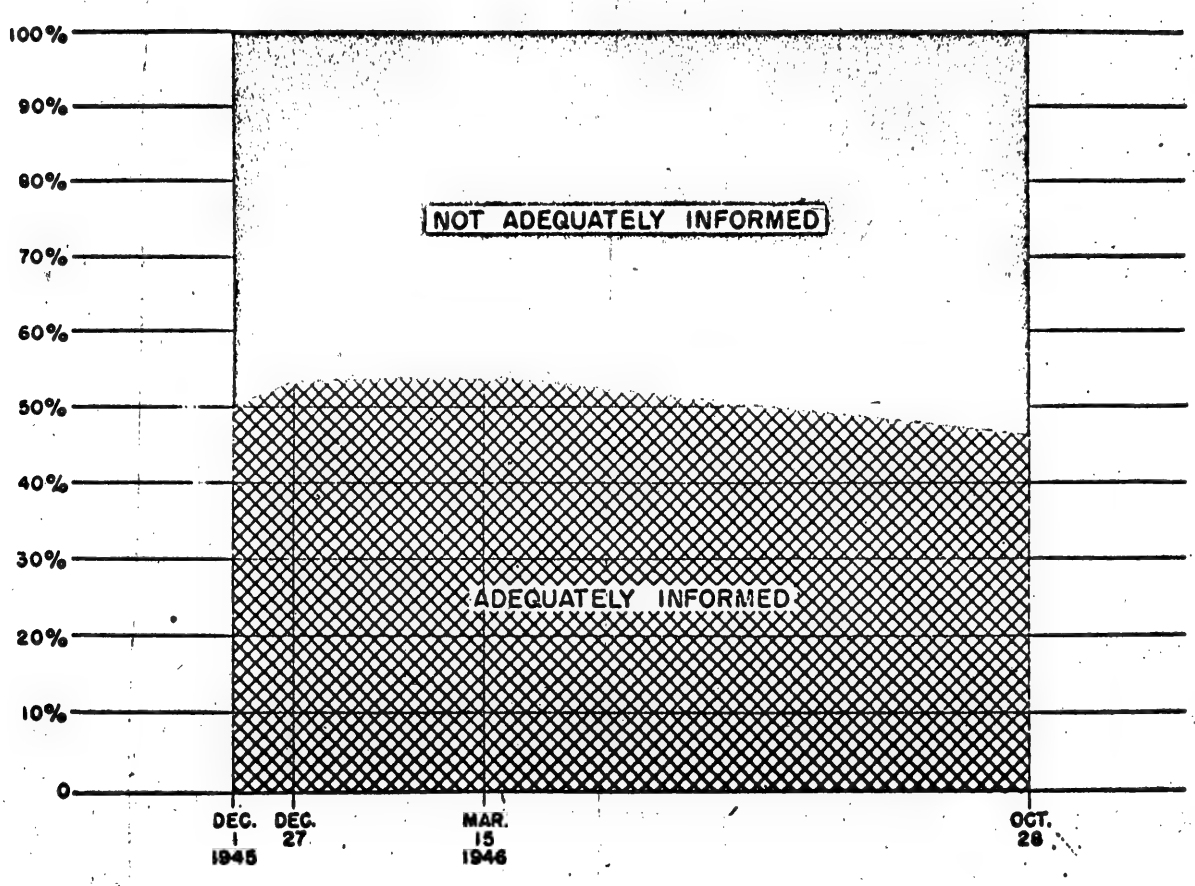
"Have you heard any disturbing rumors recently?"

Approximately one in three people indicate that they are troubled by rumors which they hear.

Interestingly enough, the rumors heard are not of the type commonly referred to as "over-the-fence gossip". The rumor heard most frequently — and receiving by far more mentions than all other rumors combined — is that of an impending war with Russia.

These rumors, strange as it may seem, are most often heard and expressed by the people who might be classified as "better class" — the more educated, those in the upper socio-economic and occupation levels and persons living in large cities.

ADEQUACY OF POLITICAL INFORMATION



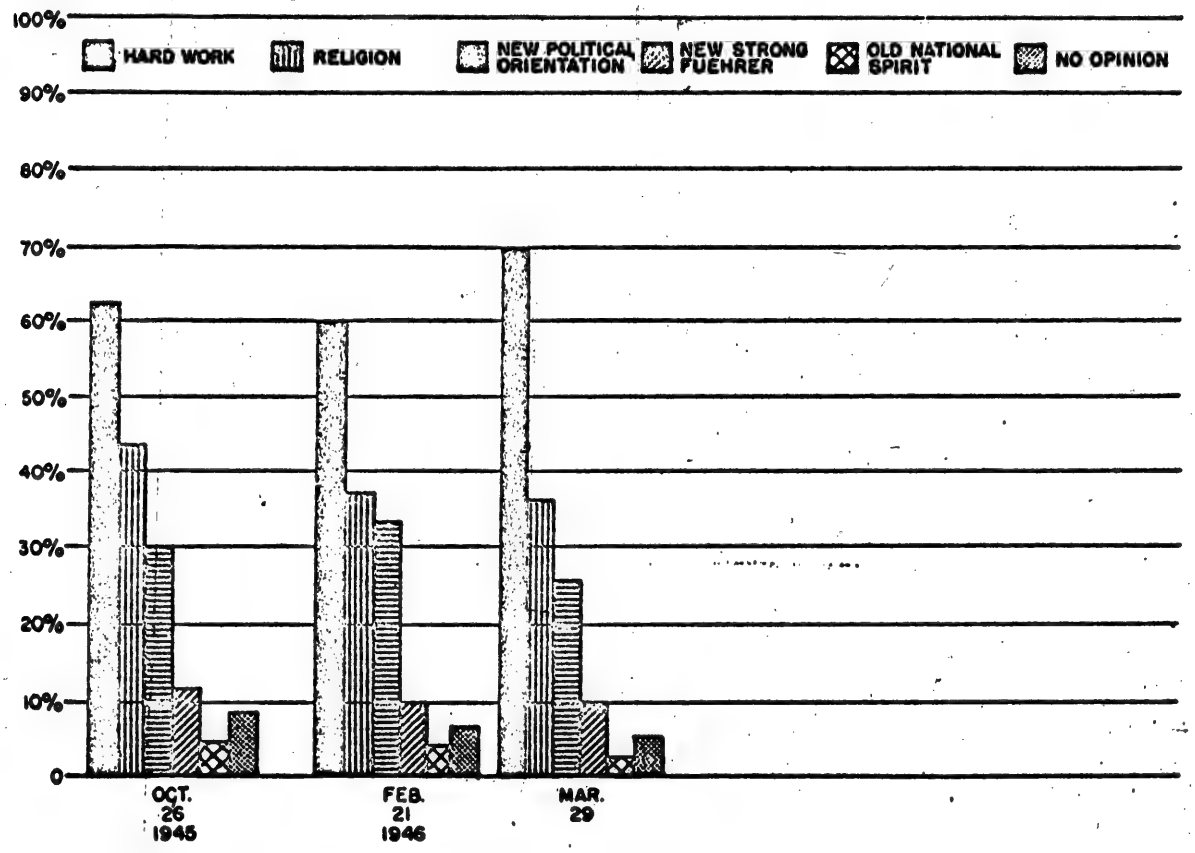
"Are you sufficiently well informed about political events?"

Only half the people interviewed say that they consider themselves sufficiently well informed about political events.

Information — unbiased and trustworthy — is a necessary function in a democratic state. This same type of information is also invaluable in the teaching of democratic processes.

The cause for this expressed inadequacy of information about political events does not lie in a low incidence of radio listening or newspaper readership (see MEDIA). It must, therefore, be construed as either a lack of desire for information, a lack of trust in the information provided or a lack of sufficient information as such.

HOW BEST TO ACCOMPLISH RECONSTRUCTION



"How do you think the reconstruction of Germany can best be accomplished?"

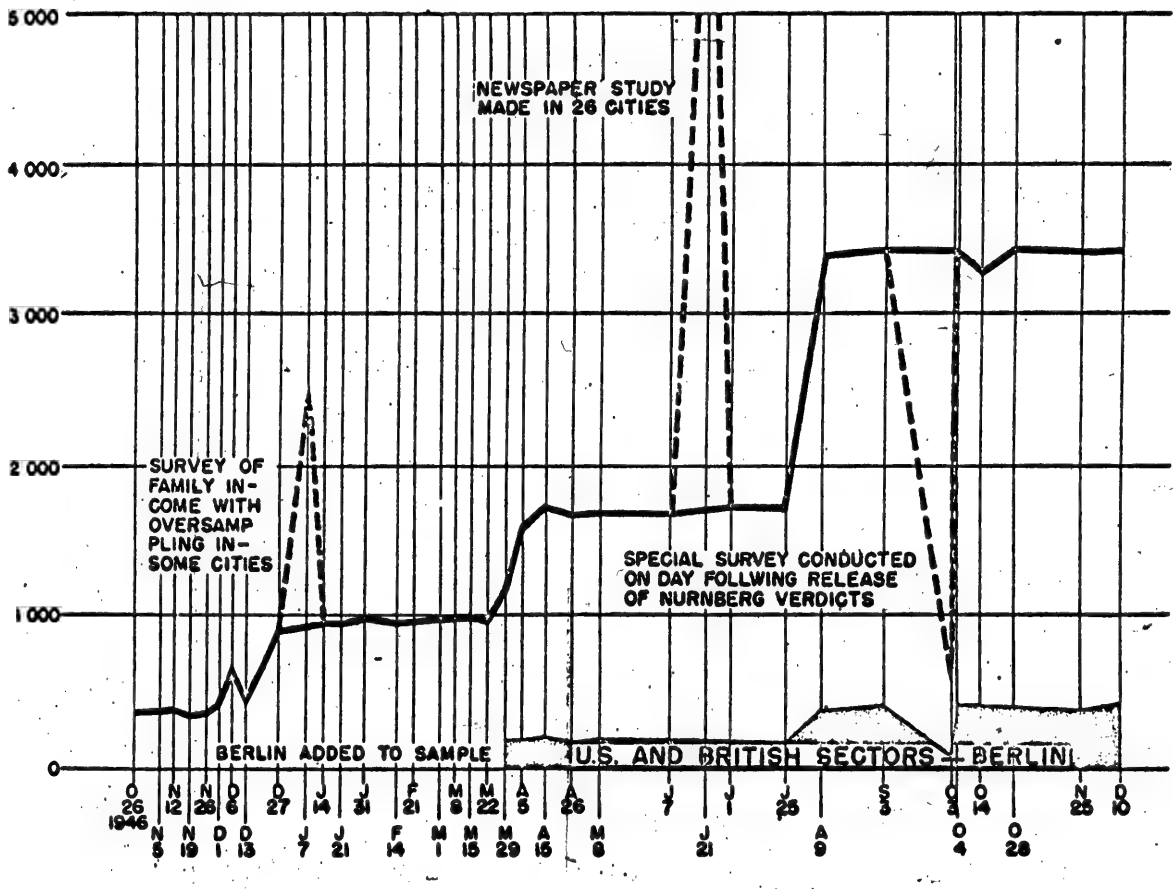
A majority of the people in the American Zone take a realistic view toward the reconstruction of Germany and say that the best way to accomplish it is through "hard work."

Approximately four in ten people think that "religion" will clear the rubble, reestablish the economy, reconstruct the bombed cities and place Germany once again as a self-supporting member in the family of nations.

Of danger is that group, between 10% and 15%, who call for a new strong Fuehrer and/or the rebirth of the old national spirit in the time of Bismarch and Frederick the Great to assume responsibility for the reconstruction. An additional three in ten talk hopefully about "new political orientation." Of what type and administered by what agency was not signified.

The answers, it will be noted, total more than 100% since respondents often selected more than one, from a given list of alternatives.

SIZE OF THE SAMPLE



The chart indicates the growth in size of the survey sample utilized by the Opinion Surveys Section in conducting the studies presented in this report.

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4	25 Mar 46	Incomes and Expenditures of German Families in the American Zone — Winter 1946
5	1 Apr 46	Special Political Survey — Winter 1946
6	20 Apr 46**	Law Number 3
7	11 May 46**	Reactions to Recent Revisions in the De-Nazification Program
8	1 Jun 46**	Reactions to the New Tax Laws
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10	21 Jun 46	Attitudes Toward Politics as a Career for the Coming Generation in Germany
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12	28 Jun 46	Attitudes of Some Bavarian School Children
13	28 Jun 46	A Preliminary Study of Book Reading in Germany
14	6 Jul 46	Mail to Stimme Amerikas
14-A	8 Jul 46	German Attitudes Toward the Expulsion of German Nationals from Neighboring Countries
15	27 Jul 46	Relative Effects of Food Scarcity in Two Countries
16	7 Aug 46	Press Release; German Opinion About the Nuremberg Trials
17	8 Aug 46	Attitudes Toward International Leadership in Germany Compared with Attitudes in Seven Other Countries

* Approximate date of publication
** Date of publication in Information Control Intelligence Summary

umber	Date	Title
18	14 Aug 46	A Study of Food Consumption and Attitudes Toward Rationing and General Health of the Population
19	19 Aug 46	Basic Attitudes Explored by the German Attitude Scale
20	27 Aug 46	Preliminary Study of Motion Picture Attendance and Attitudes
21	25 Sep 46	Attitude Towards Licensed Newspapers in Some American Occupied Areas
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24	22 Oct 46	Mannheim Attitudes Toward Negro Troops
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27	13 Nov 46	German American Relations in Germany: Frequencies of Group Contacts
28	14 Nov 46	An Investigation to Determine any Changes in Attitude of Native Germans Toward the Expellees in Wuerttemberg-Baden
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RESTRICTED

SOME ATTITUDES TOWARD THE SCHOOL SYSTEM IN WUERTTEMBERG-BADEN

Report Number 61

12 June 1947

ICD Opinion Surveys
OMGUS APO 742
Berlin Germany

RESTRICTED

INTRODUCTION ...

In response to a request from Education and Religious Affairs Branch of IA & C in Wuerttemberg-Baden, the Opinion Surveys Unit there prepared three questions to be asked of a sample of the German population of that Land. A total of 650 individuals were interviewed, the sample being made up in such a fashion as to represent a true cross-section of the adult (18 and older) population. Interviewing was carried out in 49 communities during the first three weeks of May, 1947.

The questions were designed to gather data relative to a) satisfaction with the type of instruction available in schools today, b) information about the fact that it is largely children from the more prosperous and higher social classes who have a chance to receive training according to their abilities, c) disposition toward closer public inspection and observation of public schools through an elected school board within each Kreis (county).

SUMMARY ...

1. A solid majority (62%) of the public in this Land express satisfaction with the ability of the schools, under normal conditions, to fill the needs of German youth.

2. Only a minority (30%) believe that school children can receive training as far as their abilities are suited. Most people believe that such complete training depends upon the financial and social position of the parents (44%), or that this at least plays a part in determining how much education the child may receive (12%).

3. A large majority (71%) supported the idea of Kreis-wide elected schoolboards.

4. Leadership groups -- the well-educated, men, residents of large towns and cities -- are more dissatisfied with the presently constituted school system than are the poorly educated, the women, or small town and village residents.

5. Catholics are more ready to disclaim information about, interest in, or readiness to judge public school matters. Perhaps they rely more often upon some private schools and schools which are dominated, as to program, by the clergy.

6. The large majority which supports a publicly elected schoolboard would probably be fairly unstable under the impact of leadership persuasion. On the other hand, if all or nearly all important leadership groups should support such a plan, the majority can be predicted to be maintained at a high level.

7. Opposition to an elected schoolboard seems to be offered by those who want to avoid "political party strife," those who affirm that this is a matter for "expert" judgment, and those who are well satisfied with the school system as it is known today, that is, by some of those who know it least well. The best educated stand more in opposition to this proposal, too, although in general they are more critical of the school system. On the other hand, the plan appeals to most people largely on its merits as offering an opportunity for local guidance and supervision of local matters.

SATISFACTION WITH THE PRESENT SCHOOL SYSTEM ...

Asked whether the teaching plan and type of instruction in schools can fill the needs of German youth, a solid majority (62%) agree that they can under normal conditions. Just as many (18%) deny the proposition as are unable to judge (20%). Lack of opinion on this issue is not only a matter of education, although one-fifth (22%) of those with seven or less years education chose neither alternative while only one-tenth (9%) of the college people did the same. However, a large minority of the old people over 60 years (32%) failed to expres an opinion, and nearly as many people in villages (29%) put themselves in the same position. More Catholics, too, (26%) were unable to judge than Protestants (16%).

Dissatisfaction with the present school system was more apparent among men (23%) than among women (14%), and among the college-educated (36%) than the grade school respondents (13%).

AWARENESS OF ECONOMIC BIAS IN SCHOOL SYSTEM ...

A plurality (44%) definitely believe that economic bias so operates in the school system that not all children receive training according to their abilities, and a few more (12%) think that some force of this type can be observed. On the other hand three in ten (30%) are convinced that the scope of education is fitted to the abilities of schoolchildren.

Most insistent in denying that economic bias plays a part are the well-educated, younger people, women, Protestants, former NSDAP members, and residents of Stuttgart. These heterogeneous groups seem to be variously motivated in this direction. Rationalization of class advantages may certainly play a part in such an assertion by the college group, the Protestants and the relatively well-educated or higher class PGs. The youth of Germany may be tending to exhibit, in this response, the hope and energy of the young who feel that material obstacles can be overcome for ideal advantages. Stuttgart residents, on the other hand, are probably reflecting in their replies the relatively better opportunities in the large cities as compared with opportunities in the countryside. The outlook of women, as compared with men, is undoubtedly more conservative. More satisfied with the school system as it is today, they are more prepared to feel that this system provides the opportunities desired for their children. Possibly women, too, are more often predisposed than men to reject a school system which introduces radical reorientation of family life around special abilities of the youth. Evidence from other studies indicates that women hold firmly to well-established status groups.

LARGE MAJORITY FAVOR ELECTED SCHOOL BOARD SUPERVISION ...

A large majority (71%) of residents of Wuerttemberg-Baden approve the proposal that a school board be elected in each Kreis to supervise school activities there. Only a very few (12%) do not like the idea, and the remainder (17%) hold "no opinion" on the issue.

Comments made at the time of interviewing lead to the interpretation that those who oppose an election of a school board are willing to bow to authority -- that of the teaching profession as well as that of the government at a local level. This opposition group was largely of the opinion that the present set of controls among teachers, or as imposed by the local mayors, is enough supervision of the school system. Others among these dissenters commented to the effect that an election means political strife and, on that ground alone, should not be held. A few denied that any real problem is apparent in the school system today other than the material difficulties -- lack of supplies and qualified teachers -- resulting from the war. In the large, then, people who oppose an election of local school boards are people who have the greatest confidence and faith in the school system as presently constituted. In the end, college educated people are relatively more critical of the school system, but are not as much in favor of seeing an elected body supervise the school system as are the relatively more satisfied, less well educated citizens.

REPLIES TO QUESTIONS INTERRELATED ...

The large majority of the population which supports the election of a school board is more firmly convinced that economic bias operates to deny some children the training that their abilities would seem to demand. Exactly half (50%) of this majority straightforwardly state that economic bias exists in the schools today, and another one in seven (13%) believe this plays some role. On the other hand, among people who oppose the election fewer (39%) accept the thought of economic bias, although about one in seven (15%) also credit some force to this factor.

Those who oppose an election also tend more frequently (77%) to maintain that the needs of German youth are being served in the present school system than do those who claim that an election should be held (66% are satisfied today).

Again, those who frankly recognize that an economic bias does exist in the present school system are significantly less often satisfied (62%) with the schools today than are those who reject the thought of such bias (80% are satisfied with the schools).

TABULAR RESULTS

"Do you believe that the teaching plan and the type of instruction used until now in the schools is in a position, under normal conditions, to meet the needs of German youth?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	Cases
TOTAL Wuerttemberg-Baden	62%	18%	20%	650
NSDAP Membership				
Member	63	25	12	85
Member in family	63	22	15	95
Non-member	63	16	21	463
Age				
Under 30	64	19	17	125
30-39	67	18	15	146
40-49	65	20	15	172
50-59	58	18	24	102
60 or older	56	12	32	97
Religion				
Catholic	56	18	26	216
Protestant	66	18	16	393
Sex				
Men	58	23	19	277
Women	67	14	19	365
Education				
7 years or less	65	13	22	226
8 years	62	20	18	274
9-11 years	65	22	13	87
12 or more years	55	36	9	53
Size of Community				
Under 1000	59	13	28	101
1000-1999	62	9	29	100
2000-9999	63	18	19	130
10,000-99,999	67	21	12	128
100,000-249,999	56	25	19	99
Stuttgart	71	20	9	82

"Under this school system can all children receive training according to their particular abilities, or does this depend upon the financial and social position of their parents?"

	Can	Depends	Both	No opinion	Cases
TOTAL Wuerttemberg-Baden	30%	44%	12%	14%	650
NSDAP Membership					
Member	40	44	9	7	85
Member in family	32	46	14	8	95
Non-member	29	44	12	15	463
Age					
Under 30	34	48	7	11	125
30-39	32	43	14	11	146
40-49	29	52	11	8	172
50-59	29	40	14	17	102
60 or older	29	31	13	27	97
Religion					
Catholic	23	46	12	19	216
Protestant	34	43	12	11	393
Sex					
Men	26	50	14	10	277
Women	33	40	10	17	365
Education					
7 years or less	23	50	7	19	226
8 years	35	36	16	13	274
9-11 years	33	53	7	7	87
12 or more years	36	47	15	2	53
Size of Community					
Under 1000	27	38	8	27	101
1000-1999	29	45	6	20	100
2000-9999	25	56	11	8	130
10,000-99,000	31	49	10	10	128
100,000-249,999	33	27	27	13	99
Stuttgart	44	46	6	4	82

"What do you think of a committee for inspection of the schools, in each county, which is elected particularly for this purpose by the people?"

	Favor	Oppose	No opinion	Cases
TOTAL Wuerttemberg-Baden	71%	12%	17%	650
Education				
7 years or less	75	8	17	226
8 years	70	11	19	274
9-11 years	71	22	7	87
12 or more years	62	28	10	53
Size of Community				
Under 1000	63	8	29	101
1000-1999	65	11	24	100
2000-9999	78	10	12	130
10,000-99,999	76	15	9	128
100,000-249,999	66	15	19	99
Stuttgart	78	18	4	82

RESTRICTED

GERMAN ATTITUDES TOWARD A PEACE TREATY AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE

Report Number 62

14 June 1947

ICD Opinion Surveys
OMGUS APO 742
Berlin Germany

RESTRICTED

During the last week in April and first week in May 1947, 600 people living in Hesse, Wuerttemberg-Baden and in Berlin were queried regarding their knowledge of and attitudes toward the Moscow Conference then recently ended. Other questions dealt with the general problem of a peace treaty for Germany. Because of the limitations of the sample, the results cannot be considered representative of Zonal opinion, but they no doubt indicate the direction of that opinion.

Knowledge of the conference ...

Most people knew a conference had been held and that it had broken up. Asked, "What are the latest news reports you have heard about the Moscow conference?" replies varied from the simple statement that it had ended, to more specific replies such as reference to Secretary Marshall's radio address on his return home, or reports on the disunity of the Allies. Comparatively few felt unable to answer the question. Their replies follow:

	Berlin	Hesse	W-Baden
Conference broke up without results	31%	28%	24%
Disunity of Allies and Russian obstruction	27	16	34
Continuation of conference next fall	21	14	10
Conference has ended	18	24	9
Marshall's radio address	8	2	3
Discussion of Austrian and German treaties	2	1	2
Heard nothing	4	5	6
No opinion, no answer	3	15	14
Sample:	136	244	219

(Percentages add to more than 100 because some people mentioned more than one thing.)

Accomplishments of the conference ...

Not surprisingly, majority opinion held that nothing was accomplished by the conference. A few, however, took a more sanguine view, some of them pointing out positive measures helpful to Germany, others taking solace in the fact that Allied differences were at last in the open. The question and typical comments are:

"So far as you can judge, what did they accomplish at the Moscow Conference?"

	Berlin	Hesse	W-Baden
No results: "They have accomplished nothing, it was a huge bluff"; "They could have saved the trip to Moscow"; etc.	53%	46%	44%
Nothing for Germany: "I find nothing - at least when we came into the discussion"; "For Germany, not a thing"	13	7	10
Allied differences clarified: "The Allies told the Russians off"; "They agreed on minor matters. On main questions, Molotov denied the reasonable demands of England and America. Perhaps the one result, which the Russians already knew, was to find out what America wishes"; "An open break was avoided"; etc.	10	7	10
Release of PWs: "That the PWs should be returned by Dec. 1948, whereat the Russians later tried to make excuses"; "The PWs should get better treatment and soon be released"	7	14	2
Something positive for Germany: "No more machinery will be taken from Germany to Russia"; "We shall have a central government"; "Germany has not lost the Saar and Ruhr"; etc.	6	*	4
Further discussion of Austrian treaty: "They arrived at better understanding on some points in the Austrian treaty"; "England asked for no reparations from Austria"	1	1	5
Division of Ruhr coal: "France is to get less coal"; "Germany is to get coal she needs for her economy, the rest to go to France"	4	2	1
Don't know	11	24	29

(Percentages total more than 100 because some people gave more than one answer. *Less than ½ of 1%.)

Reasons for the lack of progress ...

The people interviewed tended to put the blame for the negative results at Moscow on the Russians, or on a corollary reason, the division between the East and the West. Berliners particularly thought the Russians were responsible. Others spoke of the disunity of the Allies as the reason.

"According to your opinion why was there so little progress?"

	Berlin	Hesse	W-Baden
Russia is mostly to blame: "I think Molotov is to blame. The Russians want to overrun the whole world, and the rest don't want communism, especially America"; "The Russians don't want clarification. They want to rearm for they know the secret of the atom bomb. Molotov is treacherous, you have only to look at his face" ; " Because Russia insists on sticking to the Potsdam agreement"; etc.	49%	31%	41%
Disunity of the Allies: "None of the great powers will make concessions"; Mutual distrust and insecurity because of the atom bomb"; The one wants this, the other that" ; etc.	23	18	19
Differences between the East and the West: "The difference between the capitalists and the proletariat powers is too great"; " Both the East and the West are at cross-purposes over Germany's future"; The East wants to tear down, the West to build up";	15	17	12
Each of the Allies followed selfish interests: " It all depends on world economy and thus each is very careful and will hang on to his trump card";	15	10	9
Miscellaneous reasons	1	4	1
Don't know; No answer	5	23	19

(Percentages total more than 100 because some people gave more than one reason.)

... Though many people believe that a delay in signing a treaty would make for milder terms, majority opinion favors a treaty now, regardless of the effect on the terms. This is seen in replies to two questions:

"Do you think if agreement was reached on a treaty now, the terms would be harsher or milder than one drawn up in the future?"

	Berlin	Hesse	W-Baden
Harsher	58%	39%	42%
Milder	17	16	20
Same	18	21	17
No opinion	7	24	21

"Would you prefer a treaty now even though you know the terms would be harsher than in a later one?"

	Berlin	Hesse	W-Baden
Yes	65%	57%	52%
No	31	27	32
No opinion	4	16	16

... Except in Berlin, majorities either thought it will take more than two years to complete a German treaty, or had no idea how long it would take. In Berlin, majority opinion held that the treaty would be signed by the summer of 1948.

"Do you think that the Allies will be able to agree on a German treaty by the summer of 1948?"

	Berlin	Hesse	W-Baden
Yes	57%	49%	48%
No	38	30	38
Don't know	5	21	14

Those who thought there would be no treaty by 1948 tended to be very pessimistic indeed about the prospects. The majority believe the treaty would "never" be signed, either because of Allied disunity, or Russian obstruction, or a new war.

What the treaty should include ...

Two questions were asked designed to get at what people think should be included in the treaty. Most of the Germans interviewed had ideas on the subject, but replies to both questions show again the present German preoccupation with food and economic security. The first question read: "If you had a chance to talk with the people who are drafting the treaty what would you say to them?" The pattern of their replies together with typical comments are listed in order of frequency:

Would talk about:	Berlin	Hesse	W-Baden
The food situation: "The food and also the health situation of the German people and their children"; "Guarantee food for all the world"; "Germany's catastrophic food situation"; "Hunger"; etc.	38%	20%	25%
Industry, trade, exports: "Speed up the economy"; "Possibility of reconstruction"; "Provision for vital goods and raw materials so that things do not come to a complete standstill in Germany"; "Build up trade throughout the world again -- burning of coffee and wheat in some countries, hunger in others";	38	23	26
Boundaries and Zones: "I would propose same boundaries as in 1937"; "Return of the Ostgebiete to which Poland has no claim"; "The Eastern Question and all that pertains to it"; "That we shall be set up again as we were"	29	22	31
Reparations and financial problems: "If all factories are dismantled, how can we pay reparations"; "They should give up dismantling - then we can handle reparations";	33	7	14
Peace and order throughout the world: "Make peace as fast as possible"; "Fashion a peace that unlike Versailles will not lead to war"	12	13	19
Form of government: "Creation of a workable constitution"; "Germany will remain Germany, as a republic"; "A true democracy"; etc.	12	10	9

(Table continued on next page.)

Prisoners of War: "All PWs must be set free"	8%	16%	17%
Evacuees: "Evacuees should be returned to their own homes"	5	13	13
Chance for Germany to survive: "Just give us an inkling that we won't be completely ground under and will have prosperity";	10	12	11
Disarmament: "Should keep us under control so that we cannot rearm again"	4	*	2
Russia: "Russia shouldn't be permitted so much scope in Germany. We don't want to become communists"; "Agreement between Russia and U.S."	6	1	1
No opinion, No Answer	1	19	12

(Percentages total more than 100 because some people mentioned more than one subject.)

The second question which aimed to bring out German opinion on what the treaty should be like queried people as to what they thought was the most important point that they would like to see included in the treaty. The range of answers was quite similar to that on the preceding question. Again they spoke of economic reconstruction, of boundaries - especially to the east - of the return of PWs, of reparations, disarmament, form of government, etc. In comparing answers to this question with answers to the previous one, much less emphasis is seen here on "food." Evidently, given a chance to speak, these Germans would present their problems from the point of view of human need. But, in the traty, they would be most interested in matters of boundaries and possibilities of trade and industry. Probably sympathetic treatment of the matters is what most people would like to suggest. The following table shows the grouping of their answers.

	Berlin	Hesse	W-Baden
Boundary settlements	62%	39%	42%
Trade, industry, exports	60	33	42
Reparations and finance	41	11	21
Form of government	35	12	13
Zonal boundaries	22	16	14
Food problem	22	6	14
Disarmament	18	11	14
Prisoners of War	11	14	25
No opinion, No answer	3	24	14
International cooperation	12	9	13
Evacuees	7	11	20
Coal	5	3	5
Unemployment	7	1	6

(Percentages total more than 100 because some people mentioned more than one subject.)

Things will be better after the treaty is signed ...

Whatever the terms of the treaty, the people interviewed were certain that the mere fact of settlement will lead to improved times for Germany. Asked, "Do you think the conclusion of a treaty will mean better times for Germany?" opinions divided as follows: Berlin, 85% Yes, 13% No, 2% No Opinion; in Hesse, 74% Yes, 7% No, 19% No Opinion; in Wuerttemberg-Baden, 79% Yes, 7% No and 14% No Opinion.

Most important problems facing the Allies ...

The Germans interviewed in this study think that there are two leading problems (aside from the German treaty) facing the Allies: one is the problem of Allied unity or disunity; and the second is the problem of food, not only as it affects Germany but the whole world. Others see more particular problems as most pressing -- differences in the Balkans or Middle East, for example, the economic problems, clash of ideologies, and so on. The question and the groupings of replies are:

"Outside of the German peace treaty, what is the most important problem facing the Allies today?"

	Berlin	Hesse	W-Baden
Problem of feeding the world	29%	34%	25%
To arrive at unity	28	19	29
World economic situation	19	15	6
Balkan, Middle East problems, Greece, Turkey, Dardanelles, etc.	10	5	8
Different ideologies	7	2	3
Denazification	1	2	2
Miscellaneous mentions	10	9	10
No opinion	10	26	23

Most important problems facing Germany ...

Aside from the treaty, food is considered the most pressing problem in Germany today. It takes precedence over all other mentions, including economic reconstruction.

"Outside of the peace treaty, what is the most important problem facing Germany today?"

	Berlin	Hesse	W-Baden
Food	55%	63%	68%
Economic reconstruction	43	32	26
Zonal divisions	11	9	4
Housing, clothing, etc.	6	6	10
Political problems	8	3	5
Evacuee question	2	7	11
Coal	3	5	1
Currency	2	4	4
Others: PWs, Black Market, Peace, etc.	15	16	13
No opinion	3	6	2

(Percentages total more than 100 because some people mentioned more than one problem.)

Declassified
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GERMAN OPINION TOWARD THE PROSPECTIVE PEACE TREATY

Report Number 63

8 August 1947
ICD Opinion Surveys
OMGUS APO 742
Berlin Germany

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Declassified

INTRODUCTION ...

In June, 1947, the Opinion Surveys Section of the Information Control Division asked some questions probing into attitudes toward a German peace treaty. The questions were part of a regular cross-sectional study covering the American Zone of Germany and the British and American sectors of Berlin. The precision of the measurements analysed below is a function of the random selection of interviewees in more than 200 communities. The interviews were conducted by trained German interviewers. A previous study of attitudes toward a future peace treaty for Germany was reported by Opinion Surveys Section as Report # 62 (14 June 1947). Report # 62 presented results of a pilot study in Wuerttemberg-Baden, Hesse and Berlin only.

SUMMARY ...

* A majority of the public, looking back at the Moscow Conference, condemn the Russians for obstructionism. One-fourth of those questioned consider that the Conference definitively outlined the separate points of view held by the Allies or, at least, was conducted with good-will on all sides.

* A very large majority believe that a peace treaty means better times for Germany. If we consider only those expressing confidence in American efforts in general, an even larger majority look forward to an improvement in conditions after the writing of a peace treaty.

* Half the public sees little probability of an early settlement by the powers. But a large minority (35%) has some expectation of an Allied agreement in 1948. Those who expect agreement are more likely to be those who think the Allies are now making efforts toward unity. These people tend, heavily, to be drawn from the broad masses of the population, whereas critics and sceptics are much more often upper class, well-educated men, or former NSDAP members.

* All groups in the population would like to see the treaty provide, most importantly, for a revival of German trade and commerce. Sophisticated people suggest, as next in importance, provision for widened national boundaries, a unified democratic government, and relief from financial difficulties including reparation payments. Unsophisticated people speak in more simple terms, laying secondary stress on the return of PWs, evacuees, and a betterment of the food situation. Both groups probably intend the same thought -- the treaty should specifically provide for a betterment of living conditions in Germany. But both groups do not describe this thought in the same terms.

THE FINDINGS ...

The Moscow Conference in Retrospect ...

Each respondent was presented with a card containing four statements which described some of the attitudes which could be held toward the Moscow Conference. The four statements, briefly, presented a choice among "None of the powers tried to write a peace treaty," "Some statesmen tried, but most suggestions were turned back from one side," "The Four Powers outlined clearly their separate points of view and laid the ground for a new conference," and "All the Allies tried to reach agreement on a peace treaty." A bare majority (52%)

of the AMZON population selected the second proposition above as the one most closely expressing their opinion. Practical unanimity made it clear that the power felt to be obstructive is Russia. One-fourth of all those questioned in the Zone (25%) chose either the third or fourth statements, thereby expressing confidence in the good will of the Allies. Few (6%) condemned all the Allies in a body, and the remainder (17%) felt unable to judge the situation in these terms. (Complete tabulations of all questions reported are shown in Appendix.)

Reactions toward the Moscow Conference are colored by more general dispositions toward the Allies and toward the Americans. Thus nearly one-third (31%) of those who believe that the Americans are helping the reconstruction of Germany also believe that the Moscow Conference was characterized by complete good will on all sides or at least by the success of clearly outlining separate points of view. On the other hand, only one-fifth (19%) of those who hold that the Americans are hindering Germany's reconstruction take the same views. Similarly, two-fifths (41%) of those who believe that the Allies will succeed in uniting Germany before the end of the occupation also reasonably or confidently appraised the Moscow Conference. But, among those who deny that the Allies will succeed in uniting Germany, only one-fifth (19%) express similar reactions.

An appreciation of the major cleavages among the population on this issue are seen in the responses of some characteristic groups. Former members of the NSDAP are more ready to complain of the lack of Russian cooperation than are non-PGs. The best educated and the members of people grouped into the upper classes take the same stand, more frequently expressing cynicism than do the more poorly educated or representatives of the lower social and income groups.

Overwhelming Expectations for Betterment through Peace Treaty ...

Most people (82%) of those interviewed (even more in Berlin: 88%) say that the conclusion of a peace treaty means that things will be better for Germany. Few (8%) deny this, and about as many (10%) are unable to say. So generalized is this feeling that there are no significant differences among any of the major population groups. However, among those who credit the Americans with giving aid to German reconstruction, nine in ten (88%) look forward to an improvement in their lot after a peace treaty. But those who deny that we are helping Germany today less frequently (76%) expect such improvement. Only among very minor and tiny fractions of the population, then, can it be assumed there is some fear that the conclusion of a peace treaty will still further depress the living standard of the country.

Healthy Distrust of Early Settlement ...

About half the people (49%) do not expect that the Allies will have completed a peace treaty for Germany by the summer of 1948. Still, a large minority (35%) do believe that Allied unity on this matter will have been achieved by then. Those who are unable to estimate what will most likely take place (16%) form the remainder of the population.

The complexion of the minority which has some expectation of Allied agreement in 1948 is further revealed when replies to this question are compared with replies to the question testing reactions to the Moscow Conference. A majority (54%) of those who are confident that all four Allies tried their best to reach agreement in Moscow believe that agreement will be achieved next year. Fewer (42%) of those who observed that the grounds for a new conference had been firmly established at Moscow, expect agreement in 1948. And far fewer (29%) of those who lack faith in the efforts of one or all of the Allies are hopeful for next year's solution. Thus the public relations "line" following the break-up of the Moscow Conference has, if anything, sustained confidence in an early agreement among some people, but has not been accepted by the majority.

Those people, too, who believe that the Allies have helped reconstruct Germany, or who state that the Allies are working together successfully toward this end, or who consider that agreement upon a united Germany will one day be reached, are much more often disposed to rely upon 1948 for a solution than are those who deny these propositions. But the relationships here also point the way to a probable effect of a failure of the November Conference. Should this conference prove unproductive, in any real sense, not only can it be expected that the feeling of insecurity and the low morale will deepen, but that the confidence still resident here in the Americans and the Allies will continue to diminish.

It is noteworthy that such confidence as can be found today stems largely from the broad masses of people. The better educated the people are, the more likely they are to doubt that the Allies will meet on a common ground in 1948. This is also true of those higher in the social status scale. Men more than women, Protestants more than Catholics, and former NSDAP members more than non-members also exhibit the same scepticism. This patterning probably reflects not so much the slightly more frequent good will to be found for the Russians among the working groups of Germany as it reflects more frequent antipathy toward all the Allies, and particularly toward Russia, to be found among the better educated and the persistent Nazis.

Itemized Importance of a Peace Treaty ...

Everyone was asked: "Which are the most important points which you would like to see covered by the peace treaty?" Each point made was recorded and the replies were grouped into twelve different types of comments.

A plurality (43%) suggest that provision should be made for trade, industry and production to be soundly established in Germany. Coal, as a central feature in this revival, is often mentioned, as is transport. Comments to this point feature a longing for a relief from the present standard of living in Germany. Second most frequent mention (19%) is made of the national boundaries of Germany. Remarking about the necessity for solution of disputes over the Ruhr, the Oder-Neisse area, Czechoslovakian or Polish border, the principle component of this argument seemed to be an expression of "Lebensraum" theory. Just as frequently mentioned (19%) is a desire for the return of all prisoners of war. One in six people (16%) urge the unity of Germany and relief from Zonal boundaries. One in seven people (13%) call for a statement on reparations and other financial problems.

These people seemed to believe that international loans, currency reform and reparations are interrelated matters which need coordinated planning. A nearly equal percentage (13%) express desire for relief from the burden of the evacuees upon the German economy or, as evacuees, express a desire to return home to Czechoslovakia. Slightly fewer (12%) speak about the need for support and care in regard to food imports. A similar number (12%) urge that the treaty contain a description of the unified and democratic government which Germany should have in the future. Less than one in ten (8%) propose that provisions be stated for the demilitarization of Germany and provisions for a real and lasting peace free from war plants. Others comment about unemployment (6%) or about the need for international unity and cooperation, the building of the UN (5%). In the end only about one in seven people (13%) among the general public are unable to comment in reply to this question.

The nature of thinking which lies behind expression of support for and confidence in our efforts determines, to some degree, responses to this question. Those who believe in American help to Germany, or trust the Allies to cooperate in the end, or expect Allied agreement on a treaty by 1948 ... each of these groups tends to place less frequent emphasis upon territorial revisions, national boundary problems, financial problems, and considerations involving reparations to be paid by Germany.

These complexes are brought out by examination of the relative order of emphasis placed upon the various categorized points by separate population groups. The tables below demonstrate the mobility of some items as this mobility is related to the socio-economic class structure of the German society. The same relationships, as seen below, occur among groups with varying educational background.

QUESTION: "Which are the most important points which you would like to see covered by the peace treaty?"

Order of Frequency of Replies by Socio-Economic Status Groups

(4%) Upper Class	(28%) Upper Middle	(46%) Lower Middle	(22%) Lower Class
Trade	Trade	Trade	Trade
National Boundaries	National Boundaries	Prisoners of War	Prisoners of W.
Government Structure	Zonal Boundaries	National Boundaries	Evacuees
Reparations, Finance	Prisoners of War	Zonal Boundaries	Food
Zonal Boundaries	Reparations, Fin.	Food	Nat. Boundaries
International Cooperation	Govt. Structure	Reparations, Fin.	Zonal Boundar.
Demilitarization	Food	Evacuees	Reparations, Fin.
Prisoners of War	Evacuees	Govt. Structure	Govt. Structure
Evacuees	Demilitarization	Demilitarization	Unemployment
Food	Int. Cooperation	Unemployment	Demilitarization
Unemployment	Unemployment	Int. Cooperation	Int. Cooperation

Apparently, emphasis upon boundary problems of Germany is not considered to be as vital by the broad masses of the German public as it is by leadership groups. On the other hand, lower middle and lower class members are vitally interested in problems of direct bearing upon their daily lives-- the return of prisoners of war, the adjustment of the evacuee problem, or relief from food distress. The more sophisticated upper class people are more closely concerned with broader problems such as are involved in concepts of government structure, reparations and finance, and international cooperation. In other words "Trade and Commerce" is the only abstraction upon which those lower in the status scale fasten their attention. It should be noted that only the slightest vestige of thought about international cooperation marks their comments. Throughout, too, national boundary problems are placed in a relatively more important position than is concern about zonal boundaries. It probably can be maintained that tied in with the more sophisticated concepts are the real concerns expressed more simply by the relatively unsophisticated. Thus it is important to stress that the meaning of treaty provisions needs to be spelled out in the most simple terms before these provisions can be grasped by most people.

Trade	Trade	Trade	Trade
National Boundaries	National Boundaries	Prisoners of War	Prisoners of War
Government Structure	Zonal Boundaries	National Boundaries	Evacuees
Reparations, Finance	Prisoners of War	Zonal Boundaries	Food
Zonal Boundaries	Reparations, Finance	Food	Nat.Boundaries
Internat.Cooperation	Govt.Structure	Reparations, Fin.	Zonal Boundaries
Demilitarization	Food	Evacuees	Reparations, Fin.
Prisoners of War	Evacuees	Govt.Structure	Govt.Structure
Evacuees	Demilitarization	Demilitarization	Unemployment
Food	Int. Cooperation	Unemployment	Demilitarization
Unemployment	Unemployment	Int. Cooperation	Int. Cooperation

APPENDIX

"Which of these statements best describes the impression you have of the Moscow Conference?" CARD

A. None of the Four Powers really tried to prepare a peace treaty for Germany 6%
B. Some statesmen worked for a peace treaty. But most suggestions were put off by one party 52
C. The Four Powers at the Moscow Conference clarified their opposing interests and points of view. On that basis they have prepared the ground for a new peace conference 10
D. The Allies all tried to unite on a peace treaty for Germany 15

No Opinion 17

100%

	A	B	C	D	No Opinion	Number
STATUS						
Upper	6	71	17	2	4 . . . 100%	115
Upper Middle	7	61	13	11	8	823
Lower Middle	6	51	8	18	17	1392
Lower	6	40	7	16	31	650
EDUCATION						
12 years or more	6	78	13	*	3	205
9 to 11 years	7	61	15	11	6	359
8 years	7	50	10	18	15	1297
7 years or less	6	46	6	16	28	1125
NSDAP MEMBERSHIP						
Former member	7	67	13	9	4	369
Member in family	8	54	7	15	16	487
Neither	6	48	10	16	20	2130
RELIGION						
Catholic	7	50	8	16	19	1613
Protestant	6	52	11	15	16	1296
SEX						
Men	6	62	13	12	7	1297
Women	7	43	7	18	25	1688
NEWSPAPER READERSHIP						
Regular	7	61	11	13	8	1647
Occasional	7	46	8	18	21	925
Never	4	27	5	16	48	419

* Less than one half of one percent.

"Do you believe that the Allies by the Summer of 1948 will be able to agree upon a peace treaty for Germany?"

	Yes	No	No Opinion
AMERICAN ZONE	35	49	16 . . . 100%
STATUS			
Upper	20	74	6
Upper Middle	32	58	10
Lower Middle	37	47	16
Lower	37	38	25
EDUCATION			
12 years or more	23	72	5
9 to 11 years	31	61	8
8 years	35	50	15
7 years or less	38	40	22
NSDAP MEMBERSHIP			
Former member	31	61	8
Member in family	30	53	17
Neither	37	46	17
RELIGION			
Catholic	36	47	17
Protestant	33	51	16
SEX			
Men	33	57	10
Women	36	43	21
NEWSPAPER READERSHIP			
Regular	34	55	11
Occasional	35	46	19
Never	39	31	30

"Do you think that the conclusion of a peace treaty would mean a betterment for Germany?"

	Yes	No	No Opinion
AMERICAN ZONE	82	8	10 . . . 100
STATUS			
Upper	76	16	8
Upper Middle	85	8	7
Lower Middle	83	8	9
Lower	79	5	16
EDUCATION			
12 years or more	85	9	6
9 to 11 years	78	11	11
8 years	81	8	11
7 years or less	83	6	11

"Which are the most important points which you would like to see covered by the peace treaty?"

	STATUS				
	AMZONE	Upper	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Lower
Trade	43%	62%	54%	42%	30%
National Boundaries	19	47	27	16	10
Prisoners of War	19	10	17	20	19
Zonal Boundaries	16	24	22	15	9
Reparations, Finance	13	25	17	12	7
Evacuees	13	9	10	12	19
Government Structure	12	34	15	10	7
Food	12	5	11	12	14
Demilitarization	8	12	9	8	6
Unemployment	6	2	6	6	7
International Cooperation	5	17	8	4	3
Other	5	19	6	5	4
Can't say, no opinion	13	2	7	14	22
	164%*	268%*	209%*	176%*	157%*

*More than one answer given by some persons

Interrelationship of Opinions

	Statements Describing Moscow Conference					
	A	B	C	D	No Opinion	Number
Do you think that the Americans have helped or hindered the reconstruction of Germany?						
Helped	4	50	10	21	15	100% 1493
Hindered	13	58	11	8	10	598
No Opinion	6	49	8	11	26	893
Do you believe that the Four Occupation Powers are working together successfully toward the reconstruction of Germany?						
Yes	5	29	13	32	21	362*
No	7	60	10	12	11	2274
No Opinion	3	20	6	15	56	348
Do you believe that the Allies will successfully work together to leave behind a united Germany at the end of the Occupation?						
Yes	4	39	11	30	16	803
No	8	64	10	9	9	1725
No Opinion	3	27	6	13	51	456

* A poll of the Zonal population during the first week of April 1946 showed 35% "Yes", 50% "No", 15% "No Opinion" in contrast to these figures of 12% "Yes", 76% "No" and 12% "No Opinion

Expect Peace Treaty by Summer 1948

	Yes	No	No Opinion	Number
Statements Describing Moscow Conference				
A	31	62	7...100%	193
B	29	60	11	1543
C	42	48	10	285
D	54	34	12	452
No opinion	34	24	42	518
Peace Treaty Mean Betterment for Germany				
Yes	37	49	14	2453
No	23	67	10	228
No opinion	21	43	36	310
Americans Help or Hinder Reconstruction				
Help	41	44	15	1496
Hinder	28	65	7	598
No opinion	29	47	24	897
Four Powers Successfully Work Together				
Yes	64	20	16	363
No	30	59	11	2277
No opinion	36	14	50	351
Allies Leave Behind United Germany				
Yes	59	29	12	804
No	24	66	10	1728
No opinion	31	21	48	454

Conclusion of Treaty Means Betterment

	Yes	No	No Opinion	Number
Statements Describing Moscow Conference				
A	82	12	6	193
B	83	8	9	1543
C	86	10	4	285
D	87	6	7	452
No opinion	70	6	24	518
Americans Help or Hinder Occupation				
Help	88	5	7	1496
Hinder	76	14	10	598
No opinion	76	8	16	897

Expect Peace Treaty by Summer 1948

	Yes	No	No Opinion	Number
Statements Describing Moscow Conference				
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Help	41	44	15	1496
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No opinion	70	6	24	518
Americans Help or Hinder Occupation				
Help	88	5	7	1496
Hinder	76	14	10	598
No opinion	76	8	16	897

TRENDS IN

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE FOOD SITUATION

This report summarizes trends in attitudes toward the food situation. It is based on findings of various studies made by ICD Opinion Surveys Section during the period, February 1946 — June 1947. The results reported are obtained from sampling a scientifically constructed cross-section of the adult population in the American Zone of Germany and in the American and British sectors of Berlin. Berlin results are always shown separately. In all studies made by Opinion Surveys Section, personal interviews are conducted in homes by a trained German staff supervised by an American field staff. The analysis of the data and the report are prepared in Opinion Surveys headquarters, Berlin, Germany.

Report Number 64

25 Aug. 1947
ICD Opinion Surveys
OMGUS APO 742
Berlin Germany

AMERICAN FOOD IMPORTATIONS INTO GERMANY ...

In the course of a year, the German public has become increasingly skeptical about the amount of food America imports into Germany. Last summer, three-quarters of all zonal residents believed that the United States' contribution totalled a fifth of all food in Amzon. In June 1947, only a half thought so. And, as the figures below show, the shift in opinion was largely toward a negative view. A similar drop in confidence occurred in Berlin, though this year as last year, more people there than in AMZON accepted the claim as correct.

"The Americans claim that they send so much food to Germany that it makes up a fifth of the total food supply in the American Zone. Do you believe this or not ?"

	Amzon		Berlin	
	July 46	June 47	July 46	June 47
Yes	73%	49%	93%	75%
No	16	35	5	14
No Opinion ...	11	16	2	11

Laender differences ...

The June 1947, survey indicated that relatively more Bavarians (40%) than people in Hesse (32%) and Wuerttemberg-Baden (28%) disclaimed the fact. This negative attitude was much less prevalent in July 1946. Then, 17% in Bavaria, 16% in Hesse, and 13% in Wuerttemberg-Baden did not think America imported that much food into Germany.

	July 46			June 47		
	Bav.	Hesse	W-B.	Bav.	Hesse	W-B.
Yes	75%	66%	77%	46%	50%	54%
No	17	16	13	40	32	28
No Opinion ...	8	18	10	14	18	18

Group differences ...

Tending to support the American claim more frequently than their counterpart groups were: men, the better educated, the self-styled upper class, and former PGs, that is, the groups which usually tend to be better informed than others in polling surveys. This is borne out by the fact that their opposite groups did not deny the claim to any greater extent, rather, more of them were unable to express a positive opinion. (See table on following page.)

... In June 1947, regular newspaper readers were more likely (52%) than occasional readers and non-readers (45% each) to believe that America's imports amounted to a fifth of the Zone's food. However, fewer non-readers than readers denied the claim. This, plus the relatively large number of readers who disbelieved the American contention, suggests lack of confidence not only in newspaper reports but in the supplying power as well.

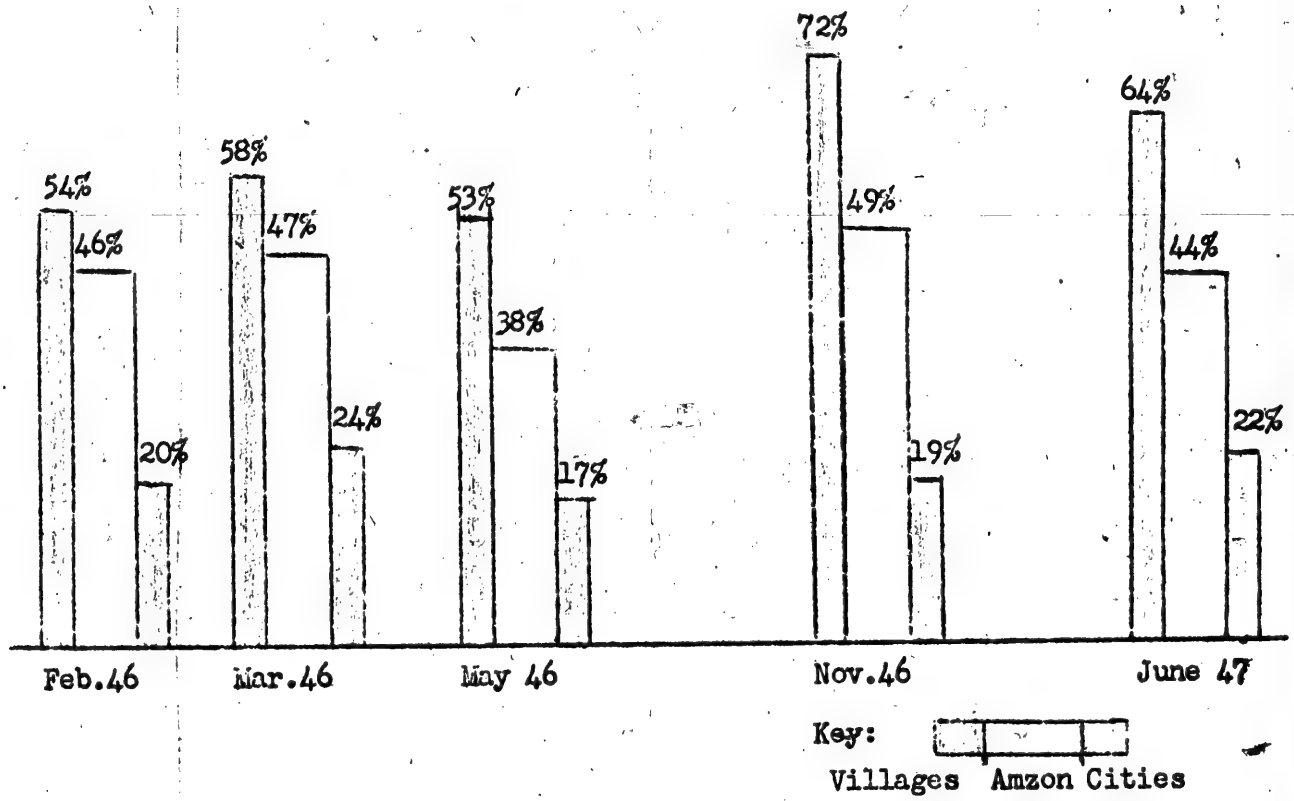
... Proportionately as many urban as rural people — better than four in ten — said that they believed the American claim. However, the number of denials increased with city size. Thus 45% of residents of large cities (250,000 and over) in contrast to 33% in small villages (under 1000) said no. This suggests there is a close correlation between skepticism on this topic and hunger, for, as subsequently noted, urban residents expressed much greater dissatisfaction with their food supplies than did rural people.

	America Contributes a Fifth of Amzon Food				
	YES	NO	NO OPINION		
By Education					
7 years or less	46%	37%	17%	...	100%
8 years	50%	34	16		
9-11 years	51%	38	11		
12 years or more	56%	33	11		
By Sex					
Men	53%	34	13	...	100%
Women	45%	36	19		
PG Affiliation					
Respondent former PG	57%	33	10	...	100%
Family member " "	42%	40	18		
No former affiliation	49%	35	16		
By Social Class (Self rating)					
Upper Middle	58%	26	16	...	100%
Middle	49%	37	14		
Lower Middle	49%	35	16		
Lower	48%	37	15		
By City Size					
Under 1000	47%	33	20	...	100%
1000-1999	48%	33	19		
2000-4999	52%	34	14		
5000-9999	48%	37	15		
10,000-99,999	53%	35	12		
100,000-249,999	49%	38	13		
250,000 and over	45%	45	10		
By Newspaper Readership					
Regular reader	52%	36	12	...	100%
Occasional reader	45%	37	18		
Non-reader	45%	29	26		

SATISFACTION WITH FOOD RATIONS ...

Possibly the most surprising thing about the following chart is the fact that there are so many Germans who assert that they can get along with their present food supply. However, as the chart on the next page demonstrates, the term "make out" has limited connotations, and the majority of Amzon Germans have not felt that they get enough to eat. Because urban residents could be expected to have a harder time getting food than people in the country, the trends were analyzed in terms of rural-urban differences. As both charts show, there is a very marked discrepancy between the two in the proportion of people satisfied with food supplies.

PROPORTIONS SAYING FOOD SUPPLY IS ADEQUATE
AMZON COMPARED WITH SMALL VILLAGES AND
LARGEST CITIES

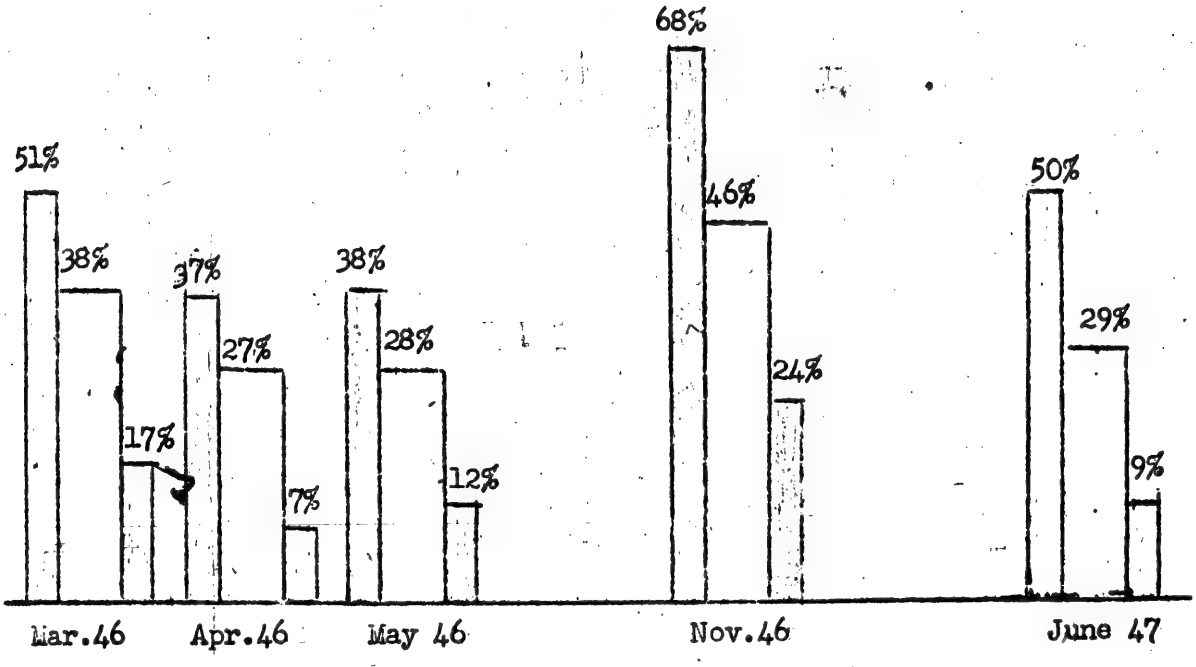


From February 1946, when Amzon residents were first asked, "How are you making out with food ?" a plurality in the Zone has claimed adequacy. But, the trend, as charted above, shows it makes a great deal of difference where one lives. Majorities — often large ones — of rural people have always claimed to get along. In contrast, only minorities in the largest cities of the Zone (Frankfurt, Munich, Nuremberg and Stuttgart) have felt they could make out. As in Berlin, urban dwellers were overwhelmingly agreed that they did not get enough to eat. The complete trend figures for the Zone and for Berlin are:

	Feb. 46		Mar. 46		May 46		Nov. 46		June 47	
	Amzon	Berlin	Amzon	Ber.	Amzon	Ber.	Amzon	Ber.	Amzon	Ber.
Well	12%	-	7%	-	12%	-%	11%	2%	16%	3%
Make out	33	-	40	-	24	21	38	17	28	15
Not well,badly	45	-	53	-	67	79	51	81	56	82

(No Berlin survey in Feb. and Mar.46)

PROPORTION SAYING THEY GET ENOUGH FOOD
TO DO THEIR WORK EFFICIENTLY
AMZON COMPARED WITH SMALL VILLAGES
AND LARGEST CITIES



Adequate and Enough are not synonymous, as comparison of this chart with the preceding one demonstrates. Though again rural Germans assert greater satisfaction than the Zone as a whole, and especially than metropolitan Germans, relatively fewer of them have felt since March 1946, that they get enough food to do their work well than have felt they could "make out" on the food they get. (An exception occurred in November 1946, when, presumably fortified by the harvest, much rural, and some urban, hunger was assuaged.)

On this matter, too, Berliners have felt much as have their fellow-Germans in Frankfurt, Munich, Nuremberg and Stuttgart. And again, as the trend figures show, opinions have been quite consistent during the past year and a half. Whatever other group differences occurring, have been trivial as against these rural-urban differences. Clearly demonstrated is the fact that the larger the population center, or the further removed from the farms, the greater the discrepancy in food obtainment.

"Do you get enough food to enable you to do your work well ?"

	March 46		April 46		May 46		Nov.46		June 47	
	Amzon	Berlin	Amzon	Ber.	Amzon	Ber.	Amzon	Ber.	Amzon	Ber.
Yes	38%	-	27%	18%	28%	9%	46%	20%	29%	13%
No	61	-	72	82	71	88	53	78	69	86
No Opinion	1	-	1	-	1	3	1	2	2	1

SIMILARITY OF RATIONS AMONG ZONES ...

Because Amzon Germans have expressed dissatisfaction with the food situation, it should not be understood that they have felt they were worse off than people in other occupied zones. On the contrary, the evidence indicates that many people have thought the American Zone is the best fed of all. Since March 1946, respondents have several times been asked whether they thought the rations were the same in all zones or whether they were larger in some. As the following figures show, opinions on the matter have not been well crystallized — many people obviously have not felt able to judge the situation in other parts of the country. However, the preponderance of opinion has always been that rations were larger in some zones than in others, and returns from the most recent balloting on the question suggest that more people are making up their minds on the matter.

"Do you think that the food ration is the same in all four zones, or do you think it is larger in some ?"

	Mar.46	Apr.46	May 46	June 47
Larger in some	60%	47%	47%	63%
Same	15	24	30	19
No Opinion	25	29	23	18

... Rural-urban differences on this aspect of the food situation have not been marked, though city-dwellers (including Berlin) have tended to think that some zones fared better than others.

Where are the rations smallest ?....

Respondents who have said that they thought the rations in some zones were larger than in others have always been asked a follow-up question to define their views more closely. In the June 1947, survey they were asked to state in which zone they thought the rations were smallest. Results for Amzon, as given here, conform to those usually obtained, no matter how the question is put.

Rations smallest in:	June 47
Russian Zone	41%
French Zone	28
British Zone	18
American Zone	3
Russian and French Zones	2
Other combinations of zones	2
No Opinion	6

Interestingly enough, Berliners placed the French Zone at the top of the list (40%), with the Russian Zone in second place (31%). In this listing they were joined by Wuerttemberg-Baden, which, of course, borders on the French Zone. Almost half (48%) of Wuerttemberg respondents said that rations were smallest in the French Zone, and only 32% named the Russian Zone. Both in Berlin and in Wuerttemberg-Baden the British and American zones were named third and fourth, respectively. Bavarians were more strongly inclined to point the finger at Russia (48%) than were the Hessians (37%) who split on the French and British zones for second and third place.

Rations smallest in:	Bav.	Hesse	W-Baden	Berlin
Russian Zone	48%	37%	32%	31%
French Zone	21	23	48	40
British Zone	18	24	11	19
American Zone	5	1	2	1
Russian and French Zones	2	3	1	*
Other combinations of zones	2	4	*	1
No Opinion	4	8	6	8

(* Less than one-half of one per cent)

ICD OPINION SURVEYS
OMGUS APO 742
Berlin Germany

The following corrections should be made on page 3 of Report No. 64, dated 25 August 1947.

(1) Graph. Center Column (Amzon) for May 46 should read 36% instead of 38%.

(2) Table. Feb 46, Amzon should read:
"Make out -- 34, instead of 33;
Not well, badly -- 54, instead of 45."

(3) Table. May 46, Amzon should read:
"Not well, badly -- 64, instead of 67."

RESTRICTED

ATTITUDES OF BAVARIANS TOWARD LORITZ' DISMISSAL

Report Number 65

27 September 1947
ICD OPINION SURVEYS
OMGUS APO 742
Berlin Germany

RESTRICTED

ATTITUDES OF BAVARIANS TOWARD LORITZ DISMISSAL ...

ICD OPINION SURVEYS interviewed a cross-section of over 1600 Bavarians between 14 July and 4 August to test reactions to the dismissal from public offices of ALFRED LORITZ. Only tiny percentages of the general public were found who opposed his dismissal from the post of Denazification Minister or from the position of WAV Leader.

Still, the affair was followed by a solid majority of the Bavarians polled. Nearly seven in ten people (69%) said that they had heard that Loritz had been dismissed from one or both posts and many people (63%) knew that both posts were involved in the ouster. Of the two posts that of Denazification Minister seemed to be of greater concern to the public. Nearly four in ten (38%) expressed an opinion about this move while fewer (24%) were ready to judge his removal from the party leadership.

Information about Loritz' dismissal from these posts varied widely among population groups. The best informed groups proved to be former NSDAP members, men, upper class, and well-educated respondents. Within the major population division of men and women, for instance, more than eight in ten men (84%) but only six in ten women (59%) knew about the ouster.

Throughout this population of representative Bavarians those who spoke for the continuation of Loritz in his jobs were very few. Only one in twenty people (5%) opposed his dismissal from the Denazification Ministry, and about the same proportion (4%) favored his continuance as party leader. Among all groups examined, people who had definite opinions tended to be overwhelmingly opposed to Loritz. (Even the tiny sample of 20 WAV followers polled in this study divided evenly on each proposition - no more than half supported his continuance as Denazification Minister or as party leader.)

Opinions on Loritz' dismissal from the two positions scarcely varied between those who had heard of the event and those who had not. Actually, the probability is high that those who are informed more frequently approve the ouster than those who are not informed. Again, underlining the overwhelming approval of the moves against Loritz, is the population division which finds him acceptable for <u>both</u> offices. Only two in a hundred (2%) said that he should not have been dismissed as Denazification Minister and that he should be approved as party leader. Among those with opinions for or against both propositions, nine in ten (90%) opposed his continuance in both offices.

POPULATION BREAKDOWNS ON LORITZ' DISMISSAL

	Heard of Dismissal			
	YES: Minister or WAV Head	YES: Both	NO	CASES
Education				
7 years or less	6%	56%	38% =100%	862
8 years	6	64	30	496
9 to 11 years	6	83	11	169
12 years or more	3	90	7	86
Age				
20 and under	4	45	51	53
20 - 29	8	64	28	304
30 - 39	6	66	28	356
40 - 49	7	66	27	365
50 - 59	5	66	29	253
60 - 69	4	61	35	177
70 and over	5	46	49	106
Sex				
Men	6	78	16	670
Women	6	53	41	940
Socio-economic Status				
Upper and Middle	6	80	14	487
Lower Middle	6	65	29	715
Lower	5	40	55	410
Party Preference				
SPD	8	70	22	526
CSU	6	60	34	456
LDP/DVP	2	92	6	62
WAV	-	85	15	20
None	5	55	40	525
NSDAP Membership				
Respondent a member	5	87	8	183
Member in family	7	65	28	240
Neither	6	59	35	1186
National Socialism Good Idea, badly carried out, or bad Idea				
Bad	6	64	30	533
Good	6	72	22	835
No Opinion	6	32	62	244
TOTAL	6%	63%	38%	1614

POPULATION BREAKDOWNS ON LORITZ' DISMISSAL

	Dismissal as: Denazification Minister					APPROVAL ~~Dismissal~~ as: Party Leader				
	For	Agst	No Op.	For (Excl. No Op.)	Agst	For	Agst	Not Interested	No Op.	CASES
Education										
7 years or less	28%	4%	68%	88%	12%=100%	4%	17%	30%	49%=100%	862
8 years	32	6	62	84	16	5	18	33	44	496
9 to 11 years	47	9	44	84	16	4	34	35	27	169
12 years or more	59	7	34	90	10	3	35	49	13	86
Age										
20 and under	26	6	68	77	23	8	11	26	55	53
20 - 29	34	9	57	79	21	6	19	34	41	304
30 - 39	34	5	61	87	13	3	21	34	42	356
40 - 49	34	5	61	87	13	4	24	33	39	365
50 - 59	38	3	59	93	7	3	21	34	42	253
60 - 69	26	3	71	90	10	3	17	31	49	177
70 and over	24	6	70	80	20	4	18	22	56	106
Sex										
Men	48	8	44	86	14	6	30	37	27	670
Women	22	4	74	85	15	2	14	29	55	940
Socio-economic Status										
Upper and Middle	45	7	48	87	13	6	27	40	27	487
Lower Middle	32	6	62	84	16	4	19	33	44	715
Lower	19	2	79	90	10	2	14	22	62	410
Party Preference										
SPD	46	5	49	90	10	4	30	34	32	526
CSU	30	4	66	88	12	4	16	31	49	456
LDP/DVP	47	13	40	78	22	10	38	26	26	62
WAV	30	30	40	50	50	50	15	10	25	20
None	20	5	75	80	20	2	12	34	52	525
NSDAP Membership										
Respondent a member	40	9	51	82	18	7	21	45	27	183
Member in family	27	9	64	75	25	6	18	34	42	240
Neither	33	4	63	89	11	3	21	30	46	1186
National Socialism Good Idea, badly carried out, or Bad Idea										
Bad	37	4	59	90	10	4	25	29	42	533
Good	37	7	56	84	16	5	22	38	35	835
No Opinion	11	2	87	64	16	1	5	21	73	244
TOTAL	33	5	62	87	13	4	20	32	44	1614

GERMAN ATTITUDES

TOWARD CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

Report Number 66

27 Sept. 1947
ICD Opinion Surveys
OMGUS APO 742
Berlin Germany

INTRODUCTION ...

As a result of the interest shown in a poll conducted by the Minister of Education in Bavaria on the issue of corporal punishment in the Volksschule, ICD Opinion Surveys undertook to sample the German public in the American Zone and in the American and British sectors of Berlin on the same general issue. Whereas approximately 94% of parents of Volksschule pupils (1,148,170 people) replied to the Hundhammer questionnaire, ICD Opinion Surveys sampled a total of 3400 adults living in the American Zone and in the American and British sectors of Berlin, interviewing a scientifically constructed cross-section of the populations there. As in all studies made by Opinion Surveys, personal interviews were conducted in homes by trained German interrogators supervised by an American field staff. Berlin results are shown separately.

ATTITUDES TOWARD CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN THE SCHOOLS ...

Most German adults living in the U.S. Zone and in the American and British sectors of Berlin are either uninformed or misinformed on whether corporal punishment is permitted in German schools. (Though there is no directive against such punishment, in practice it does not exist in Amzon schools. In Bavaria, the Minister of Education has announced its restoration in the Volksschule, basing his decision on results of the poll he conducted among parents of Volksschule pupils.)

But large majorities in Amzon — a small majority in Berlin — approve giving teachers the right to whip or beat "very disobedient and very unruly children." The two questions and replies are as follows:

"Do teachers in today's schools have the right to punish very disobedient and very unruly children by whipping or beating them ?"

	Berlin	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	Amzon
Yes	9%	43%	12%	16%	29%
No	34	14	35	29	22
No Opinion	57	43	53	55	49

"Are you for or against such permission ?"

	Berlin	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	Amzon
For	51%	67%	66%	60%	65%
Against	49	28	30	36	30
No Opinion	-	5	4	4	5

... Admittedly the question is phrased in extreme terms ("very disobedient, very unruly children"); nevertheless the size of the approving vote indicates more than a residual inclination to traditional discipline. Moreover, opinions are unusually crystallized. This is seen not only in the small number who have no opinions on the ethical question, but also in replies to another question probing degree of conviction on the issue. Both pro and con groups were asked, "How strongly do you feel about this — very strongly, fairly strongly, or only so-so ?" Results show that very few take a weak stand, and with one exception, larger numbers admit strong feelings on the matter. It is noteworthy, however, that opponents of corporal punishment tend to feel more strongly than proponents.

	AMZON		BERLIN	
	Pro	Con	Pro	Con
Very strongly	48%	54%	46%	61%
Fairly strongly	38	36	48	36
Only so-so	12	7	4	3
No Answer	2	3	2	-

... Parents give high approval to corporal punishment in the schools. This is true whether or not their children are in Volksschule, Beruf or Fachschule, Gymnasium or Universities, or too young to go to school, or beyond school age. The affirmative votes of Amzon parents, according to the kind of school their children are in, is:

... 69% — Volksschule
... 62% — Beruf or Fachschule
... 62% — Gymnasium or University

... 65% — Children too young for school
... 66% — Children beyond school age

Of the people who are either unmarried or have no children, 63% approve.

... Only three groups in the AMZON population fail to register majority approval of the proposal: 1) The highly educated group; 2) KPD affiliates; 3) those with no church affiliation. (The last two constitute a very small proportion of the total sample.) Within the various population groups, the following tend to approve more frequently than their counter-parts: followers of CDU/CSU, those with 7 years of schooling or less, women, Catholics, those who were never affiliated with NSDAP, and small town people. Among age groups there is very little variation.

	Corporal Punishment in Schools:			
	Approve	Disapprove	Don't Know	Cases
Education:				
7 years or less	73%	22	5 — 100%	1127
8 years	64%	31	5	1352
9-11 years	54%	43	3	343
12 years or more	48%	49	3	183
Party Preference				
CDU/CSU	77%	20	3 — 100%	733
WAV	70%	25	5	20
LDP/DVP	62%	37	1	217
SPD	60%	37	3	1000
KPD	29%	68	3	31
None	64%	28	8	934
Sex				
Women	67%	27	6 — 100%	1676
Men	62%	34	4	1327
Church Affiliation				
Catholic, regular	73%	22	5 — 100%	1052
Catholic, irregular	61%	34	5	610
Protestant, regular	67%	28	5	455
Protestant, irregular	59%	37	4	791
None	35%	62	3	66
Social Class				
Lower	64%	28	8 — 100%	689
Lower Middle	67%	29	4	1371
Middle	65%	32	3	852
Upper Middle	55%	43	2	93
NSDAP Affiliation				
Member	62%	34	4 — 100%	390
Member in Family	66%	31	3	435
No Affiliation	66%	29	5	2175
City Size				
Under 1000	74%	21	5 — 100%	464
1,000 - 1,999	72%	22	6	510
2,000 - 4,999	67%	30	3	440
5,000 - 9,999	62%	34	4	245
10,000 - 99,999	59%	37	4	469
100,000 - 249,999	51%	44	5	213
250,000 and over	53%	42	5	366
Age				
Under 20 years	64%	30	6	85
20-29 years	64%	32	4	539
30-39 years	68%	30	2	685
40-49 years	64%	31	5	713
50-59 years	66%	27	7	482
60-69 years	61%	33	6	339
70-79 years	69%	23	8	159

(Percentages based on fewer than 100 cases should be interpreted with caution)

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST CORPORAL PUNISHMENT ...

All people who had opinions regarding physical punishment of unruly and disobedient schoolchildren, were asked to give arguments both pro and con the idea. As the figures below show respondents had an easier time arguing for than arguing against. Two reasons frequently advanced in favor of using the rod were that it was a pedagogical device for instilling respect and that it was necessary to prevent juvenile delinquency. The counter-claim that corporal punishment was an out-moded and false pedagogical practice was most often given as a reason against it. The inhumanity of the practice took second place. The arguments for and against, listed in order of frequency of mention, are as follows:

Arguments FOR corporal punishment

	Berlin	Bavaria	Hesse	W.-Baden	Amzon
Pedagogically sound, teaches respect and obedience	23%	30%	30%	26%	30%
Necessary to prevent juvenile delinquency and crime	21	29	30	27	29
Always have had it	3	8	5	6	7
To counteract "Hitler Youth" training	12	6	6	7	6
To substitute for lack of parental discipline resulting from disrupted home life	11	4	6	7	6
Necessary because teaching staffs so poor	1	2	*	1	1
No Opinion, No Answer	3	13	13	7	12
Nothing can be said for it	29	11	13	23	15
	103%	103%	101%	104%	106%

Arguments AGAINST corporal punishment

	Berlin	Bavaria	Hesse	W.-Baden	Amzon
Pedagogically outmoded and false	33%	20%	21%	25%	22%
It is inhumane	17	11	16	19	14
Teachers will misuse the "right"	17	13	13	14	13
Should be left to parents	15	9	11	9	10
No Opinion, No Answer	3	26	22	10	22
Nothing can be said against it	18	21	19	24	22
	103%	100%	102%	101%	103%

(Percentages in both tables total more than 100 because some people gave more than one reason.)

* Less than one-half of one per cent.

GERMAN ATTITUDES TOWARD INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Report No. 67

10 October 1947
ICD OPINION SURVEYS
OMGUS APO 742
Berlin Germany

German attitudes toward international leadership ...

As a means of measuring attitudes of the German people toward other nations of the world, this question was put to German adults in the American Zone in August, 1947: "Which country in your opinion will have the greatest influence on world events during the next ten years?"

In reply, Amzon Germans in large number (70%) assert the conviction that the United States will play the dominant role. Russia takes a poor second place (13%). No other country gets significant mention. (Largest vote for any other single country is 1% for Great Britain.) Comparison with results obtained from the same question, asked more than a year ago, indicates that more Germans have become convinced that the U.S. is to have the predominant influence. As the following figures show, there has been little change in the proportions thinking USSR alone will be most influential, and the number who think the U.S. and USSR will share dominance has decreased.*

"Which country, in your opinion, will have the greatest influence on world events during the next ten years?"

	April 1946	August 1947
United States	58%	70%
USSR	11	13
Great Britain	2	1
US and USSR	6	1
Other	8	2
No Opinion	15	13
	100%	100%

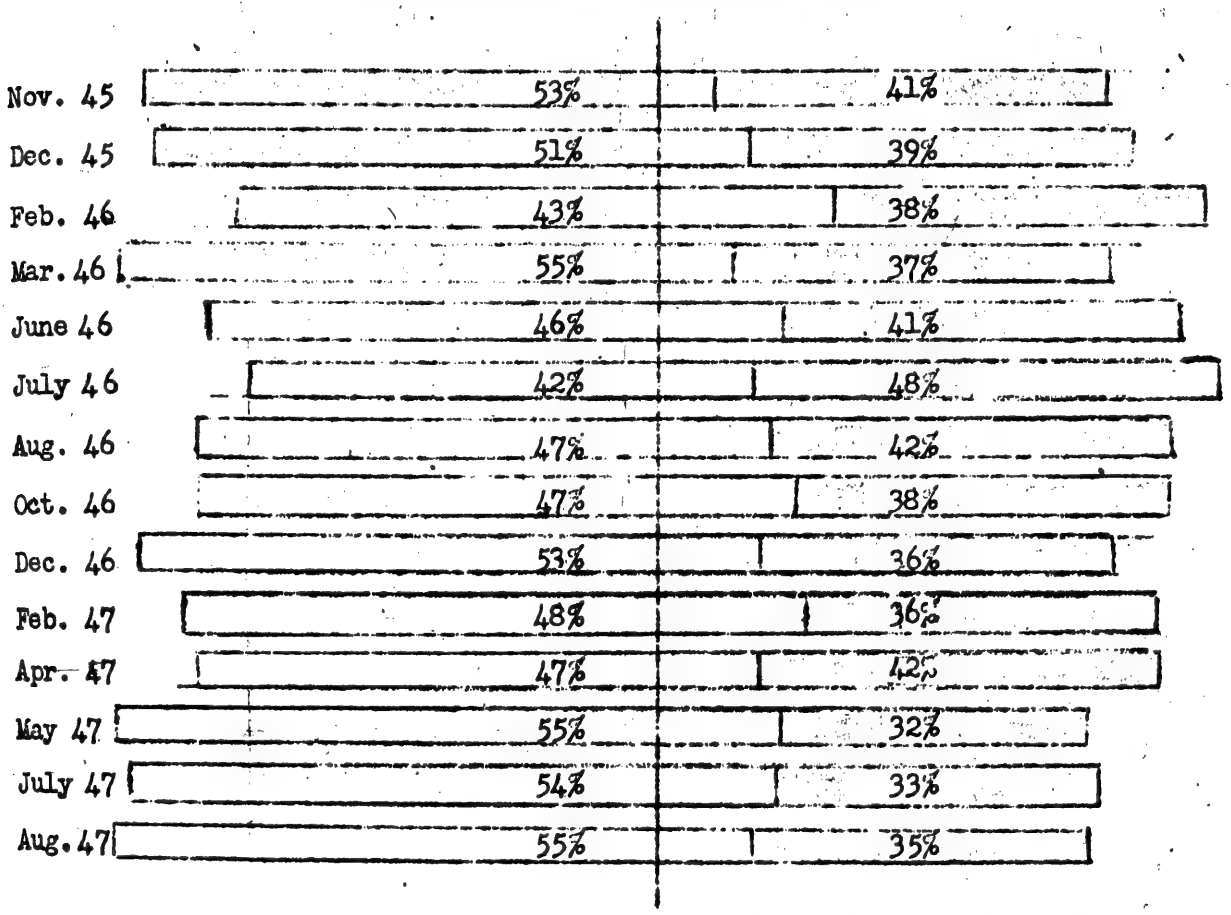
... Additional light is thrown on the meaning of these replies by answers to the succeeding question asked of all of those who had expressed a choice: "Will this influence strengthen the peace or lead toward a war?" People who selected the United States were very largely of the conviction (78%) the American influence would be directed toward peace. Only 11% thought the contrary, and another 11% withheld judgment. Contrary-wise, however, nine in ten (88%) of those who thought Russia was to dominate, believed war would be a consequence of USSR influence. Only 6% thought Russian predominance would mean peace, and 6% had no opinion.

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*As reported in Opinion Surveys Report No.17, "Attitudes Toward International Leadership in Germany Compared with Attitudes in Seven Other Countries" (8 Aug. 1946) German opinion was only slightly less biased toward expecting dominent American leadership, than was U.S. opinion. Fewer people in Germany than in any of the other seven countries polled thought Russia would have the most influence.

THE TREND IN ATTITUDES TOWARD NATIONAL SOCIALISM ...

National Socialism was:



... Since November, 1945, ICD Opinion Surveys has been sampling Amzon residents on their attitudes toward National Socialism. One question has served as the core in determination of generalized attitudes on the issue. It is:"Do you think that National Socialism was a bad idea, or a good idea, badly carried out ?" As graphically set forth in the above chart, opinions found in the last six interviewing points indicate a tendency toward crystallization in a negative direction, that is away from a democratic reorientation.

Despite the broadly generalized nature of the question, it has proved to be one of the most discriminating in the entire battery of Opinion Surveys trend questions. It has consistently demonstrated its value in distinguishing between those population groups which reveal attitudes and opinions in line with the aims and purposes of democratic ideas and those which reject, or withhold judgment, on them. Because of this the trend in opinions produced by the question assumes particular importance. (See, for example, the relationship between attitudes on this issue and anti-semitism, collective war guilt, denazification, in Opinion Surveys Reports, Nos. 49, 51, 55, respectively.)

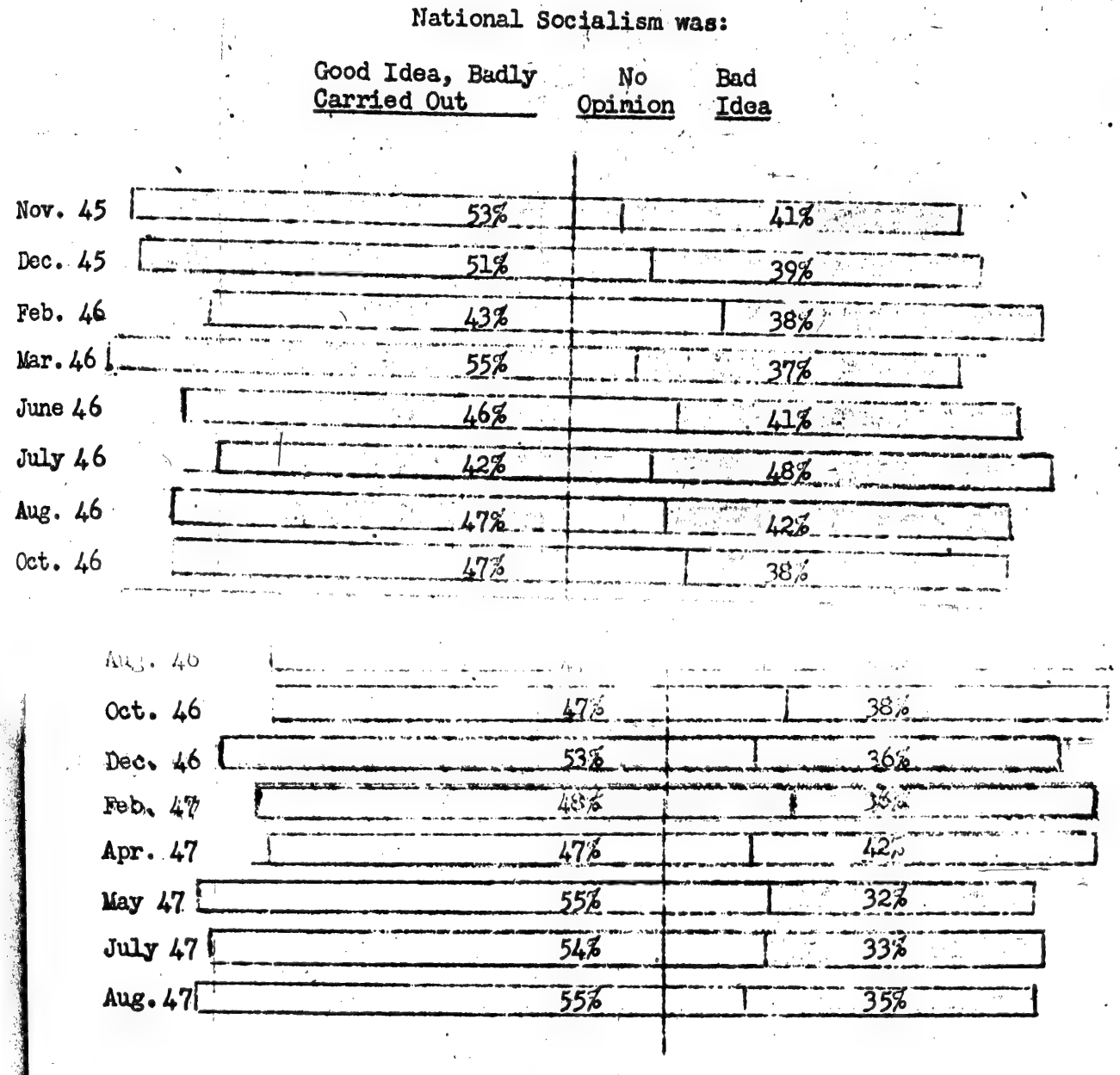
TRENDS IN ATTITUDES TOWARD NATIONAL SOCIALISM

This report is based on a series of studies made by ICD Opinion Surveys Section. Periodically Opinion Surveys samples German adults in the American Zone and in the American and British sectors of Berlin, interviewing a scientifically constructed cross-section of the populations there. In all studies made by Opinion Surveys, personal interviews are conducted in the homes by trained German interrogators working under the supervision of an American field staff. Berlin results are always shown separately.

Report Number 68

10 October 1947
ICD OPINION SURVEYS
OMGUS APO 742
Berlin Germany

THE TREND IN ATTITUDES TOWARD NATIONAL SOCIALISM ...



... Since November, 1945, ICD Opinion Surveys has been sampling Amzon residents on their attitudes toward National Socialism. One question has served as the core in determination of generalized attitudes on the issue. It is:"Do you think that National Socialism was a bad idea, or a good idea, badly carried out ?" As graphically set forth in the above chart, opinions found in the last six interviewing points indicate a tendency toward crystallization in a negative direction, that is away from a democratic reorientation.

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... Assuming that those who say, "National Socialism was a good idea, badly carried out," are unconvinced of the worth of a new orientation, it becomes apparent that two years of occupation have not made much progress in shaking many Germans loose from the past. This is demonstrated not only by the apparant strengthening of negative attitudes on the issue from December, 1946 and on, but by comparison of those attitudes with the ones found during the earlier period of the occupation. As the chart shows, the first six points recorded reveal greater acceptance of National Socialist ideals than occured during the next succeeding period, when there apparently was a greater disposition to question past assumptions.. However, since December, 1946, the sum of opinions adds up to greater acceptance of National Socialism than ever before in the history of sampling on this issue. This is seen by comparing the average number of people who thought National Socialism was basically a good idea during the first six periods of testing (48%) with those who thought so during the last six periods (52%). Thus, to summarize, from December, 1946 to August, 1947 opinions favorable to National Socialism have gained both in continuity and in proportion.

... Also lending support to the interpretation that the trend is toward a favorable view of National Socialism, is the tendency for more German men to have something good to say for it. In the early stages of interviewing on this issue, men were more critical than they are at present. To the extent that German men, as compared with German women, generally exhibit better informed, more enlightened views, their current attitudes on the issue of National Socialism deserve notice.

Men's and Women's Attitudes Toward National Socialism
In Recent Months, Compared With Attitudes In July,1946

		National Socialism was:			
		Bad Idea	Good Idea Badly Carried Out	No Opinion	
July 1946	Men	55%	39	6	- 100%
	Women	42%	45	13	
Dec. 1946	Men	41%	52	7	
	Women	32%	54	14	
May 1947	Men	38%	53	9	
	Women	26%	57	17	
July 1947	Men	36%	57	7	
	Women	31%	52	17	
Aug. 1947	Men	37%	56	7	
	Women	33%	54	13	

... The adverse implications of votes favorable to National Socialism are again demonstrated by the findings of a study made in July, 1947. Opinions on the issue were correlated with those on three other issues: Attitudes toward democracy, in theory and in practice; individual liberty as against economic security; the relative responsibility of Hitler and his advisers for his acts. As is shown below, people who tend to excuse National Socialism are most ready to pick flaws in the working of democracy, to choose security rather than liberty (admittedly a hard choice for Germans to make at present), and to throw the blame for Hitler's acts on his advisers.

"Do you think that democracy is an entirely good idea — or what faults do you find it has in Actuality ?"

	Entirely Good Idea	Name Faults	No Opinion	
National Socialism:				
Bad Idea	40%	29	31	- 100%
Good Idea, Badly Carried Out	31%	42	27	

"Which of these two forms of government would you personally choose as the better: A government which offers people economic security and a chance to make a good living; a government which guarantees freedom of speech, elections, press and religion ?" (Card question)

	Security	Freedom	No Opinion	
National Socialism:				
Bad Idea	52%	37	11	- 100%
Good Idea, Badly Carried Out	70%	22	8	

"In your opinion, who was mainly responsible for Hitler's acts, Hitler himself or his advisers ?"

	Hitler	Advisers	Both	No Opinion	
National Socialism:					
Bad Idea	26%	20	50	4	- 100%
Good Idea, Badly Carried Out	25%	32	37	6	

The following table shows a breakdown of attitudes toward National Socialism by population groups. Results are taken from a study made in August, 1947. Except for sex differences on the issue, which as already noted, have changed in recent months, the group differences as they appear here have been quite consistent throughout the period under consideration. That is, among Laender Bavaria is the most skeptical of any value inherent in National Socialism, as are Catholics in contrast to Protestants. It is probably Catholicism, not geography, that is the important factor in Bavarian attitudes. This fact also explains in part why people with only seven years of schooling are more harsh in their judgment of National Socialism than any other educational group, except the highly educated. In Bavaria compulsory schooling ends after seven years. Catholicism may also be an important factor in the tendency of CDU/CSU followers to be more critical of National Socialism than are other party adherents. Indeed it is not too much to say that only among German Catholics is there a consistent tendency on the part of a large population group to be skeptical of Nazi values.

	National Socialism was:		
	Bad Idea	Good Idea Badly Carried out	No Opinion
Group differences			
Education			
7 years or less	40%	46	14 - 100%
8 years	32%	60	8
9-11 years	29%	64	7
12 years or more	38%	55	7
Age			
Under 30	24%	68	8 - 100%
30-39	31%	60	9
40-49	41%	49	10
50-59	34%	54	12
60-69	47%	43	10
Religion			
Catholic	40%	48	12 - 100%
Protestant	28%	64	8
NSDAP Affiliation			
Member	26%	67	7 - 100%
No affiliation	39%	51	10
Party Preference			
SPD	37%	57	6 - 100%
CDU/CSU	47%	45	8
LDP/DVP	26%	68	6
(KPD/SED and WAV contain too few cases in this sample for statistical accuracy, but the direction of their attitudes appears strongly toward a "good idea.")			
Laender			
Bavaria	38%	50	12 - 100%
Hesse	33%	61	6
Wuerttemberg-Baden	31%	60	9
Berlin	33%	62	5

R E S T R I C T E D

GERMAN OPINIONS REGARDING THE ORGANIZATION OF EUROPE

This report deals with German reactions to two issues involved in the possible organization of Europe: a "United States of Europe," and the Marshall plan. It is based on a survey made in August 1947, by ICD Opinion Surveys. A total of 3,400 people living in the American Zone and in the American and British sectors of Berlin were interviewed in their homes by a trained German staff, supervised by American Field Officers. The sample is scientifically constructed to represent a true cross-section of the population. Berlin results are always shown separately.

Report No. 69.

16 October 1947
ICD OPINION SURVEYS
OMGUS APO 742
Berlin Germany

R E S T R I C T E D

GERMAN REACTIONS TO A "UNITED STATES OF EUROPE" ...

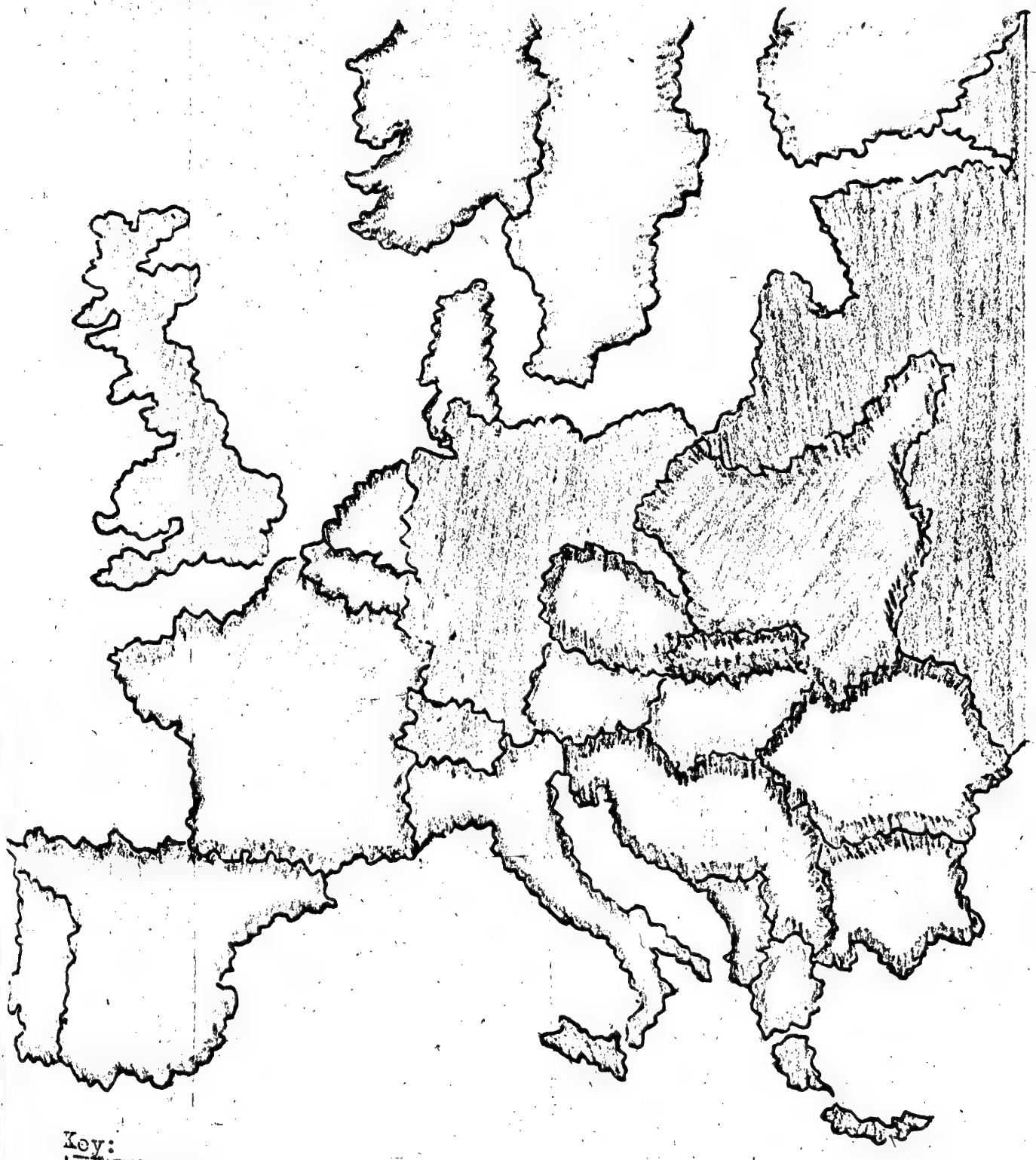
On many issues of the day, the German people are apathetic, resigned or persistently deluded. On some issues, however, their opinions are crystallized in positive directions. When, for example, the Germans look out upon the world they turn to the west for economic and world leadership. (See Opinion Surveys Reports, Nos. 17, 67.) Regarding intra-European matters, their orientation is also largely western. Their attitudes toward a hypothetical "United States of Europe" is a case in point.

Asked to select from a checklist of 23 countries, those which they thought should become part of a European union, majorities of varying degrees voted to include each of the countries named except the Soviet Union for which 38% in Amzon voted*. As the map on the following page shows, however, people are strongly biased in favor of western European countries. Majorities ranging from 80% and above said that Germany, Britain and Switzerland should be included. Second in popular appeal were the Scandinavian countries, and Holland, Belgium, France and Austria. Third, but still with large majorities, came the former German friends. (Italy, Spain, Finland, Portugal, Hungary). Greece, too, was accepted at this level. Four countries currently with an eastern orientation — Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania and Yugoslavia — ranked fourth, but received solid majority votes. Bare majorities supported the inclusion of Czechoslovakia and Poland, but a large majority would exclude Russia. Thus Amzon Germans show relatively less enthusiasm for having countries in the Russian orbit part of a European union. In Berlin people are even less inclined this way. Without doubt, a union of states potentially possible of being directed against eastern influence has the greatest mass appeal among Germans.

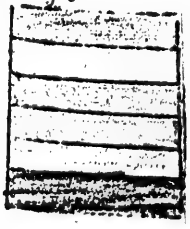
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*Respondents were first asked: "Could you tell me what you understand by the phrase 'United States of Europe'?" One-fifth (21%) defined the phrase acceptably, 30% spoke in general terms of cooperation and working together, and the remainder (49%) were confused or unable to offer a definition. (Among people with 12 or more years of education, a plurality (44%) gave acceptable definitions, but few (14%) of those with only 7 years of schooling could do so.) The uninformed and misinformed were than read this statement: "Under the plan all European countries would be bound together economically and politically. But each country would be able to govern its domestic affairs freely." Thereupon all respondents were asked the question discussed above. The pattern of replies of the uninformed and informed did not differ significantly.

WHICH COUNTRIES SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN A
" UNITED STATES OF EUROPE " ?



Key:



80% or more approval
75-79% approval
67-74% approval
60-66% approval
50-59% approval
38% approval

THE MARSHALL PLAN ...

In the climate of opinion described in the foregoing the Marshall plan could not fail to elicit high approval. It offers the hope of material aid and the opportunity for international cooperation which would do much to assuage both German hunger and self-respect.

In August, 1947, however, knowledge of the plan was neither extensive nor definite. Everyone was asked: "Have you heard or read anything about the plan for the reconstruction of Europe proposed by the American foreign minister Marshall?" Less than half of the public (47%) claimed to have heard about it. And the amount of information held by about half of this group (25% of the total) was extremely sketchy. The other half (22%) was able, in the main, to say that the Marshall plan is designed to organize the economic power of Europe so that American aid would be as effective as possible. As could be expected, educational background has a great deal to do with knowledge or lack of knowledge of the plan. Nine in ten (89%) of the people with 12 or more years schooling, two-thirds (67%) of those with nine to eleven years of school, but only 42% of those with eight years' and 39% of those with seven years education claimed to have heard of the plan. Of the most highly educated group, 52% gave adequate explanations of Secretary Marshall's proposal. Only 20% of the most poorly educated could do so. Other groups in the population which tend to have better educational characteristics, or to be broader in outlook, were also better informed. Thus in Berlin, six in ten (60%) said they had heard or read about Secretary Marshall's proposal.

... After a brief description of the plan* everyone, informed and uninformed alike, was asked: "Do you think that this plan if it is carried out would solve Europe's economic difficulties?" A large majority in the zone (78%), and even more Berliners (88%), thought it would do this. People who were uncertain based their doubts largely on Germany's particular problems. They said, for instance, that "as long as German industry is not revived the plan will not succeed," or "we must be allowed to work rather than have our industries dismantled," or, "Germany as the heart of Europe must be rebuilt before Europe can successfully be rebuilt."

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* The statement read: "The American Secretary of State Marshall proposed that European countries should unite upon a plan for the economic reconstruction of Europe and in the plan they should show where and how America can best help." Attitudes on the eventual success of the plan were not influenced by knowledge or lack of knowledge about it.

... Finally, people were asked: "How good do you think the chances are for success of this plan — very good, good, fair, or poor?" Not unexpectedly, the group which thought the proposal offers a solution of Europe's difficulties was more inclined than the doubters to be sanguine of its chances for success. As the following figures show, six in ten of the confident group thought the plan had a fair to excellent chance for success, whereas only four in ten of the doubtful group believed this. Moreover, it should be recalled that the people who regard the plan as a real solution constitute by far the largest segment of the total population (78%). Thus, 55% of all Amzon Germans see the plan both as valuable and practicable.

	Plan a Solution		Plan not Solution		Total Amzon
Chance for Success:	%	% of Total	%	% of Total	
Very good	9	7	4	*	7
Good	29	23	16	1	25
Fairly good	33	25	19	1	28
Poor	16	12	35	3	16
None	2	2	13	1	3
No opinion	11	9	13	1	21
	100%	78% of Total	100%	7% of Total	100%

While wishful thinking undoubtedly colors a part of this optimistic outlook, the fundamental practicability of the plan, and its appeal as a positive step, when lethargy and inactivity seem so omnipresent, must have gained it some solid credit.

... Separate population groups examined do not differ significantly in estimation of the possibilities of working out the Marshall proposal. People affiliated with the major political parties, groups with varying income, members of the two major faiths, the young and the old, men and women — all tend to agree, percentagewise, on the likelihood of future success of the Marshall Plan.

But one telling factor does discriminate between those who express confidence in the proposal and those who do not. Among the confident, three in four people (75%) are convinced that the United States will have the greatest influence on world affairs during the next ten years, and only about one in ten (12%) think Russia will play the dominant role. Those who express scepticism about the Marshall plan much more frequently believe that the Russian role will be dominant (27%) and less often look forward to American leadership (58%). It is probably fair to infer from these data that American leadership is expected to be expressed by steps such as those proposed by Secretary Marshall. In the eyes of large segments of the German public the Marshall plan must be seen as a test which will encourage or discourage reliance upon that power whose faith and credit appears, today, to be overwhelming.

RESTRICTED

GERMAN UNDERSTANDING OF THE REASONS FOR THE FOOD SHORTAGE

Report Number 70

17 October 1947
ICD OPINION SURVEYS
OMGUS APO 742
Berlin Germany

RESTRICTED

GERMAN UNDERSTANDING OF REASONS FOR THE FOOD SHORTAGE ...

Probably the most discussed problem among German people today is the food shortage. (See especially Reports 18, 52; also 15, 29, 60, 64 -- this office.) And there is no likelihood that this situation will be radically changed over the next years. Nevertheless, separate samplings have not shown widespread appreciation of the key factors in the situation. It is undoubtedly true that more concerted effort could be made by radio and newspaper, especially, to center German thinking along realistic grounds. The data discussed below are based on cross-section samplings of the adult populations living in the American Zone of Germany and in Berlin. Berlin results are shown separately.

... In May 1946, just after the reduction in rations for the general public, people were asked why they thought food rations had been cut. Four in ten (41%) in the Zone thought the food shortage in Germany and the world had necessitated the cut, and three in ten (27%) replied that poor crops and insufficient stocks had enforced this decision.

Although a large majority, at that time, gave the above major reasons for scarcity in Germany, by November 1946, nearly half the public (46%) attributed the situation to overpopulation of Germany (DPs, Evacuees, "foreigners"). This percentage has held, practically, through the midsummer 1947. Between November 1946 and July 1947 two significant changes have taken place, however, in public accounting for the food shortage. Fewer, at the later period, believe that the lost war is responsible for the bad food situation. In fact, the number so replying is now only one in ten (10%), compared with one in five (22%) at the earlier date. But more have come to lay the blame on the Black Market. Instead of about one in ten (8%) making this charge, now about one in four (26%) consider this reason pertinent. Both these changes are reflected in Berlin thinking, too, but an even more significant move has taken place in the thinking in this metropolitan center. In the summer poll nearly four in ten (37%) charge that the occupying powers (read "Russians") take away too much. Last year only half as many Berliners (18%) offered this suggestion.

"Why is food really so short in Germany?"

	American Zone		Berlin	
	Nov. '46	July '47	Nov. '46	July '47
Overpopulation (DPs, Evacuees, etc.)	46%	44%	13%	7%
Loss of war, destruction	22	10	26	11
Splitting off of eastern lands	20	22	30	36
Import-Export imbalance	19	17	15	14
Reduced possibilities (tools, fertilizer, labor, etc.)	10	14	11	15
Black Market	8	26	10	20
Occupation Powers take too much	5	4	18	37
Effect of zonal boundaries	4	2	8	4
Bad will of Allies; want us to starve	1	2	4	3
Other	7	4	16	9
No opinion	5	5	2	*
	147%	150%	153%	156%
Number questioned	3008	3007	399	400

*Less than $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1%

(More than one answer frequently given and recorded)

Public dispositions seem to be centered upon a set of ideas which may be interpreted as "charges" against the Allies and, particularly in Berlin, against the Russians specifically. For example, the statements made about the overpopulation of Germany because of the DPs whom we support, the Evacuees whom we brought here, and other "foreigners," are statements which may assume that our policies have done damage to food prospects for "Germans." The comments made about the bad effects of zonal boundaries, or the splitting off of eastern portions of Germany are even more directly pointed against Allied policy. Reordering the table above from this point of view shows that a major reduction has occurred between the two samplings in the percentages offering accountings inherent in the situation, while allegations that Allied policies result in lack of food have not reduced in frequency.

	American Zone		Berlin	
	1946	1947	1946	1947
Direct Allied Responsibility ("Take" of Allies; zonal boundaries; bad will; loss of lands in east)	30%	30%	60%	80%
Indirect Allied Responsibility (Overpopulation)	46	44	13	7
Conditions inherent in the situation (Lost war; import-exports; reduced possibilities)	51	41	52	40
Black Market	8	26	10	20
Other	7	4	16	9
No opinion	5	5	2	*
	147%	150%	153%	156%

Moreover, more people have come to center their thinking on a secondary situation, the black market. For while it is true that food channeled into the black market is removed from orderly processes of fair and just distribution, it cannot be held that the food in Germany is shortened by such "out-channeling." (From a restricted and personal outlook, of course, black marketeering does have a real effect in removing food from supply available to the large body of poor people.) It should be noted, then, that resentment against the effects of black marketeering in food can have beneficial results, both directly as related to better distribution, and indirectly in possibly drawing off some of the resentment against the Allies. The increase in this sentiment, however, can be helpful only if coupled with realistic action on the part of German administrative authorities. Without such action the danger is incurred that resentment might suddenly be turned from black marketeering to government.

Finally, these data show that those factors which are under German control are not as frequently mentioned as the more remote factors outside their control. Such notably mishandled matters as the allocation of planting quotas, the collection of foodstuffs from the farms, the distribution of food, the allotment of farm tools or machinery, the movement of workers from city to country — all these factors are, at the outside, mentioned by less than one in five persons for the food shortage in Germany. It might be pointed out, with some understanding, that the influx of evacuees from the east is an ever-present and simplified reminder of more mouths to feed. At the same time, small town residents who are most keenly aware of these population pressures appear not to recognize, in their own neighborhoods, such a widespread practice as the hoarding of food by farmers.

Group Differences ...

Replies of characteristic population groups reveal some interesting variations. The more sophisticated are much more ready than the relatively unsophisticated to view the loss of eastern territory, the imbalance of foreign trade, and the lack of possibilities of production, as the most important factors weakening food supplies in Germany. The table below shows the percentages offering such comments, among men and women, people living in communities of different size, among age and social class groups.

	Food is short because:		
	Eastern lands split off	Import-Export imbalance	Lack of possibilities of production
Sex	%	%	%
Men	38	23	20
Women	17	13	8
Rural-urban			
Towns under 1000	22	10	14
1000-1999	21	15	12
2000-4999	22	19	11
5000-9999	24	18	15
10,000-99,999	23	18	13
100,000 or more	23	28	15
Age			
18-29	26	20	14
30-39	24	18	13
40-49	21	17	15
50-59	23	17	14
60-69	18	16	12
70 or older	11	11	11
Socio-economic groups			
Upper and upper Mittle	42	32	28
Middle	28	22	17
Lower Middle	20	17	14
Lower	17	10	7

In the Zone, it is recalled, evacuees are largely settled in smaller communities. Resentment against evacuees has been reported as a major social problem (See Reports # 14-A, 28, 47, this office). This resentment may also be inferred from the table below. Practically twice as many villagers as residents in the largest cities propose that the shortage of food is attributable to the influx of new residents.

	Food is short because:
	Overpopulation of Germany
Rural-urban	%
Towns under 1000	53
1000-1999	55
2000-4999	48
5000-9999	41
10,000-99,999	37
100,000 and over	27

"Reasons" Not related to Expectations ...

Expectations regarding future relief from the food situation are not related to reasons given to account for the short rations. People who believe that it will be only one year before everybody has enough to eat in Germany, and people who believe that it will be five years or more before this situation develops, essentially agree on the reasons for the shortage. Similarly, those who think that Germany's future is black, and those who see their own future as black, do not differ in comments upon the basic food situation from those who are more optimistic in these regards.

Conclusions ...

It can be concluded, then, that accountings for the food shortage are related particularly to observable conditions and are interpretations of these conditions as seen within the frame of reference of the individual. Educational efforts that might well be made should take plausible account of such matters as Evacuees, or DPs, the loss of eastern lands, the import-export balance as regards food, and then should present realistic interpretations of these factors. Public thinking can be broadened and redirected to more frequent consideration of the conditions inherent in the situation. Conditions over which Germans have direct control and for which they have full responsibility should be made known to them as civic responsibilities. Encouragement can be given, also, to social pressure upon black marketeering. Such educational redirection should serve slowly to reduce the overwhelming incidence of possible allegations that the Allies, through their policies, are responsible for the real shortages of food in Germany. In essence, such redirection should aid the German people in assuming their own responsibilities as regards a problem of crucial importance to each individual.

BERLIN -- SYMBOL OF A NATIONAL STATE

This report summarizes German opinions on Berlin as the capital. It is based on a question asked in a survey made by ICD Opinion Surveys Section during August, 1947. In all, 3400 adults living in the American Zone and in the American and British sectors of Berlin, representing a scientifically constructed cross-section of the populations there, were interviewed. Personal interviews were held in the homes by trained German interrogators, working under the supervision of American Field Officers. Berlin results are shown separately.

Report No. 71

17 October 1947
ICD OPINION SURVEYS
OMGUS APO 742
Berlin Germany

Recurrently our reports have described German nationalism and have shown its relative bearing upon the outlook and dispositions of the German public. (Cf. Reports No. 49, 51, 59, 62, 63). Nationalistic feelings have recently (August 1947) been investigated again -- this time as elements reinforcing a militaristic outlook. One item in this study was the question: "Do you think that Berlin should be the capital of Germany?"

The assumption behind this question is that provincialism and local community pride are overcome to some degree by a broader outlook upon a Germany reconstituted as a nation. The analysis below examines the results of interviewing upon this question which, admittedly, probes into an extremely complex area of sentiment.

** ** **

Among Berliners the feeling of pride is almost unanimous. More than nine in ten (93%) devoutly maintain that Berlin should be the capital of Germany. The few opposers center their thinking upon Frankfurt as a possible substitute.

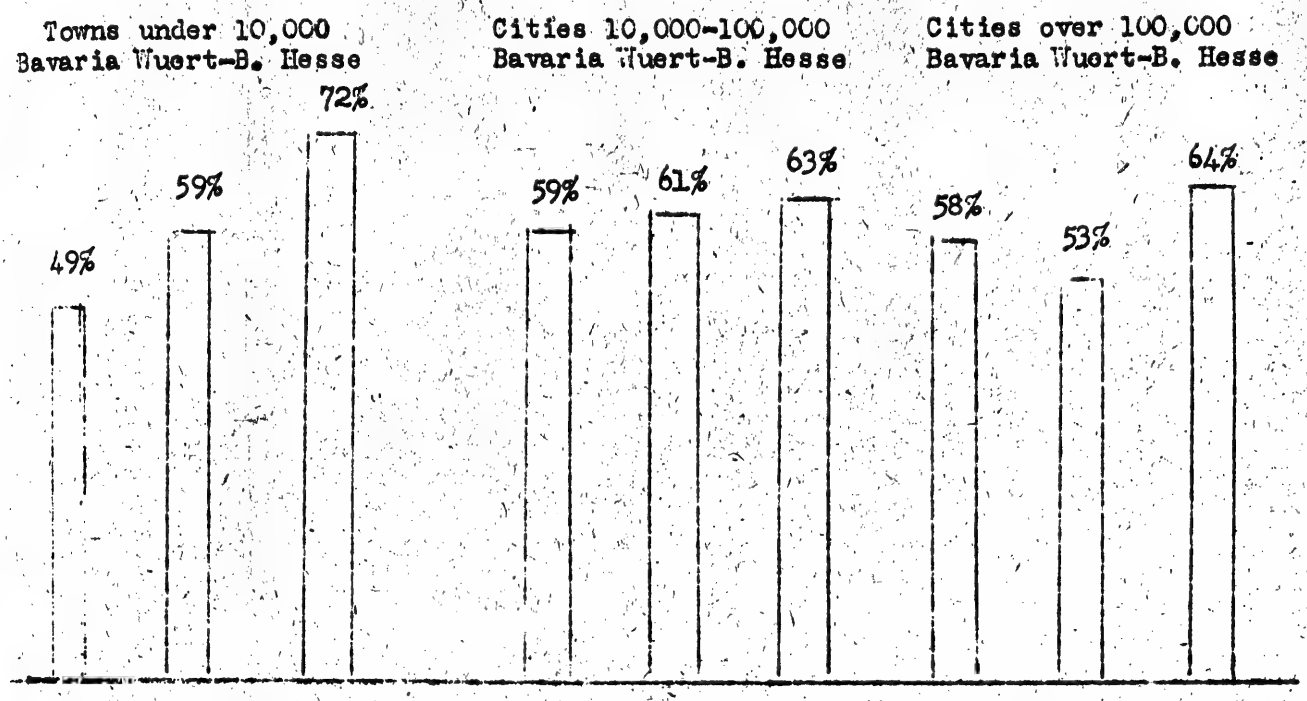
In the Zone, however, strains of provincialism, and refusals to acknowledge Berlin as the capital, are most prominent among Bavarian farmers. National pride and respect for the glory that was Berlin's, on the other hand, is most evident among Hessian farmland residents. In all small towns and villages in the Zone the number who withhold judgment is larger than in towns and cities with more residents. Probably rural dwellers tend not to have firm views on this issue. An exception occurs among Hessian village residents who display more structured thinking than do rural residents in Wuerttemberg-Baden or Bavaria.

Hessian admiration for Berlin is not restricted to village dwellers. Consistently, in medium size towns, and in large city groups, more Hessians than residents of the other two Laender agree that Berlin should be the capital. But Hessian farmers and their village neighbors outstrip their compatriots in larger Hessian communities in favoritism toward Berlin. The reverse is true in Bavaria. There rural residents less frequently than people in towns and cities think Berlin should be the center of Germany. In Wuerttemberg-Baden, more sentiment in support of Berlin centralism appears in country and town areas than in large city districts.

In sum, the particularism of Bavarian villages has more influence than local civic pride among city dwellers in negating national feelings, whereas in Hesse national pride in the villages induces more centrist thinking than is evident in the cities. In Wuerttemberg-Baden, community pride in the large cities acts as a relative damper to national feelings when compared with centrist dispositions in the smaller towns.

Question: "Do you think that Berlin should be the capital of Germany?"

% answering "Yes"



About half (~~48%~~ 47) of those who would not like Berlin to be the capital of Germany say they would prefer Frankfurt/M. as the capital. The next most frequently mentioned city is Munich(32%), with a few naming Stuttgart (4%) or other cities (9%) such as Hamburg, Heidelberg, Leipzig, Hannover, Wiesbaden or Nuernberg. A few others (8%) expressed no choice, sometimes saying they would prefer a city west of Berlin, "away from Russian influence," or "in the American Zone," or "more central." Bavarians, more frequently than anyone, urged Munich, but people in the other two Laender very largely proposed Frankfurt/M. as the capital.

"Do you think that Berlin should be the capital of Germany?"

	Bavaria	Wuerttemberg-Baden	Hesse	American Zone	Berlin
Yes	52	58	70	58	93
No	29	24	18	25	3
No Opinion	19	18	12	17	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number Interviewed:	1613	659	732	3004	399

Laender By Size of Community

	Bavaria			Wuerttemberg-Baden			Hesse		
	Under 10,000	10,000-100,000	Over 100,000	Under 10,000	10,000-100,000	Over 100,000	Under 10,000	10,000-100,000	Over 100,000
Yes	49	59	58	59	61	53	72	63	64
No	28	26	34	18	29	33	15	25	27
No Op.	23	15	8	23	10	14	13	12	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

If "No": "Which city should be the capital?"

Frankfurt	9	10	18	9	19	20	11	20	20
Munich	14	10	10	3	3	4	1	-	1
Stuttgart	*	1	1	3	2	3	-	-	-
Other	3	3	3	1	3	5	2	2	4
No Op.	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	3	2
	28%	26%	34%	18%	29%	33%	15%	25%	27%
Total Number	1110	243	260	349	127	183	500	98	134

*Less than one-half of one per cent

A REPORT ON GERMAN MORALE

REPORT NUMBER 72
NOVEMBER 1947
OPINION SURVEYS SECTION
INFORMATION CONTROL DIVISION

INTRODUCTION . . .

This report presents the results of a study of German morale conducted by the Opinion Surveys Section of ICD, during the first half of May, 1947. Like other surveys conducted by this section, this one was based on a representative sample of about 3000 cases selected from the population of the American Zone of Germany, supplemented by about 400 cases drawn from the American and British sectors of Berlin. Unless otherwise stated, results presented are based on the AMZON figures only; where Berlin figures are used, they are specifically labelled. The interviews were conducted in the homes by trained German interviewers. It is not likely that the lapse of time between interviewing and the publication of this report weakens the description presented here of some fundamental aspects of German psychology.

The questionnaire used contained a number of questions which approached the problem of morale from a variety of different angles. (These questions with their AMZON totals will be found in the appendix. In the text, the questions are frequently referred to in abbreviated form.) From a table of intercorrelations, four factors were selected, and these four "components of morale" are studied in detail to determine their population distribution and also the effect they have on other attitudes. Finally specific groups in the population are examined, to see how their morale, as measured by these questions, compares with that of other groups.

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SUMMARY . . .

1. By analysis of a number of questions on a questionnaire designed to test morale among the German people, four major components of morale were found. These were: - satisfaction or dissatisfaction with nazism, awareness and interest in public affairs, participation in community life, and attitude toward the future. Of these components, participation and awareness are most closely related, but attitudes toward nazism is found to be the variable which shows the closest relation to all the others. It is likely, then, that a good index to low morale is disposition toward the aims and practices of National Socialism.

2. The people who are dissatisfied with nazism tend to be more liberal, more tolerant and more optimistic, while those who are satisfied with it tend to show the opposite traits. The dissatisfied people tend to be drawn from among the Communists, business and professional people, Berliners, men, and Socialists. Those who are satisfied tend to be lower class, poor, women, and young.

3. The people who are "aware" tend to have a coldly realistic but pessimistic outlook on life, while the "unaware" display greater optimism. Those who are most aware are in general the better educated, city-dwellers, business and professional people, Communists, former Wehrmacht and former NSDAP members. The least aware are in general the lower class, women, farmers, the least educated and the elderly.

4. People who participate in community life to any appreciable extent are very few in number in Germany. When examined, they tend to look like the "aware" group. Their attitudes are similar, and they are drawn in general from the same population groups.

5. Confidence in the future seems to vary only with education. The least educated are the most confident about the future; those with the best education are least confident. Other population dimensions do not seem to be relevant, although Berliners tend to be more confident about the future than are Germans who live in the American Zone. In fact, city dwellers, as a group, are better informed and more aware of what is going on than rural people, but they are more worried about basic security and more pessimistic about the future.

6. German youth (under 30 years old) exhibit a pessimism that is far beyond that of any other population group. In addition, their apathy and lack of interest in current affairs pose a real problem for the future.

7. The upper social classes are better informed than the lower, and tend also to be more pessimistic. There are indications that well-to-do people are more afraid of Communism than the lower class representatives interviewed, and therefore, if forced to choose, would tend to select National Socialism.

8. Each political party shows a characteristic pattern of responses which distinguishes it from the others. SPD affiliates appear relatively optimistic and relatively satisfied with the way the occupation powers are working. CDU/CSU followers are found to be the least well informed, whereas LDP/DVP supporters are among the best informed. WAV voters show the greatest sympathy with the aims of National Socialism.

9. Indications are that democracy has not been perceived by large areas of the German population as a positive, emotionally satisfying program. It is taken more often as being <u>against</u> something -- that opposition to nazism is sufficient to qualify one as a "democrat." Too often the rejection of nazism probably leaves the individual in a vacuum, not knowing just what he wants, but certain only of what he does not want.

THE MORALE COMPONENTS UNDER CONSIDERATION . . .

This report deals chiefly with four broad attitudinal areas which are thought to be important basic elements in German morale today. These areas are: 1) Satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the aims and practices of the Nazi regime; 2) Awareness of and interest in public affairs; 3) Voluntary participation in political and community life; and 4) Optimistic or pessimistic outlook regarding the future. These four areas emerged from a table of intercorrelations between all the questions on an opinion questionnaire designed to get at the factors underlying morale.* In each of these four instances, the scores obtained served to rank the population along a rough continuum with respect to the basic attitude in question. In each instance, this continuum was broken up into three groups so that one could compare, for example, those most aware of public affairs, the intermediate and the least aware; those who participate most, the intermediate, the least, etc.**

---

* The questions comprising these components will be found in the appendix.

** Since the selection of the points at which to break the continuum is a purely arbitrary choice, the attempt was made to divide the population roughly into thirds. Therefore, conclusions of the nature "Less than a third of the population are aware of and interested in national affairs," are entirely unjustified by these data.

INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN THE COMPONENTS . . .

Participation and awareness are very closely related;* that is, if we know that a man is well informed and interested in his country's affairs, it is highly probable that he takes some sort of active part in political or community life. Conversely, of course, a person who participates very little probably has little interest and awareness. It is impossible from these data to say which is cause and which is effect, but it is clear that the two are closely related. It is equally clear that whether one is optimistic or pessimistic about the future bears no relation to whether or not one participates, and little or no relation to one's state of awareness. In fact, if any relation exists between awareness and confidence in the future, it is negative, i.e., the more aware one is, the more pessimistic one is about the future. On the other hand, dissatisfaction with nazism is found to have some positive relationship to all three of the other attitudes. Correlation coefficients of .30 or higher link it with each of them. This indicates that there is a meaningful degree of dependence between one's attitude toward nazism and each of the three other components of morale here considered.

These relationships suggest that dissatisfaction with nazi principles is the basic underlying factor of the four, in that, knowing that attitude, one can make a reasonably probable prediction of any of the others; whereas knowing any one of the others alone, no such predictions are possible.

---

* The table below shows the correlations between the four basic attitudes:

	DISSATISFACTION WITH NAZISM	CONFIDENCE IN FUTURE	PARTICIPATION
AWARENESS	.30	-.12	.80
PARTICIPATION	.32	.01	
CONFIDENCE IN FUTURE	.39		

PART I

ATTITUDES OF THOSE WHO ARE DISSATISFIED WITH NATIONAL SOCIALISM . . .

In Chart I the attitudes of those who are most dissatisfied with the aims and practices of National Socialism are compared with the attitudes of the people most satisfied with them. For convenience in representation, the middle group has been omitted, and only the two extreme groups are shown. These extreme groups differ markedly in their answers to some of the questions, as the chart shows. It is perhaps not surprising to find that the greatest differences occur in their attitudes toward the Allies. Those who are most dissatisfied with National Socialism are more inclined, by a wide margin, to believe that the Allies have helped the reconstruction of Germany, and to feel that the Allies should stay in Germany. Other differences shown between the attitudes of the two groups are smaller but still significant. The dissatisfied group appears to be on the whole more liberal, more tolerant, and more optimistic, within the limits of these questions. The small population segment which holds that Germany's future salvation depends on a new strong leader, or on a renascence of the nationalistic spirit of the Frederick the Great and Bismarck brand draws its heaviest support from the "most satisfied" with National Socialism group.

Relation of

DISSATISFACTION WITH NAZISM

To Other Attitudes

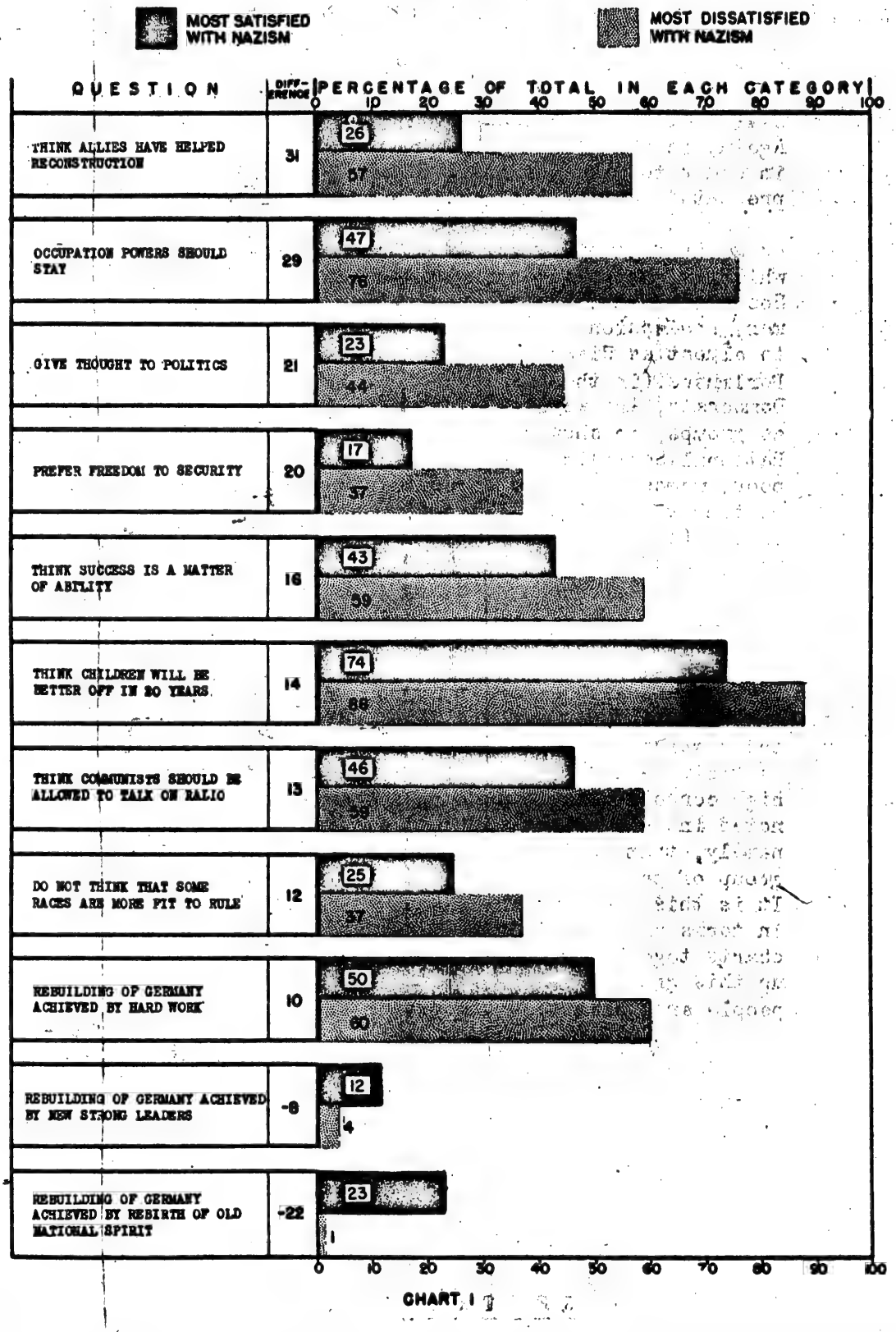


CHART I

WHO ARE DISSATISFIED WITH NATIONAL SOCIALISM? . . .

Chart II shows how various groups in the population compare with the average for the American Zone with respect to their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with National Socialism. Again, in this chart, the intermediate group has been omitted in order to make the chart clearer, and the comparison is presented only of those with extreme points of view.

As might be expected, the Communists appear as the group which is most outstandingly dissatisfied with National Socialism. But the "conservative" occupations, business men, professional people and public officials, turn out to be almost as dissatisfied. In addition to these groups, Berliners (in the American and British sectors), men, Social Democrats, the wealthy, former soldiers and CDU/CSU tend, as groups, to show greater than average dissatisfaction with National Socialism. On the other hand, lower class, very poor, women and those under thirty show the greatest proportion who were satisfied with National Socialism. Members of WAV (Economic Reconstruction Party, in Bavaria), though not outstandingly satisfied with National Socialism, show the smallest per cent dissatisfied with it of all the groups examined.

A comparison of this chart with Charts V and VIII shows that there is a good deal of correspondence between the groups which are most dissatisfied with National Socialism, those which are most aware and interested, and those which participate most. In part, this is another aspect of the high correlations between these components, as already noted in this report. But it also reflects another fact, namely, that in Germany today there is a relatively small group of people who are active, alert and well-informed. It is this group which is doing whatever is being done - in terms of this study - by Germans today. These three charts together indicate what kind of people go to make up this group, and, fully as important, what kinds of people are relatively unrepresented.

Comparison of Population Groups on Attitude Toward Nazism

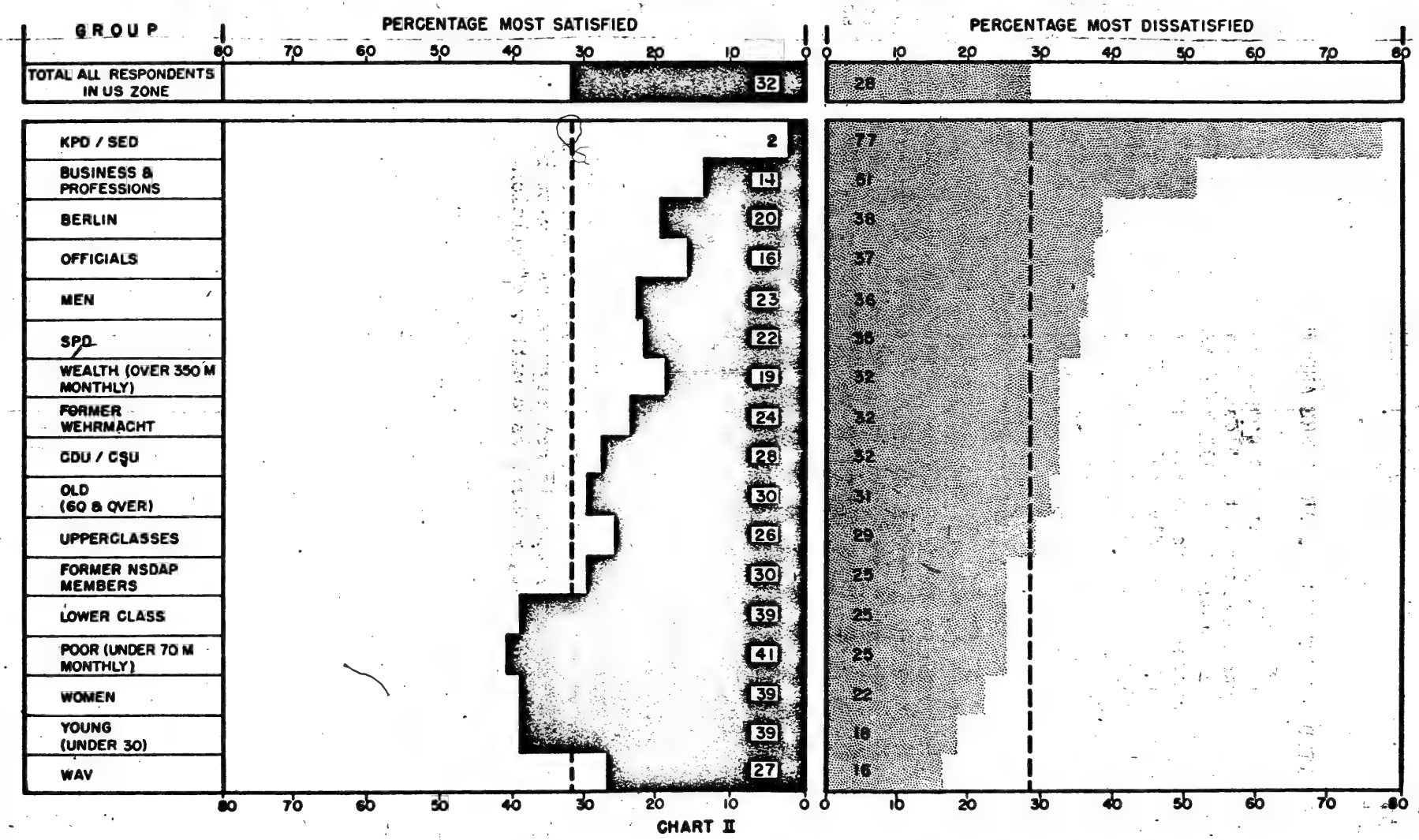


CHART II

Relation of

AWARENESS OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

to Other Attitudes

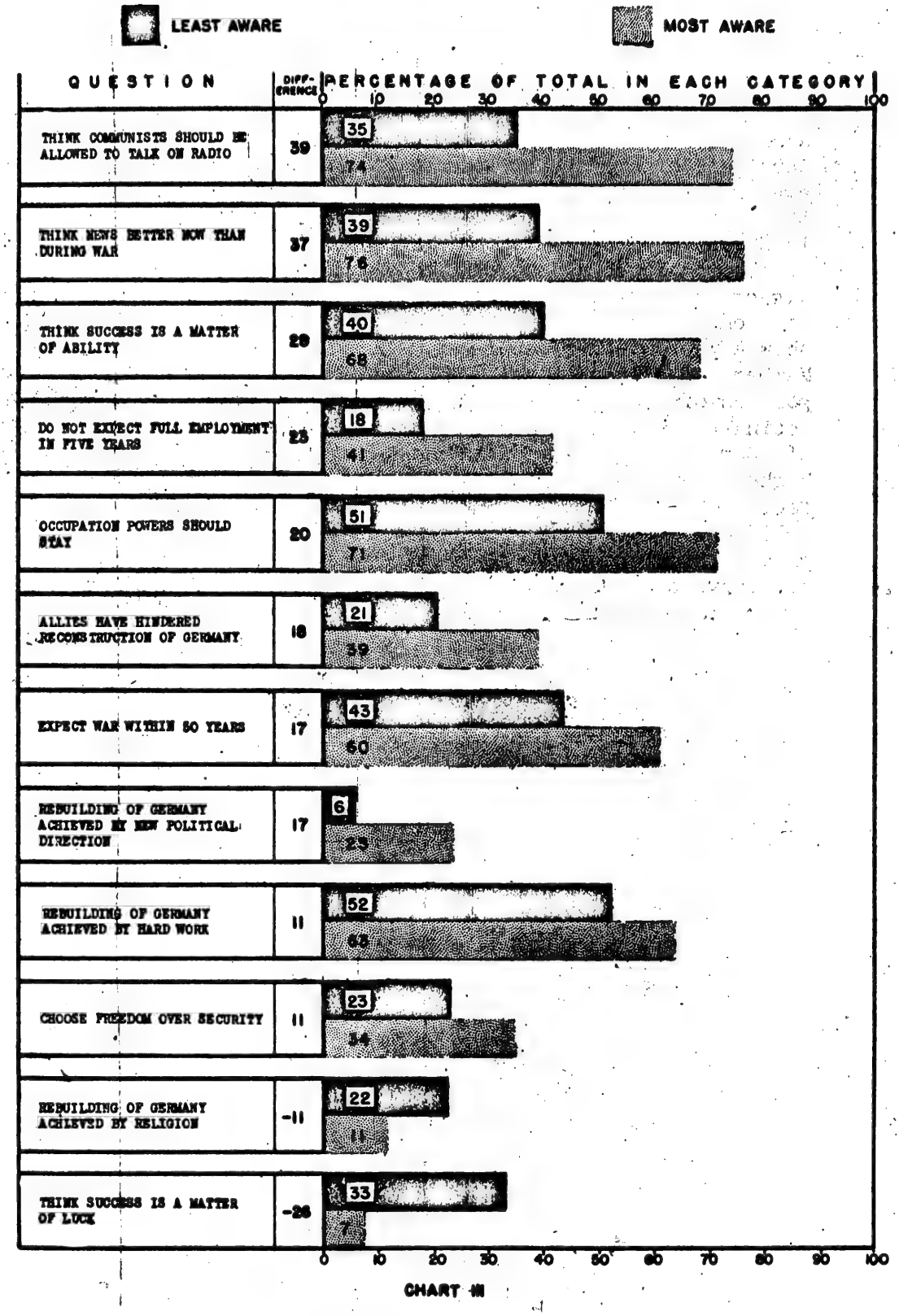


CHART III

WHICH PEOPLE ARE AWARE AND INTERESTED? . . .

Chart IV gives one answer to this question — the city people are markedly more aware and interested than the rural population. Furthermore, the difference is progressive, -- the larger the town or city, the greater the proportion of the people who are aware and interested. This, however, is not the only determinant of awareness, as Chart VII makes clear. Probably of even greater importance is education which in part underlies the rural-urban difference, as well as many of the others shown in Chart V. Thus it comes as no surprise to find business and professional people and members of the upper classes showing a higher proportion of awareness than the average for the American Zone. Also, former members of the NSDAP and former soldiers show a proportion of awareness that is well above average. Members of all political parties are found to be higher in proportion of awareness than nonmembers. In fact, it is worth noting that the Communists have a markedly larger proportion of awareness than any of the others. (In part, of course, the higher scores of the political party members results from the fact that the questions on which this score is based are largely political questions.) At the other extreme, we find those groups which are least represented in the aware and interested category: the elderly, the uneducated, farmers, women, and the lower class.

Awareness of Public Affairs by Size of Community

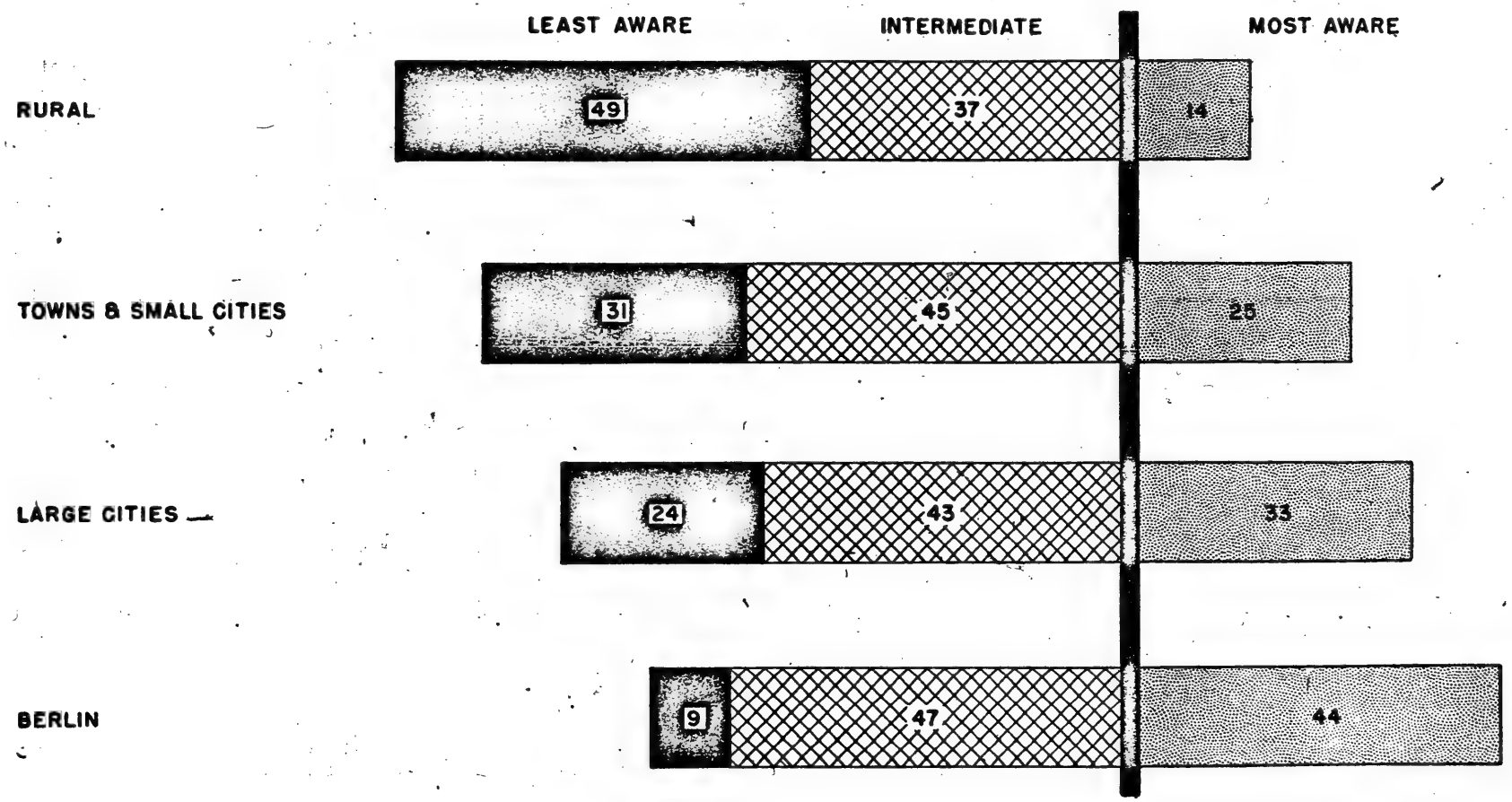


CHART IV

Comparison of Population Groups on Awareness of Public Affairs

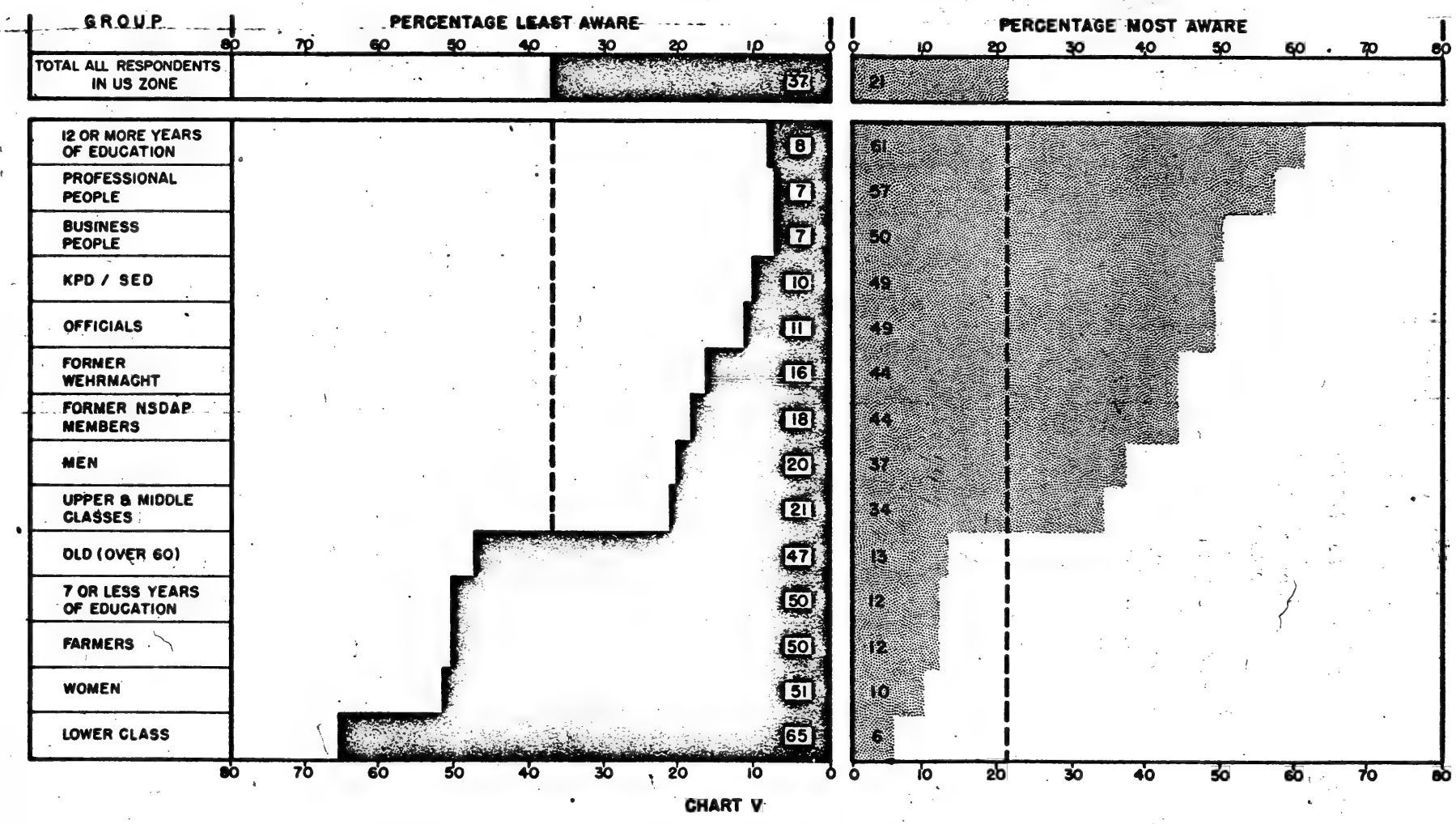


CHART V

ATTITUDES OF THOSE WHO PARTICIPATE MOST . . .

Chart VI contrasts the attitudes of those who participate most in community activities with those of the people who participate least. Results are shown only for those questions where a significant difference occurs.

It appears that the attitudes very closely resemble those of the corresponding "aware" groups, which is not surprising, considering the high correllation between the two. Those who participate hold that the present news sources are better, and that Communists should be allowed on the radio, to a greater degree than do the non-participators. In general, their other attitudes are consistent with the "aware group," and among them the same apparent contradictions exist in that they also think the Allies have hindered German reconstruction, and that the Allies should stay.

Relation of

PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS

to Other Attitudes

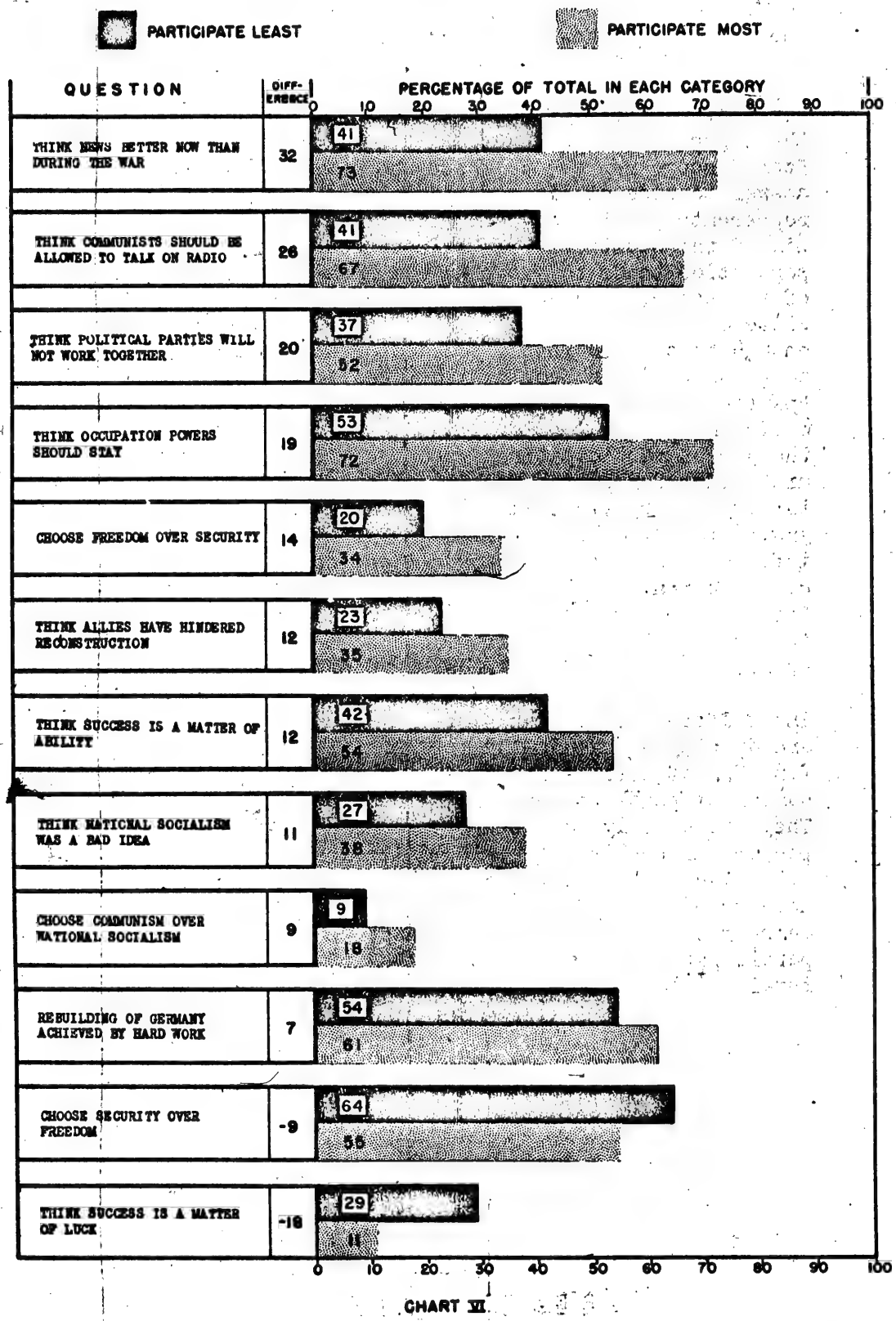


CHART VI

Participation in Public Affairs

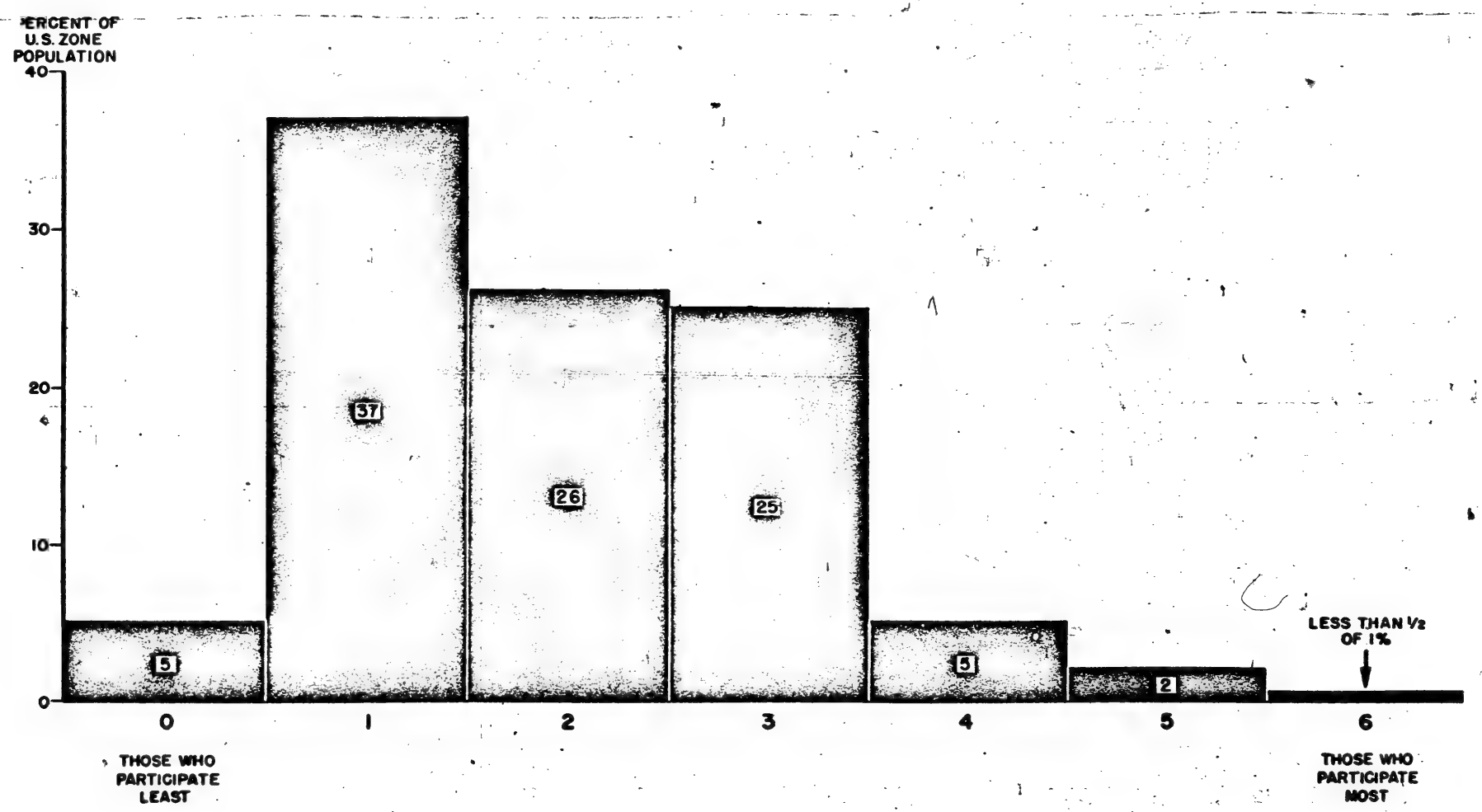


CHART VII

Comparison of Population Groups on Participation in Public Affairs

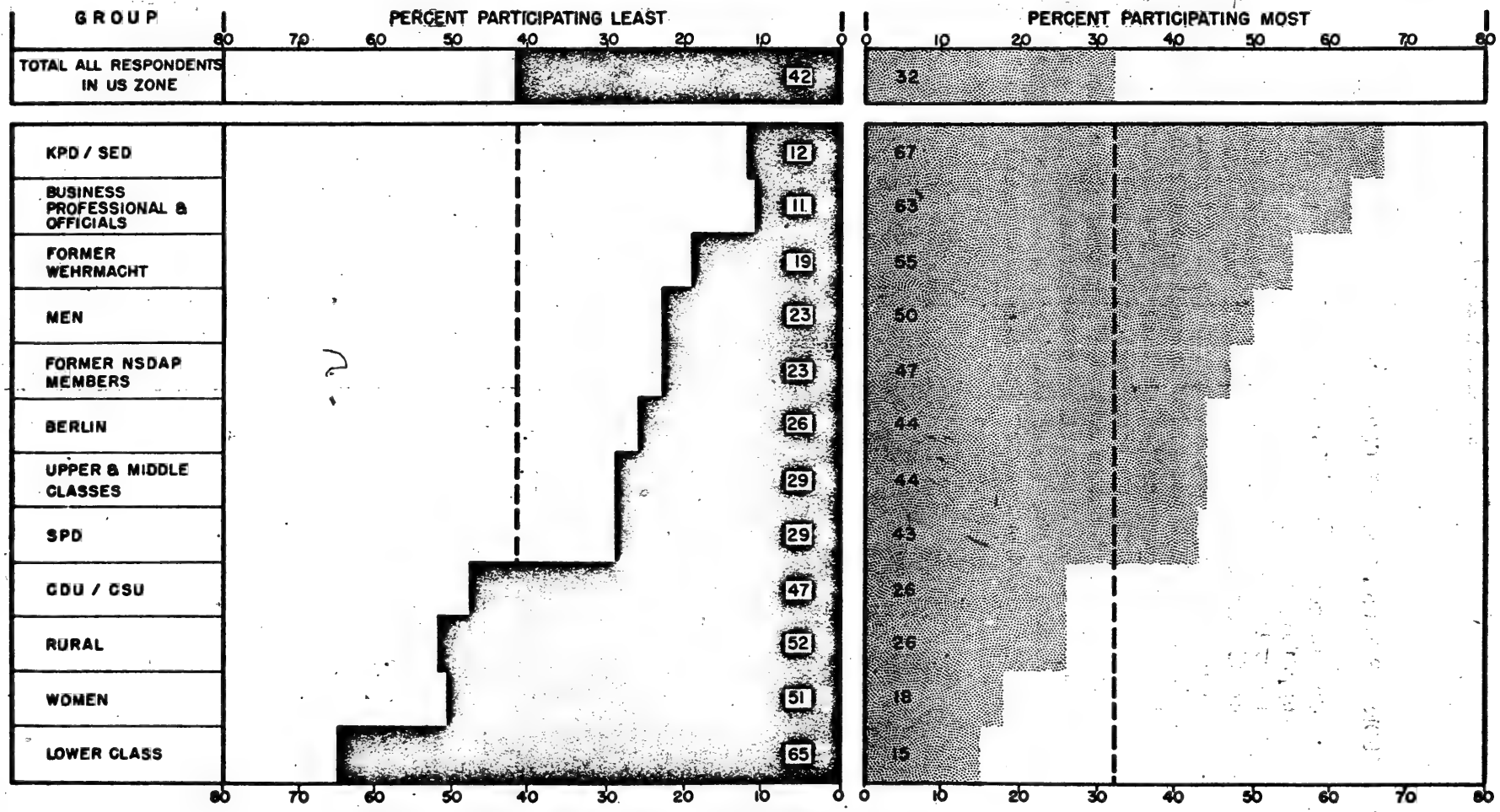


CHART VIII

ATTITUDES OF THOSE WHO ARE CONFIDENT ABOUT THE FUTURE . . .

Confidence in the future appears to be related to a vaguely hopeful, poorly informed and not very intelligent attitude toward life in general. Thus the group which claims to be confident is more inclined than the pessimistic or least confident group to think that political parties will work together, that the different religions will work together, that one succeeds in life through luck, that religion is what is needed for the reconstruction of Germany, and that most people can be trusted. They tend to be the people who are most dissatisfied with nazism, but they are also, in general, the people who are least aware of what is going on. Their attitudes are illustrated graphically in Chart IX.

Relation of

CONFIDENCE IN FUTURE

to Other Attitudes

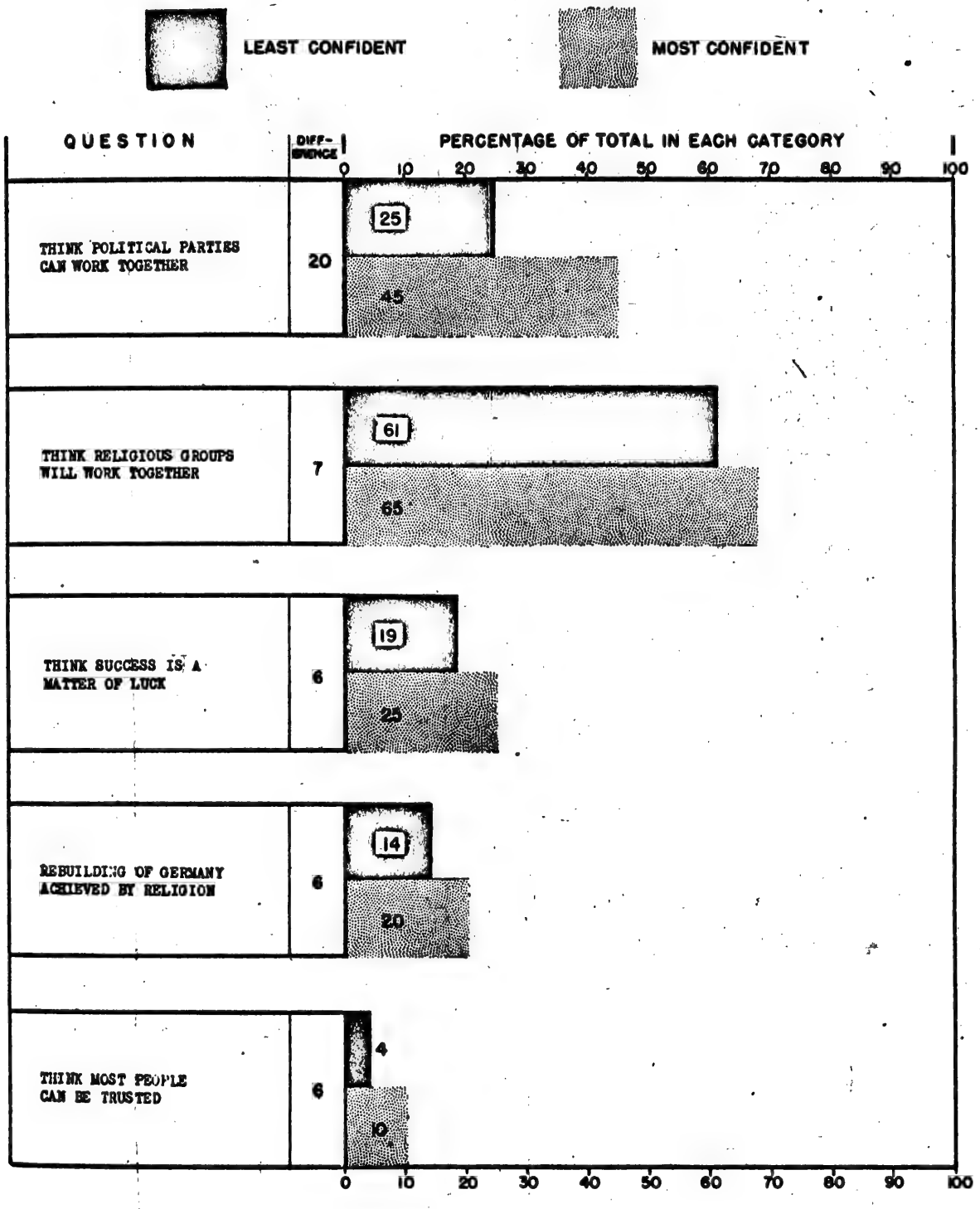


CHART IX

WHICH PEOPLE ARE CONFIDENT ABOUT THE FUTURE? . . .

The only significant difference that could be found between population groups in the American Zone with respect to this component Confidence in the Future was education. It is clear that the most educated people are the least confident about the future and the least educated are most likely to indicate confidence. But, when education is held constant, no other significant difference can be found in AMZON. Apparently, being optimistic or pessimistic about the future is unrelated to political party preference, occupation, income, age, religion, sex, rural-urban distribution, and whether or not one is a former NSDAP member or a former soldier. Berliners tend to express markedly more confidence than the average for AMZON. This is noteworthy in that Berlin's opinions usually reflect that city's generally higher level of educ ation, but in this instance the more educated are <u>less</u> optimistic. Here, however, Berliners are <u>more</u> optimistic. Evidence available in this study does not provide any clear-cut reason why this should be so.

A different aspect of the people's attitude toward the occupation authorities was tested with the question, "In your opinion, would it be better for Germany if the four occupying powers to leave in the near future?" Here it is found that 62% say "stay," while only a quarter (24%) say "go." However, in Berlin, where the conflicts and confusions of four power occupation can be seen most intimately, the per cent saying "go" is as large as 38.

PART II

This report so far has dealt with various aspects of morale in the whole population and has attempted to show for the entire population how opinion lines up on a number of topics related in different ways to the state of morale. In this section, the material will be sliced the other way, and several of the most important population groups will be examined full-length. Thus it will be possible to see at a glance how the young people, or the well-educated, or the farmers, compare with other parts of the population; wherein their attitudes are hopeful and wherein not. In the following tables, questions are presented only if they yield a significant difference. If a question does not appear, it may be assumed that the differences are not significant — that is, that people of varying economic background, social status, occupation and so on, all tend to think alike on the question.

FARMERS AND CITY-DWELLERS . . .

An examination of Table I discloses a number of marked differences between country people and city people. It is worth noting that in nearly all cases the differences are progressive, that is, the larger the city under consideration, the greater its difference from the country, and the more it becomes like Berlin the largest city in the sample.

City people, it appears, are better informed and more aware of what is going on. Also they feel that they are now getting more truthful news than they did during the war, but they tend to be pretty pessimistic about the present and future. They are inclined to consider security more desirable than freedom, probably partly because more of them are worried about the basic necessities of food and a place to live. The country people, on the other hand, are less worried about food and shelter, but more of them worry about evacuees and economic problems. The country people appear to have more faith in the effecacy of religion in rebuilding Germany, and they believe that success in life is largely a matter of luck to a greater extent than do residents of the cities.

Table I

RURAL - URBAN

	Towns under 2,000	2,000 to 250,000	250,000 and over	American & British Sectors of Berlin
Worry about food	33	62	78	73
Worry about education	12	6	2	8
Worry about economic problems	14	9	7	3
Worry about place to live	6	10	17	13
Do not expect full employment in 5 years	23	31	32	32
Think "Religion" needed to rebuild Germany	22	14	11	7
Think "Hard work" needed to rebuild Germany	51	59	73	60
Think Allies should leave now	58	63	71	60
Think political parties will not cooperate	40	50	54	58
Think security is more important than freedom	57	65	65	66
Think much about politics	25	38	44	51
Prefer Communism to National-Socialism	9	16	21	26
Feel adequately informed	35	47	48	61
Read a paper regularly	51	66	74	75
Never read a paper	12	6	4	1
Say news is better now than during war	48	62	73	79
Listen regularly to radio	25	47	60	55
Think success is a matter of luck	27	16	18	13
Think success is a matter of ability	46	56	66	66
Do not think some races "born to rule"	27	31	41	39

EDUCATION . . .

Comparison of the population on a basis of education, contrasting those with most education with those who have the least, reveals some more interesting differences, as shown in Table II. It should be borne in mind that these factors -- better education, higher social status, and urban residence -- tend to have a good deal of overlap. Similarly, the poorer the education, the lower the social status. Now rural groups tend to be both more poorly educated and lower in status, so it is not surprising that the results for these groups frequently correspond.

The better educated people are better informed and more aware, as one might expect. However, this appears to lead them to be more pessimistic about the likelihood of full employment in the near future, and to the probability of the leading political parties cooperating, as well as to the expectation of war within 50 years. Their tendency to believe that the Allies have hindered rather than furthered German reconstruction probably does not stem from the same factor — better information. The better informed also seem to have a somewhat cynical attitude about the importance of "pull" in contributing to success. On the other hand, the least educated, besides being the opposite on all these points, show a simple faith in pure luck as the way to success. They also more frequently mention clothes as one of their chief cares and worries, probably because of their generally lower economic status.

Table II

EDUCATION

	7 years or less	8 - 11 years	12 years or more
Worry about clothes	20	14	7
Expect full employment in 5 years .	61	60	39
Think hard work needed for reconstruction	52	60	64
Expect war within 50 years	46	53	63
Believe Allies have helped reconstruction	46	42	29
Believe Allies have hindered reconstruction	23	29	45
Believe Allies should stay in Germany	60	62	70
Think individual's most useful contribution is to be a good citizen .	8	11	21
Think political parties will not cooperate	39	50	57
Think religious groups will cooperate	66	63	76
Think about politics	25	34	70
Consider themselves well informed .	35	43	70
Read a paper regularly	55	61	88
Think present news is better	53	58	68
Listen to radio regularly	30	44	54
Think success is a matter of luck .	29	18	4
Think success is a matter of ability	46	56	62
Think success is a matter of pull .	16	22	27

However, they are not the best-informed. The middle-aged group, those between 30 and 59, tend more often to read papers, to listen to the radio, to think about politics, and, perhaps as a result, to think that present news sources are better than those during the war. This tendency for the middle-aged group to be better informed than either the very old or the very young is not unique to Germany, however; it is the usual pattern found in the United States as well. But the pessimism, cynicism, apathy and resignation of German youth is one of the outstanding features of these results and points to special problems in Germany.

Table III

AGE

	Young Under 30	30 - 59	Old 60 and over
Do not expect full employment in 5 years	31	28	22
Think religion needed to rebuild Germany	13	17	22
Think hard work needed to rebuild Germany	60	58	52
Expect war within 50 years	60	50	43
Do not expect war within 50 years	28	34	37
Say individual can contribute hard work	49	56	60
Think political parties will cooperate	22	37	38
Think political parties will not cooperate	58	45	37
Think security is more important than freedom	68	61	57
Think present news is better	53	59	56
Claim to think about politics	33	36	25
Prefer National Socialism to Communism	56	39	35
Read a paper regularly	54	63	60
Listen regularly to radio	41	41	30
Think success is a matter of luck	18	21	26
Think success is a matter of pull	26	20	15
Think religious groups will cooperate	59	66	69

SOCIAL STATUS . . .

In Table IV the attitudes of the upper, upper middle and middle classes, combined, are contrasted respectively with those of the lower middle class and lower class. The table discloses that attitudes differ greatly between classes, perhaps more greatly than along any other dimension.

People of higher status are better informed and believe the news is better. More of them prefer a government that provides freedom to one that provides security. This is doubtless related to the fact that they are already better off economically than the lower classes, and therefore dare put less value on security. They are more certain that religious groups can work together, and more of them think the Allies should stay in Germany. But ... in many respects they are more pessimistic than the lower classes. More of them doubt that the leading political parties can cooperate, more of them think the Allies have hindered the reconstruction, and more of them expect another war within 50 years. In addition, if forced to choose, more of the higher status people than those with lower status would take National Socialism rather than Communism. It is worth noting that when asked, "What are your chief cares and worries?", although the two status groups do not differ with respect to "food" and "clothing," the lower class people are more worried about evacuees who have been moved in among them, and the higher status people are more inclined to worry about matters of business.

Table IV

SOCIAL STATUS

	Upper, upper middle, and middle	Lower middle	Lower
Worry about business	16	10	4
Worry about evacuees	4	8	16
Expect full employment in 5 years	54	60	63
Think hard work needed for reconstruction	62	56	55
Expect war within 50 years	55	51	45
Think Allies have hindered reconstruction	34	26	22
Think Allies should stay	68	63	50
Think political parties will not cooperate	51	47	37
Think religious groups will cooperate	73	64	57
Prefer freedom to security	28	27	21
Give thought to politics	49	31	16
Prefer National Socialism to Communism	47	42	38
Consider themselves sufficiently informed	54	42	23
Read a paper regularly	75	60	40
Think news is now better	64	58	46
Listen regularly to radio	52	38	23
Think success is a matter of luck	12	22	33
Think success is a matter of ability	64	53	39

POLITICAL PARTIES . . .

Table V shows the relationship among the various political parties and their comparison with the AMZON average, with respect to a number of different questions on this questionnaire. Figures represent groups composed both of members and sympathizers, and so tend to reflect the opinions of all the supporters of the party. Starred figures are significantly above the average for the zone, underlined figures are significantly below the average. The other figures do not differ significantly from the zonal average.

SPD: From this table, the Socialists show up as a group that has relatively high hopes for the future and moderately high confidence in the present. They expect future German children will be better off, and they expect, more than the average, that the leading political parties will work together. They are above average too in feeling that the Allies have furthered reconstruction and that the Laender governments are doing all they can. The Socialists are also, on the whole, well informed. On all the questions tapping this point, except the two asking who Pierre Koenig and Jacob Kaiser are, they do very well, in most cases being significantly above the zonal average.

KPD/SED: This group, although a very small part of the sample (about 2%), presents a pattern of responses that is unique and highly characteristic. Understandably, they feel that Communists should be allowed to speak on the radio, and they prefer Communism to National Socialism. But, in addition, they emerge as one of the best-informed of all the political groups, being well above the zonal average in everything except in their ability to identify Pierre Koenig.

CDU/CSU: This group appears from the table to be optimistic but not very well informed. To a greater extent than the average these people think that rebuilding Germany is a matter of only a short time, that the parties and the religious groups will work together, and that the Laender governments are doing all they can. However, on the information questions, they tend to be well below the average, usually being least well informed of all the political parties. The fact that supporters of the CDU/CSU worry less about food, and that they choose freedom over security to a greater extent than do others, probably reflects chiefly the fact that this group is concentrated largely in Bavaria, and is in a generally less critical situation regarding food than are people in the rest of the country.

LDP/DVP: This group contains a higher percentage of upper class, better educated people than do the other party groups. This fact is reflected in the generally better state of information.

WAV: This extremely small group (less than 2% of the sample) is in general too tiny for statistical analysis in our sample, but in one question they do differ significantly from the zonal average. Markedly fewer of them say that they think that National Socialism was a bad idea. Whereas most other political parties score above the zonal average on this point, the WAV can produce only 11% who are willing to say that it was a bad idea.

APPENDIX

The following are the questions which were used on the questionnaire analysed here, including the questions from which the components were constructed. Results given are for AMZON only, excluding Berlin.

QUESTIONS USED IN "DISSATISFACTION WITH NAZIISM"

Was National Socialism a bad idea, or a good idea badly carried out?

Bad idea	32%
Good idea	55
No opinion	13

Does today's news seem to you to be more or less true, as compared to that published during the war?

More	57%
Less	5
No opinion	38

If you had to choose between Communism and National Socialism, which would you choose?

Communism	7%		
National Socialism		21%	
No opinion			6%
Neither	66%		

(If neither) Which form of government would you say is the worst?

Communism		21%	
National Socialism	7%		
No opinion			38%

Totals

Prefer Communism	14%		
Prefer National Socialism		42%	
No opinion			44%

QUESTIONS USED IN "AWARENESS"

Do you give much thought to politics, or do you prefer to leave that to others?

Give it thought	33%
Leave it to others	67

Are you sufficiently well informed about current political events?

Yes	42%
No	56
No opinion	2

(If "No") Have you bothered to seek further information?

Yes	12
No	44

Do you read a newspaper?

Regularly	61%
Occasionally	20
Seldom	11
Never	8

Do you listen to the radio?

Regularly	39%
Occasionally	15
Seldom	10
Never	36

Do you know who Kurt Schumacher is?

Yes, correct	40%
Yes, partly correct	8
Yes, incorrect	4
No	48

And Pierre Koenig?

Yes, correct	11%
Yes, partly correct	4
Yes, incorrect	1
No	84

And Jakob Kaiser?

Yes, correct	13%
Yes, partly correct	3
Yes, incorrect	3
No	81

Do you have a clear idea of what the war was all about?

Yes	64%
No	36

(If "Yes") What was it all about?

Hitler or Nazis wanted war	30%
Power politics	24
Lebensraum, colonies, etc.	20
World trade, capitalism, etc.	12
Others	22

QUESTIONS USED IN "PARTICIPATION"

Do you feel that you personnaly are doing everything possible to help with it? (The rebuilding of Germany)

Yes	90%
No	6
No opinion	4

Did you voluntarily help with the census in October, 1946?

Yes	7%
No	93

Do you do any sort of voluntary unpaid work here?

Yes	6%
No	94

Are you a member of a political party?

Yes	4%
No	96

Do you give much thought to politics, or do you prefer to leave that to others?

Give it thought	33%
Leave it to others	67

Are you sufficiently well informed about current political events?

Yes	42%
No	56
No opinion	2

(If "No") Have you bothered to seek further information?

Yes	12%
No	44

QUESTIONS USED IN "CONFIDENCE IN FUTURE"

Does your personal future look black, or do you think everything will turn out all right?

Optimistic	64%
Pessimistic	31
No opinion	5

Do you think that after the next five years everyone who wants work can find a job?

Yes	59%
No	27
No opinion	14

Do you think that the German children in twenty years will be better off than those today?

Yes	83%
No	7
No opinion	10

Do you think that a peace treaty which lowers the German standard of living will bring a lasting peace?

Yes	11%
No	77
No opinion	12

Do you think that in the next 50 years there will be another world war?

Yes	51%
No	34
No opinion	15

Do you feel that the Allies have helped or hindered the reconstruction of Germany?

Helped	42%
Hindered	28
No opinion	30

OTHER QUESTIONS

In your opinion would it be better for Germany if the four occupying powers were to get out at once?

Yes	24%
No	62
No opinion	14

Are the Laender governments doing everything possible to further the rebuilding of Germany?

Yes	53%
No	27
No opinion	20

Do you think it probable that the leading political parties will work together in the rebuilding of Germany?

Yes	35%
No	46
No opinion	19

Do you think it probable that Catholics and Protestants can work together in the same political party?

Yes	65%
No	26
No opinion	9

How do you think the German officials in this (city) (town) work: very good, good, fair, or poor?

Very good	5%
Good	32
Fair	36
Poor	16
No opinion	11

Does it seem to you that ..... (name of the Land) is a democratic Land?

Yes	47%
NO	29
No opinion	23

Does it seem to you that this (city) (town) is a democratic community?

Yes	49%
No	30
No opinion	21

What are your greatest cares and worries?

Food	52%
Clothing	16
Unemployment	12
Business worries	11
All others less than	10

In your opinion, will it take long to rebuild the German economy?

Yes	70%
No	17
No opinion	13

(If "Yes") How long?

5 years or less	17%
10 years	25
15 years	8
Longer	11
No opinion	9

In your opinion, how can the rebuilding of Germany best be accomplished? (Card)

Through religion	17%
Through hard work	57
Through a new strong leader	7
Through the rebirth of old nationalistic spirit of Bismarck and Frederick the Great	2
Through a new political direction	13
No opinion	9

When do you think that Germany will be taken back into the family of nations?

In 2 years	13%
In 5 years	28
In 10 years	15
Longer	9
No opinion	35

In what way can the individual German help with the rebuilding of Germany?

Hard work	55%
Unity, cooperation	10
By contributing all his abilities	10
Honest work, personal integrity	9
Social participation	7
Others	8
No opinion	8

Will you please look at this card and tell me which of these two forms of government you would pick as the better? (Card)

A) A government which offers the people economic security and full employment, or
B) A government which assures free elections, freedom of speech, a free press, and freedom of religion?

Security	62%
Freedom	26
No opinion	12

Should members of the Communist Party be allowed to speak on the radio?

Yes	54%
No	33
No opinion	13

What do you think success depends on: luck, ability, or "pull"?

Luck	21%
Ability	53
Pull	20
No opinion	7

Do you have the feeling that these days most people can be trusted?

Yes	7%
No	91
No opinion	2

Do you believe that some races are more fit to rule than others?

Yes	52%
No	31
No opinion	17

[redacted]

A GUIDE TO SOME PROPAGANDA PROBLEMS

Report No. 73

28 October 1947
ICD OPINION SURVEYS
OMGUS APO 742
Berlin Germany

[redacted]

~~DECLASSIFIED~~
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NM By Date 8-K-85

Introduction

ICD Opinion Surveys has continued its study of the effectiveness of anti-American propaganda among the German population. (See Special Report No. 2, 18 August 1947.) The purpose of this study is to report what advantage lies with the proponents of such "psychological warfare," to determine what appeals to the German mind are most effective in countering such propaganda, and to throw light on how such appeals may best be made.*

Whereas the previous study was conducted on a small scale throughout the American Zone, this study was designed as a large scale experiment in the Zone and Berlin. Because of technical difficulties only the Berlin results are available.** A representative sample of 500 adults in the French, British and American sectors of Berlin was interviewed at home by trained German interrogators under the supervision of an American Opinion Surveys field officer. Approximately 125 representative Berliners, considered as separate, comparable and representative samples, were tested as to reactions to each of the four sets of statements described below.

As in the previous study, three types of statements were prepared on each of fourteen topics. (A listing of the statements used can be found in the Appendix.) One statement on each topic was phrased in a direction unfavorable to America (e.g.: Most Americans have much money, but little culture"); one was phrased favorably (e.g.: "The Americans are a highly cultured people"); the third statement presented alternative propositions in as fair and objective a sense as possible giving no more weight to one side than the other, and aiming not to claim more for the Americans than could be reasonably supported (e.g.: "a) Do you think that the Americans in general think more about money than about culture, or b) can one day in general that the Americans have reached a relatively high cultural level?") A fourth set of sentences was also prepared for this study which was not used in the previous experiment. This fourth set preceded each of the fourteen unfavorable statements with identification of the source of the charge as Russian (e.g.: The Russians claim that most Americans have much money, but little culture"). Two of the sets of statements contained an equal number of favorable and unfavorable proposals, the third presented proposals with the objective or balanced alternatives, the fourth set contained only unfavorable propositions [illegible] identified as being made by the Russians.

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* In Wuerttemberg-Baden, none of whose borders are contigueus with the Russian Zone, sampling has shown that 12% of the population reports reading newspapers from other zones. Some people read newspapers from more than one zone. The breakdown by zonal origin of the influx of outside newspapers to this Land is: from the French Zone 9%, from the Russian Zone 5%, from the British Zone 3%.

** It may be possible to present results from Bavaria and Wuerttemberg-Baden in a future report. No complete zonal picture will, however, be available.

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Summary

1. Four separate tests of the reaction of samples of Berliners to pro- or anti-American propaganda have been made. Two of these tests scrambled both types of bias. A third test presented only the unfavorable statements but identified them as "Russian." A fourth test represented an attempt to secure reactions to fair, objective and balanced questions on the same topics. Responses which were, on the average, most frequently favorable to us, were made to the identified propositions; the least favorable were made to the same anti-American proposals when they were not identified. Russian prestige, then, is clearly negative in Berlin.

2. A large majority, on the average, rejects anti-American propoganda regardless of how it is presented. Solid reliance by Berliners upon American sincerity probably prepared the ground for this. On the other hand, suggestibilit to unfavorable propaganda probably results largely from incomplete information and lack of a balanced evaluation of the American scene.

3. Only minor variations are observed, no matter how the propositions are presented, on topics that deal particularly with conceptions of individual freedom and civil liberties in the United States.

4. Statements dealing with "capitalistic domination" of America are particularly disadvantageous for us. Counter claims to these do not relieve the effectiveness of such charges.

5. At least one over-statement (regarding treatment of Negroes in the United States) proves damaging. A fair and balanced presentation of this situation brought a larger percentage of favorable responses.

6. People tend to recall unfavorable statements about the Americans rather than statements complimentary to us.

7. It is concluded that identification as "Russian" of anti-American charges aids in countering such charges. In fact, some anti-American statements react as positively favorable to us when they are ascribed to the Russians. In a more positive direction, a balanced understanding of the American scene undoubtedly builds most solidly for the future.

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Results

The average number giving favorable responses to the "objective" or "balanced" questions is 75%. This figure moves up only three percentage points to 78% in response to the pro-American biased statements, but moves down ten percentage points to 65% as a result of presenting anti-American propositions. On the other hand, when these anti-American propositions are identified as Russian-sponsored, the favorable response, on the average, moves up six percentage points to 81%.*

All these figures, it is important to recognize, are high. Large percentages of Berliners, on the average, reject unfavorable or biased remarks about the Americans, or choose the more fair alternative when two possible alternatives are presented to them. But variability to a significant degree is found — dependent upon the way a proposition is put, or who says it.

CHART I

AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF RESPONSES FAVORABLE TO U.S.

When Wording of Statement is:		Range of Items:
Unfavorable and source identified	81%	57% - 94%
-Favorable to U.S.	78%	58% - 96%
-Objective or balanced	75%	63% - 93%
-Unfavorable to U.S.	65%	41% - 85%

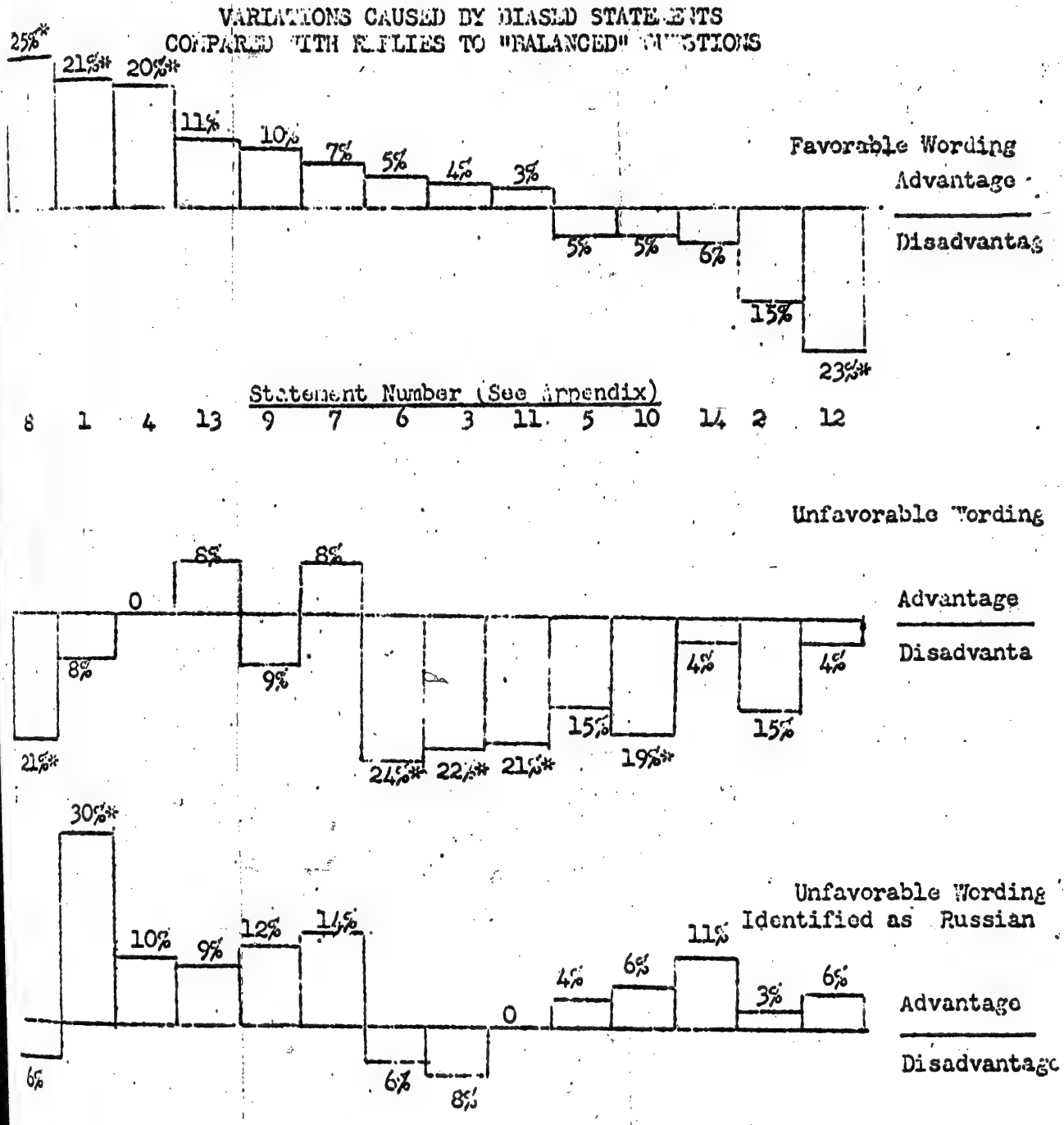
Chart II shows the relative advantage or disadvantage derived from the way in which the specific items were presented. On six of the statements (Numbers 2, 5, 7, 9, 13, 14 - see Appendix for statements) only minor variations are found (not statistically significant) regardless of the way the proposition is presented. Many of these questions deal with conceptions of individual

* The previous study showed wider variability, greater suggestibility, in the American Zone. There were also indications, from a previous and sharply restricted study in Berlin, that the variability in the metropolis was less extreme than in Amzon. Probably the superior sophistication and the broader outlook of metropolitan residents relieves them of suggestibility to a real degree. Berliners, too, are more inured to the propaganda efforts being waged daily. The direction of findings in both studies, however, is remarkedly consistent.

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CHART II

VARIATIONS CAUSED BY BIASED STATEMENTS
COMPARED WITH REPLIES TO "BALANCED" QUESTIONS



17% or larger deviation from the base line is statistically significant.
Base line represents results found on objective or balanced questions.

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At the conclusion of the interview (at least 15 additional questions were asked succeeding the probe of responses reported here) each person interviewed was asked to recall the one or two statements which came first to mind, as he remembered them. Generally best remembered were any of the propositions offered concerning American treatment of Negroes. It seems likely that German guilt feelings regarding treatment of their minorities induce them to fasten their thinking upon this topic. Publication here of fair and decent resolution of Negro-white conflict in the States probably can have salutory effects in Germany.

Also frequently remembered was the charge that one-third of our people are ill-fed, - housed and -clothed. Nearly as many people, too, recalled the allegations that the U.S. is determined to dominate the world, or that our society is composed of a money-grabbing people. In fact, among one set of items, when both favorable and unfavorable statements were scrambled, the four most frequently recalled are unfavorable. In the other set, however, two of the first four are unfavorable. It might be concluded that there is a tendency for Berliners to remember unfavorable statements and to forget, as people will, whatever is heard that is complimentary about others.

Conclusions

1. The Berlin population is suggestible to some attacks which have been made upon America or the Americans. But these attacks largely lose their force when the source is firmly identified as "Russian."

2. When specific data is not at hand to give direction to tactical replies on a controversial subject, a fair and objective statement of alternative points of view is the safest policy to follow.

3. But, under the guidance of specific data, countering replies and changes in the direction of the discussion can often be contrived to real advantage.

4. The most damaging charges that can be made (within the range of items tested) are those which deal with "capitalistic domination" of our country. One effective counterpose, evident in the data here, is simply to label these charges as Russian-sponsored.

5. Certain advantage is to be gained from encouraging the Russians to make some allegations against us. Typical of these are statements which may be made by them about "American culture," "objective news reporting," "the pursuit of self-interest," "crisis economy," or "responsibility for stagnation in world reconstruction." Each such allegation, again, needs to be carefully labelled as to source.

6. The great advantage wich rests with America is solid German reliance on the sincerity of expression made by American leaders. The promotion of a balanced understanding of the American scene undoubtedly will go far in countering German susceptibility to anti-American statements.

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APPENDIX

Statements Used in Study

Statements Favorable to America

1. Americans are a highly cultured people.
2. In a democracy, for example America, efficiency and honest conduct are exemplified.
3. In World War II the Americans fought voluntarily for peace and freedom.
4. After the war America tried to establish freedom and economic security in all countries.
5. The widespread freedom of speech and criticism in America results in strengthening her.
6. Trade unions in America today are strong and free.
7. American capitalism is such a healthy economic system that there will be no economic crisis in America in the near future.
8. American foreign policy basically seeks to strengthen and encourage the organization of the UN (United Nations).
9. Newspapers in America give a clear picture of whatever happens in the world.
10. All Americans are well off; one sees that in the fact that there are more automobiles, iceboxes, telephones, newspapers, magazines and books in America than in any other country.
11. The aim of education in America is not only to disseminate knowledge, but, before everything else, to train children to be democratic thinking beings.
12. No country treats foreign minorities and races within its borders as well as the Americans treat the Negroes.
13. The Russians are primarily responsible for the breakdown of world reconstruction since they refuse to compromise with the other Powers and stand rigidly for their own point of view.
14. The capitalists in America in no way interfere with the personal freedom of Americans.

Statements Unfavorable to America

1. Most Americans have much money but little culture.
2. In a democracy, for example America, inefficiency and corruption are exemplified.
3. Americans let themselves be driven into World War II by some Big Businessmen who controlled the money.
4. After the war America followed its own selfish interests alone.
5. The widespread freedom of speech and criticism in America results in weakening her.
6. Trade unions in America today are weak because they are severely hampered by laws.
7. American capitalism is such an unhealthy economic system that there will be a great depression in America in the near future.

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8. American foreign policy basically seeks to achieve world domination.
9. Newspapers in America give a distorted picture of whatever happens in the world since they are under the influence of Big Businessmen.
10. It is not so that all people in America are well off. One-third of the people in America are ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed.
11. American education is not worth much. It consists only in learning how to make money quickly and without effort.
12. No country treats foreign minorities and races within its borders as badly as the Americans treat the Negroes.
13. The Americans are primarily responsible for the breakdown of world reconstruction since they insist on their capitalistic interests and seek to conquer the world.
14. Americans have no personal freedom since they are completely dependent on the great capitalists.

Objective of Balanced Questions

1. Do you think a) that the Americans in general think more about money than about culture, or can one say in general b) that Americans have reached a relatively high cultural level?
2. Has democracy as a form of government — for example as in America — shown itself to be efficiently and honestly conducted or as inefficient and corrupt.
3. In your opinion, have the Americans in this war fought more for the interests of some Big Businessmen, or more for peace and freedom?
4. Has America after the war tried mainly to achieve freedom and economic security for all countries, or has she mainly followed her own interests?
5. Do you think that the widespread freedom of speech and criticism in America weakens the country internally, or strengthens it internally?
6. According to what you have heard and read, do you think that the trade unions in America are strong and free or are they weak because they are severely hampered by laws?
7. Do you think a) that American capitalism is a healthy economic form and the economic prosperity in America will last, or b) do you think that there will again be an economic crisis in America?
8. What do you think about American foreign policy: does it seek basically to dominate the world, or basically to strengthen and encourage the organization of the UN (United Nations)?
9. As far as you can judge, do you think that the newspapers present a clear picture of what happens in the world, or do they give a distorted picture because they are under the influence of Big Businessmen?
10. Do you think that most people in America are well off, or do you think that one-third of the people are poor and live badly?
11. As far as you can judge, do you believe that the goal of education in America is to train children to be democratic thinking beings (in addition to giving them schooling), or do you believe the main goal of education is to show them how to make money quickly and without effort?
12. What impression do you have of how the Americans treat the Negroes in America? Do you think that the Negroes today are badly handled, or do you think that very strong and successful efforts have been made to improve the lot of the Negro?

13. In your opinion which country is primarily responsible for the breakdown of world reconstruction: America or Russia?
14. Do you think that Americans have the greatest possible personal freedom, or do you think that the personal freedom of Americans is severely restricted by the power of the businessmen?

Identified Statements

(These statements are those shown above as "Statements Unfavorable to America." Each of these statements was introduced by a phrase such as "The Russians claim," "According to the Russians," "From the Russian point of view," "The Russians are of the opinion that," "The Russians say," "Russian opinion holds that," etc.)

Tabular Results

Item	Answer	Statement: Favorable	Unfavorable	Balanced	Identified
1	Favorable to U.S.	85	72	64	94
	Unfavorable to U.S.	13	22	35	4
	No opinion	2	6	1	2
		100%	100%	100%	100%
2	Favorable to U.S.	73	73	88	91
	Unfavorable to U.S.	19	20	9	5
	No opinion	8	7	3	4
3	Favorable to U.S.	76	50	72	64
	Unfavorable to U.S.	21	45	27	32
	No opinion	3	5	1	4
4	Favorable to U.S.	90	70	70	80
	Unfavorable to U.S.	7	26	25	16
	No opinion	3	4	5	4
5	Favorable to U.S.	84	74	89	93
	Unfavorable to U.S.	11	22	8	5
	No opinion	5	4	3	2
6	Favorable to U.S.	70	41	65	59
	Unfavorable to U.S.	12	29	20	10
	No opinion	18	30	15	31
7	Favorable to U.S.	75	76	68	82
	Unfavorable to U.S.	21	21	29	15
	No opinion	4	3	3	3

ATTITUDES OF AMZON GERMANS TOWARD GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Report No. 74

27 October 1947
ICD OPINION SURVEYS
OMGUS APO 742
Berlin Germany

INTRODUCTION . . .

This report deals with the attitudes toward government and politics of Germans living in the U.S.Zone and in the American and British sectors of Berlin. It is based on a survey made by ICD Opinion Surveys during the month of August, 1947. (One quesion analyzed and reported here is taken from a June, 1947 survey.) Interviews were held in the homes with more than 3400 Germans, representing a scientifically constructed cross-section of the population. Interviewing was done by trained German interrogators working under the supervision of American field officers. Berlin results are always shown separately. Laender figures are always shown when they differ from the zonal average and among each other. Otherwise, only Amzon totals are presented.

Two forms of the questionnaire -- the so-called split-ballot -- were used in this survey. This technique makes it possible to measure attitudes of identical population groups toward alternative statements on similar issues at identical times.

SUMMARY . . .

Germans living in the American Zone and in the American and British sectors of Berlin:

1. Disavow, in large numbers, interest in political affairs. Though a majority claims they do not know enough about what is going on politically, they want no more information. Nor does the majority give a thought to politics nor want to.

Most of those interviewed would not take any effective measures to protest an unpopular political measure. Almost all of them claim they have never written to an official about a political matter.

Yet, more of them are inclined to hold officials responsible for government than to put the responsibility on the electorate.

2. Nevertheless, given a choice of five possible forms of government for Germany, more people select a democratic republic as probable, preferred and best for the German economy, ten years hence. Also they prefer a government headquartered in Berlin, but the question of centralization vs. decentralization is not crystallized in the zone, though Berlin votes for centralization.

3. Though in general they find it easier to condemn communism than to criticize democracy, small but well-informed groups specify faults in democracy and point to something good in communism.

4. Their confused thinking is highlighted by their preponderate choice -- following presentation of two alternatives -- of economic security over political liberty, thus contradicting their declared preference for democracy.

5. Moreover, more think their fellow countrymen are unable to run a democratic government at present than think the contrary. Disunity, corruption, etc., are most frequently cited as arguments by the negative.

6. Further, almost four in ten cannot mention any way in which democracy could help Germany now and in the future. Those who can suggest ways which could help, tend to emphasize material and prestige benefits.

7. More information on general political topics is recorded than would be expected from people who claim to be so politically disinterested and exhibit as much confusion in their opinion on government as these respondents.

DISAVOWAL OF POLITICS . . .

An important fact to keep in mind when assessing the views expressed by Amzon Germans on the nature and form of government deemed probable, desirable and/or suitable for Germany is that these are opinions of a people who largely disclaim interest in political matters. This divorce from politics is substantiated by the poll results detailed below. They show that a majority of Germans: claim they neither have enough nor want more information about political affairs; prefer to leave thinking about politics to other people; and would not actively protest against an unpopular government measure, would only gripe to their friends about it. With one voice they deny ever having written to a public official about a political matter. Notwithstanding this claimed withdrawal from political life, more of them are inclined to put the blame on officials than on the electorate for the way government functions.

These results, important in themselves, assume added significance to the extent that they have a bearing on general attitudes toward government. The questions and replies follow:

"Are you sufficiently well-informed about current political affairs?"

	Bav.	Hesse	W.-Baden	Amzon	Berlin
Yes	36%	41%	47%	40%	56%
No	63	58	52	59	44
No Opinion ...	1	1	1	1	--

If NO: "Would you care to get more information?"

Yes	23%	24%	17%	22%	27%
No	77	76	83	78	73

"Do you ever give any thought to politics, or do you prefer to leave that to others?"

	Bav.	Hesse	W.-Baden	Amzon	Berlin
Give thought	35%	30%	42%	35%	55%
Leave to others	64	69	58	64	45
No Opinion ...	1	1	*	1	--

If LEAVE TO OTHERS: "Why is that?"

Too occupied w/ daily affairs	59%	64%	59%	60%	53%
Disillusioned	17	15	18	17	25
Not well enough educated	18	13	15	16	16
Man's affair ..	9	9	11	10	11
No Opinion	*	2	--	1	--

* Less than one-half of one per cent
(Percentages total more than 100 because some people gave more than one reason.)

. . . Queried: "Suppose a German official should issue an order which you and many other people disagreed with. Would you protest against it?" -- a third in the Zone said they would protest, but two-fifths (61%) said they would do nothing, and 6% withheld opinions. In Berlin, 53% would protest, 45% would not, and 2% did not know what they would do. (Laender differences were slight.)

Two-thirds of the zonal non-protestors said they would "talk about it with others"when questioned to this effect. In Berlin, three-fourths would do so.

Almost half (46%) of the people who claimed they would protest said they would take the matter up with the official himself, or with his superiors. A few said they would write to the papers about the matter; others that they would take concerted action; strike, etc.

. . . When asked, however, if they had ever written to an official about a political matter, a thumping 96% in the zone as well as in Berlin said "No."

. . . This disavowal of politics also extends to a refusal to accept responsibility for poor government (and not to take credit for good government). Though a large number are unable to decide who is to receive blame or credit, pluralities name government officials rather than the voters. Only small numbers make the more reasonable reply that both share responsibility.

"Who should be held responsible for a poor government -- government officials or the voting public?"

	Amzon	Berlin
Officials	38%	45%
Voters	26	39
Both equally	12	8
No Opinion	24	8

"In your opinion, who is more responsible for a good government -- government officials or the voting public?"

	Amzon	Berlin
Officials	48%	55%
Voters	21	34
Both equally	13	6
No Opinion	18	5

Laender breakdowns are not shown, as the votes in all three were very similar.

PREFERENCES IN GOVERNMENTS . . .

It is against this backdrop of political indifference that attitudes toward forms of government must be viewed. Obviously democratic government requires action and participation from its supporters way beyond the margin of support that the German public is now prepared to give. Nevertheless, Amzon Germans on every count give preference to democratic government when -- and this is an important limitation -- the alternatives presented are broadly generalized concepts, e.g. monarchy, communism, dictatorship.

Thus, given a list of five types of government** any one of which presumably could eventuate in Germany ten years hence, and asked to guess which one they expected would be established, which one they preferred, and which one they thought would be best for the German economy, a "democratic republic" invariably got the largest vote. Votes for Amzon and Berlin divided as follows:

	American Zone			Berlin		
	Expect	Prefer	Best	Expect	Prefer	Best
Monarchy	13%	11%	8%	7%	14%	15%
Dictatorship (Fuehrer Staat).....	2	2	5	3	3	2
Democratic Republic.	40	56	47	51	57	56
Socialist "	9	10	9	16	16	13
Communist State	11	*	1	4	1	1
No Opinion	35	21	30	19	9	13

* Less than one-half of one per cent

. . . Note that more people prefer a democratic republic than expect one or than think it will do most for the country's economy. Note also the relatively high preferential vote for monarchy, especially in Berlin. Also interesting is the fact that scarcely anyone wants a communist state or thinks it would do anything for the economy, though a relatively significant group apparently fears it will be established. Probably it is the verbal appeal of "democratic republic" that brings it into such high favor -- it "sound better" than "Socialist republic," for example.

** The three questions were: "What kind of government do you think Germany will have in about ten years - just your best guess?" "Which would you personally like best?" "Forgetting about politics, which do you think would be best for Germany from the economic viewpoint?" Respondents were handed a card with the five forms of government listed above on it. Admittedly the governments mentioned are not mutually exclusive, i.e. a socialist republic, or a monarchy, could claim to be democratic.

Group Differences in Preferences in Forms of Government

	Mon	Dict	Dem Rep	Soc Rep	Comm State	No Op		Cases
Party Preferences:								
SPD	5%	2	64	20	*	9	-100%	1000
KPD	-	-	20	39	38	3		31
CDU/CSU	19%	1	56	5	-	19		733
LDP/DVP	9%	2	83	3	-	3		217
NSDAP Affiliation:								
Member	9%	2	71	9	1	8	-100%	390
No affiliation	12%	2	52	11	1	22		2175
Education:								
7 years or less	15%	2	47	9	*	27	-100%	1127
8 years	9%	2	56	12	1	20		1352
9-11 years	10%	5	69	6	*	10		343
12 years or more	11%	2	73	9	*	5		183
Age:								
Under 30	5%	4	61	11	*	19	-100%	619
30-39 years	7%	3	56	11	1	22		685
40-49 years	11%	1	56	12	1	19		713
50-59 years	15%	1	54	9	-	21		482
60 and over	22%	1	47	7	*	23		508
Sex:								
Men - able to work	8%	3	69	12	1	7	-100%	1195
Men - unable "	11%	1	66	14	1	7		132
Women-able to work	12%	2	46	9	*	31		1543
Women-unable "	22%	1	29	4	-	44		133
Social Class:								
Upper Middle or higher	19%	4	69	7	-	1	-100%	88
Middle	11%	3	65	8	*	13		852
Lower Middle	10%	2	55	11	*	22		1371
Lower	12%	1	44	11	1	31		689
Officials responsible for government	12%	2	62	10	*	14	-100%	1170
Voters responsible for government	10%	3	61	12	1	13		852
Both responsible	12%	1	61	10	*	16		347
Germans now capable of democratic govt	10%	2	63	12	*	13		1337
Germans are not now capable	11%	3	63	11	1	11		1037

*Less than one-half of one per cent

Organization of government . . .

Whatever form of government eventuates in Germany -- democratic or socialist republic, monarchy or another type -- six in ten Amzon respondents (89% in Berlin) prefer it to be headquartered in Berlin. This is reveealed in a study made in June, 1947 which probed opinions on a possible organization of Germany's future government, with special reference to centralization as against decentralization. Very interesting differences of opinion were recorded -- Berlin differing from Amzon, and in Amzon, Hesse differing markedly from Bavaria and Wuerttemberg-Baden. Berliners and Hessians favored a centralized government with Berlin as the capital, people in Bavaria and Wuerttemberg-Baden were not so sure.*

"These are four kinds of government possible for future Germany. Which one would you prefer?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W.-Baden	Amzon	Berlin
A strongly centralized government which would govern the four zones from Berlin	30%	54%	35%	37%	62%
A federal government in Berlin, but with most responsibility left to the Laender	22	17	26	22	27
No central government. A confederation of Laender with each Land self-governing	15	7	11	12	6
Little cooperation of Laender. Each Land would be completely independent	15	6	11	12	3
No Opinion	18	16	17	17	2

. . .With few exceptions, representative population groups in the U.S. Zone tend to think very much alike on this issue. The exceptions are: more of the best educated (12 years or more schooling) prefer a federal government to a centralized one; the upper classes, who do the same; and adherents of KPD -- a very small group in the sample -- who vote strongly (74%) for centralization.

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* A recent study made by ICD Opinion Surveys inquired whether Berlin or some other city should be the capital of Germany. The proportion of replies favorable to Berlin closely parallels those recorded above, 58% in the Zone and 93% in Berlin. (See Opinion Surveys Report No. 71, "Berlin - Symbol of a National State" 17 October, 1947)

Values of democracy and communism contrasted . . .

Amzon and Berlin Germans not only claim preference for a democratic republican form of government, but they are unable, or unwilling, to critize the idea of democracy to any important extent. In contrast, seven in ten in the zone (57% in Berlin) do not hesitate to say that communism is entirely bad in theory and practice. This appears in results of two questions which were deliberately phrased to obviate any disposition to curry favor by giving lip service to democracy and by attacking communism. Further to correct any bias, the questions were reversed in order on a split ballot form of the questionnaire. The results were identical on both forms.

"Do you think that democracy is entirely a good idea, or what kind of faults do you think it has in practice?"

	Amzon	Berlin
Entirely good	36%	51%
Name faults	30	32
No Opinion	34	17

"Do you consider communism an entirely bad idea, or what do you consider as good about it?"

	Amzon	Berlin
Entirely bad	71%	57%
Some good points	16	41
No Opinion	13	2

. . . It could be argued that criticism of democracy is concealed in the "No Opinion" vote, which if combined with the overt critical group would mean that democracy does not do much better than communism. There may be some of this concealment, but probably not a great deal. This is borne out by inspection of group breakdown figures which indicate that the people who most often withhold judgment on the merits or demerits of democracy are representative of those population groups which tend more than their counterparts to be uninformed or unable to criticize -- the uneducated, women, lower social classes, the aged. By the same token, many more of the usually better informed groups cite specific criticism. Thus, 57% of the best educated; 46% of the upper classes; 43% of the men; 47% of former NSDAP members name faults which they think are present in democracy in practice. Also 45% of the people who think that Germans are not now capable of democratic responsibility, in contrast to 36% of those who think they are, name faults, as do 42% of the people who think National Socialism was a good idea compared with 28% of those who say it was a bad idea. Thus it is safe to assume that the 30% figure approximates the proportion in the Amzon population that is vocally critical of democracy.

People who are unwilling to condemn communism as being entirely bad have much the same characteristics as those who point out weaknesses in democracy in practice. They too are found among the better educated, the upper social classes, former NSDAP members and men.

Points of criticism of democracy are . . .

. . . 13% Every cause has its faults: "Faults are universal, that's human nature"; "Nothing is without faults, even democracy."

. . . 8% It is not strict enough for Germany: "Germany needs a strong hand and that is lacking in democracy"; "After a dictatorship, it is necessary to have somewhat stricter control."

. . . 6% Social injustice -- capitalistic: "Capital can get the upper hand too easily, there are too many poor people"; "They should limit private property more"; "Up to now has done nothing for social betterment."

. . . 4% Too many political parties: "There are too many parties in a democracy, and because of the continual change in heads of government, there can be no progress."

Points in favor of communism are . . .

. . . 6% Takes care of the worker: "The idea is not bad, they take things away from the Big Shots who have too much"; "Sharing of burdens."

. . . 4% Idea is good, the practice bad: "The idea isn't bad, but Communism just like National Socialism ends up in a dictatorship"; "Mankind is too egotistical for real communism."

. . . 3% Idea is good, but not for Germany: "The kind of communism they have in Russia is not for us. In theory it's not so bad"; "It's alright for primitive people."

. . . 1% Discipline is good: "At present time, their strict collection of agricultural produce is a good thing"; "Strict conformity is good."

. . . 1% Entirely good idea

Clearly evident is that those people who criticize democracy and those who make allowances for communism are the same kind of people: the kind who dislike to approve completely, to condemn entirely. In combination they represent the alert, critical minority.

Freedom versus security . . .

More Germans claim preference for a democratic republic than for any other one form of government. And more of them assert appreciation of democratic than of communist values. But the confusion of their thinking on these and other issues is seen in sharper focus when they are asked to make the admittedly hard choice between a government which would guarantee liberty and one which would guarantee economic security. Now as previously when the same question was asked, the vote is six to two for security. Throwing more light on this point of view are replies to a parallel question asked in a split-ballot form of the questionnaire. In this form, people were given a third alternative: Both are equally important. Notwithstanding this possibility, the majority again voted for security.

"Which of these two forms of government would you personally choose as the better?"

	Amzon	Berlin
A government which offers people economic security and a chance to make a good living	62%	64%
A government which guarantees freedom of speech, suffrage, press and religion	26	24
No Opinion	12	12

"In a democracy people can vote and speak as they wish and have the kind of religion they want. What do you think is the more important: Should a government secure those rights for all the people or should it guarantee jobs and economic security?"

	Amzon	Berlin
Freedom	11%	7%
Economic security	53	68
Both	31	24
No Opinion	5	1

. . . Pressed to decide whether they thought it was possible for a government to offer both security and freedom, a minimum of seven in ten of all groups questioned* agreed that it was possible. It can be assumed that the German people would prefer a government that would provide both bread and liberty. But clearly if they thought a choice was required, they would again, as in the past, choose security.

Group differences . . .

Various population groups differ in degree but not in direction on the issue of security versus freedom. That is, the usually better informed people tend in larger numbers to vote for freedom (or for "Both" on the second alternative form of the question) than do the less well informed. But in no case does any large group or segment of a group switch and give a significantly larger proportion of its vote for freedom rather than security. Tables showing breakdowns for both questions follow.

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* The question was asked following both alternative statements, and also for all categories of replies except the No Opinion category.

	More Important for Government to Provide:				
	Freedom	Security	Both	No Opinion	
Education:					
7 years or less	13%	51	27	9	- 100%
8 years	8%	59	30	3	
9-11 years	15%	48	35	2	
12 years or more	12%	30	58	-	
Sex:					
Men	13%	51	35	1	
Women	9%	55	29	7	
Religion:					
Catholic - regular	13%	45	32	7	
Catholic - irregular	8%	64	27	1	
Protestant - regular	10%	51	34	5	
Protestant - irregular	8%	54	32	6	
Age:					
Under 30	11%	57	30	2	
30-39 years	8%	56	31	5	
40-49 years	11%	51	33	5	
50-59 years	12%	49	34	5	
60 years and over	11%	46	35	8	
Party Preference:					
SPD	10%	60	28	2	
KPD	10%	50	35	5	
CDU/CSU	18%	42	36	4	
LDP/DVP	9%	54	36	1	
Social Class:					
Upper Middle	11%	48	41	-	
Middle	10%	48	40	2	
Lower Middle	12%	53	30	5	
Lower	11%	56	24	9	
NSDAP Affiliation:					
Member	11%	50	38	1	
No affiliation	12%	52	30	6	
Think about politics	11%	50	38	1	
Leave it to others	11%	54	28	7	
Can identify Minister-Pres. of Land	11%	51	37	1	
Cannot identify him	11%	54	26	9	
National Socialism:					
Bad idea	16%	44	35	5	
Good idea, badly carried out	9%	59	30	2	

Democracy of doubtful practicability now . . .

When queried on the more concrete, immediate values of democracy, the negative vote increases. Less then half of Amzon Germans (an even half in Berlin) feel that Germans today are capable of running a democratic government. Dissidents points to lack of unity, the untrustworthiness and corruption of the people as a reason for this opinion. The question and replies are:

"Do you think that the Germans today could really govern themselves democratically?"

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	Amzon	Berlin
Yes	44%	45%	47%	44%	50%
No	33	38	34	35	46
No Opinion	23	17	19	21	4

Reasons as stated by those who take a negative view are listed in order of frequency. (Percentages are for Amzon only. Berlin figures are almost identical.)

... 52% -- Germans are completely incapable, so much disunity corruption and selfishness among them
... 22% -- Germans are lacking in the necessary experience
... 16% -- Economic needs and anxieties are too great for Germans to take the necessary interest
... 11% -- Too much of the Hitler spirit still remains
... 4% -- Germans cannot govern themselves as long as the Allies are occupying Germany
... 2% -- No Opinion

(Percentages total more than 100 because some people gave more than one reason.)

Inspection of population differences on this question shows that the important opinion divisions within groups are those between negative and no opinion answers, not between affirmative and negative replies. Thus the kind of people who are usually able to make up their minds on an issue are those who, on this question, are more likely than not to turn thumbs down on a democratic government for Germany now. Their counterpart groups are not, however, more favorably impressed by German capabilities in this direction. Rather, more of them do not express an opinion. Thus, among the well educated, 55% cast a negative vote, as do 58% in the upper classes. And 46% of the people sufficiently informed to know who the Minister President of their Land is say No, while only 23% of the uninformed are opposed. Former NSDAP members are also more positive in their opinions than non-affiliates: Of former Pgs, 51% say Yes, 41% say No, and 8% don't know. In contrast, replies of non-affiliates divide as follows: 44% Yes, 33% No, and 23% No Opinion.

. . . It is noteworthy also that when queried: "How can a democratic policy help Germany now and in the future?" four in ten people in the zone (28% in Berlin) can make no suggestions. Only a few reply in a truly affirmative way — in terms of individual liberties, social betterment. The rest talk in ways that add up to making Germany more acceptable to the countries she looks to for aid. Replies fall into these categories, listed according to frequency of mention:

	Amzon	Berlin
Means a sound, healthy state, acceptable to the rest of the world	23%	17%
Leads to an improved standard of living	16	10
Economic advantages through cooperation with other democratic states	11	32
Means personal freedom, civil liberties	6	8
Improved social conditions (worker has something to say; perhaps will do away with the black market)	1	3
Other reasons	1	*
No Opinion	42	28
Cannot help anyway	2	4

* Less than one-half of one per cent.
(Percentages total more than 100 because some people gave more than one answer.)

Political information . . .

Considering the avowed disinterest in political matters of these Germans and the confusion that attends their thinking about government, they are fairly well-informed. Thus 88% of zonal residents can correctly name their burgomeister. (In usually well-informed Berlin, only 53% can name the Oberburgomeister which is understandable in view of the current confusion surrounding that position.) They are not as well acquainted with Laender officials, as only 47% in the zone can name the Minister President of their respective Land. (Only 40% of Hessians in contrast to 50% of Bavarians and 46% of Wuerttembergers give a correct answer.)

And 60% of US Zone people (81% in Berlin) can adequately define a "secret ballot." Definitions are mostly in terms of anonymity, absence of all compulsion, regard for election privileges, etc.

. . . Asked to state which political party, in their opinion was furthest to the Left, almost without exception people with opinions named KPD/SED. A large proportion in the zone (38%) was unable to give an answer, very probably because the concept of Left and Right is unknown to them.

There was less agreement as to the most "rightist" party, though CDU/CSU and LDP/DVP tended to share the distinction. Laender differences regarding selection of the two parties are interesting:

	Party furthest to the "Right"				
	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	Amzon	Berlin
Proportions naming:					
CDU/CSU	39%	26%	36%	35%	39%
LDP/DVP, etc.	4	26	17	12	21

Again there was a very large No Opinion group (42%) in the Laender. In Berlin, 24% could not name the "right" and 13% did not know which party was most "left."

. . . Queried which party does "most for the workers," SPD got by far the largest vote ... 47% in the Zone and 45% in Berlin. (In Berlin 20% named SED/KPD.) No other party received anywhere near this mention. Again there was a large No Opinion reply.

On the party that does the "most for business men," opinions divided in a fashion similar to that on the "rightist" party, that is replies concentrated around CDU/CSU and LDP/DVP as follows:

	Bavaria	Hesse	W-Baden	Amzon	Berlin
CDU/CSU	25%	20%	18%	22%	12%
LDP/DVP, etc.	5	20	22	12	17

In Berlin, 18% named SPD as the best friend of business. On this question, 52% in Amzon and 45% in Berlin could not answer.

Asked which party does "most for all the people," SPD again came out on top with a 30% vote in the zone and 50% in Berlin. Next came CDU/CSU with 18% in Amzon and 10% in Berlin. No other party got significant mention. In the Zone, 40% could not decide; in Berlin, 20%.